MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWĀRĪKH

BY

'ABDU-L-QĀDIR IBN-I-MULŪK SHĀH

KNOWN AS

AL-BADĀONI.

VOLUME II

(THE REIGN OF AKBAR, FROM 963 TO 1004 A.H.)

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN
AND EDITED BY

W. H. LOWE, M.A.

Hebrew Lecturer, Christ's College, Cambridge.

Revised and enlarged
with an account containing
THE CONTEMPORARIES' ESTIMATE OF AKBAR
BY

BRAHMADEVA PRASAD AMBASHTHYA, M.A.,

Bihar Educational Services,
K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna

AND
Also Incorporating
S. H. Hodivala's Commentary

RENAISSANCE PUBLISHING HOUSE
DELHI-110051

Reprinted in India 1986

RENAISSANCE PUBLISHING HOUSE
C-69, JITAR NAGAR, DELHI-110051.

Printed at
RICHA OFFSET
DELHI-110032.

PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

The *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh* was originally written in Persian by Abd̄ūl Qādir-Ibn-I-Mulūk Shāh known as Al-Badāonī. The circumstances which necessitated the writing of this work merit attention. In A.D. 1574 Badāonī came to Agra where his intellectual accomplishments received due recognition and he was admitted to the court of Akbar. Thereafter in a short span of time he was endowed with numerous royal laurels. Abul Fazl has also found his way to imperial court in about the time of Badaoni's entry. Soon Abul Fazl became insurmountable and Badāonī got thrown in the background. Badāonī became disgusted with Akbar's eclecticism and patronage of men of different persuations detrimental to Muslims. Badāonī did not forgive Akbar, Fazl and his brother Faizi and the result was their severe castigation in his work *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh*.

In three volumes, this work covers the history of India from ghaznavides down to the fortieth years of Akbar's rule. The first volume covers the history from Subuktagin to the death of Humayun; the second records forty years of years of Akbar and the third gives biographical sketches of the men of Akbar. He gives valuable information as an insider and severely costigates Abul Fazl's eulogistic work entitled *Akbarnama*.

The difficulties of translation from Persian to English are enormous but those who are familiar with Persian as well as English, know it that translation of a work of this kind is all the more difficult. However the translators of these volumes have achieved almost impossible in rendering the same faithfully to the original.

A

The Contemporaries' Estimate of Akbar

There are three schools in the world of Akbar's chroniclers, both official and private, having their respective corresponding mental attitude and approach to chronicle the history. If Abul Faẓl, the official historian of Akbar, wrote *Akbarnāma* in a spirit of eulogizing everything about Akbar, and thus went to one extreme length of the scale, Mullā Ábdul Qādir Badāyūnī, a private chronicler, motivated by the personal afflicted feelings and prejudices against emperor Akbar and his two primary counsellors, namely, Abul Faẓl and Faiẓī, went to another extreme in his *Muntakẖabu-T-Tawārikẖ* in voicing condemnation principally against this great Mughal emperor. If Abul Faẓl and Badāyūnī represented the two extreme points of the base in a triangle in their respective assessment of Akbar, Niẓāmuddīn in his work *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* connoted the third point which constituted the apex of the triangle in so far as it appertained to be occupying for himself the position of a centrist in chronicling the history of this Mughal emperor. To Niẓāmuddīn's school belonged the respective authors of a number of contemporary chroniclers on Akbar's period, viz, Ilahdād Faiẓī Sarhindī of *Akbarnāma*, Ārif Qandhārī of *Tārīkẖ-i-Ārif Qandhāri*, and a panel of seven schoolars, viz, Naghīb Kẖān, Śāh Fatḥullāh, Ḥakīm Humām, Ḥakīm Álī, Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Sarhindī, Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad and Mullā Ábdul Qādir Badāyūnī, who wrote *Tārīkẖ-i-Alfī*.

In order to understand properly the varying estimates of Akbar by his contemporaries, it is essential to assess the nature of the forces working behind them while chronicling history.

To begin with Abul Faẓl,[1] the official historian of emperor Akbar, it is just fair to say that he exhibited the sharp and piercing arrows of his superb intellect in his writings, possessed an unfailing appeal to reason as against religious and cultural traditions, and had a broader view of history while taking notice of the political and administrative realities of the hour and through which he succeeded in presenting Akbar's greatness with a proper form It is quite true that Baranī and Badāyūnī had far outshone Abul Faẓl in so far as it concerned to grasp at the spirit of their respective ages and its presentation in their chronicles. Likewise, Niẓāmuddīn and Ferišta may be taken as more objective historians in approaching the chronicle in a non-partisan attitude. There is no denying the fact that Khāfī Khān analysed the rise and growth of certain forces which brought about the change in society and the administrative structure and attempted to co-relate the two in their proper perspectives. Abul Fazl may be wanting in all these; but it is to him alone that the sole credit goes to strike out an approach, based on reason and secularism, in the study of history and to find out a new methodology for the collection of facts and their utilization only after testing them on anvil of a critical scrutiny.

1. Noman Ahmad Siddiqi, Śaikh Abul Faẓl; c. f. Mohibbul Hasan, *Historians of Medieval India*, pp. 123-4, 1968 edn.

But he had his limitations as well. He owed these limitations to his rise to power as the favourite and most trustworthy courtier of emperor Akbar, to the official nature of his assignment to write a history and to his veneration, however feigned or genuine it may be, to Akbar whom he took as a model for a perfect man and an ideal king. As such, he could not but advocate and extol Akbar and his activities, his policies and formulations. He was carried away by the exuberance of his passion in presenting Akbar as a perfect man and an ideal king and often got far away from the path of reason to listen to its dictates of rationalization and moderation with restriant. This has robbed Abul Faẓl of clinging fast to the sacred pedestal of an impartial observer and he became a partisan and a panegyric.[2] Abul Faẓl, the court historian, no doubt tended to indulge in nauseating flattery "more a defect of manner than one of fact"[3]. In the official history of Abul Fazl no fact has been falsified, though credit is often given to the emperor who often did not deserve it. For instance Abul Faẓl never mentioned the name of Toḍarmal even for once in recounting the revenue reforms of Akbar's

2. Sarkar, Personal History of Some Medieval Historians, wrote that for an official historian like Abul Faẓl, the presentation of history inevitably tended to reflect the bias of the court, social, political and religious. He, therefore, could not afford to be independent in their attitude or critical of the actions of the emperor or his minister. cf. Mohibbul Hasan, *Historians of Medieval India* p. 184, 1968 edn.
3. J. N. Sarkar, Supra, p. 184, ascribes matters within inverted commas here to Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

reign and made the emperor the inventor of the *Āīn-i-Dahsāla.*[4]

Abul Faẓl's political and religious concepts[5] equally count a lot in formulating his estimates about Akbar. They influenced his selection of certain set of facts of history and naturally affected the treatment of the matter. There is no denying the fact that Abul Faẓl was very careful in ensuring the accuracy of facts with great care, caution and circumspection; but the very selection of a set of facts by Abul Faẓl and his evaluation about them could not escape the impact of his political and religious notions.

As far as political concepts of Abul Faẓl are concerned, he holds that the monarchy as an institution is divine in origin; it is a light emanating from God and as such the king is accountable only to God and none else. The institution of monarchy is an essential *sine qua non* to keep the forces of discord in society under control; in the absence of monarchy the forces at conflict in society, when untrammelled, shall wreck the very society itself. On the other hand an ideal sovereign has to be watchful and vigilant to the welfare of the people, has to maintain law and order in the world which abounds in discord, and has to be just, wise and possess physical strength, toleration, and largeness of heart. Abul Faẓl found such an ideal monarch in Akbar. His evaluation or an estimate of emperor Akbar, as a symbol of consolidation

4. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Translator of Māsir-i-Ālamgīrī, preface III; cf. Sarkar's article in Mohibbul Hasan's book *"Historians of Medieval India"*, p. 184.
5. Mohibbul Hasan, *Historians of Medieval, India*, pp 127-30.

to ensure economic prosperity, peace and safety and religious freedom and toleration to all irrespective of caste and creed, was a logical corollary, a gift, so to say, of his political views. As such, it gave a handle to Abul Faẓl to justify Akbar's policy of territorial expansionism which was expedient as well as necessary for furthering the religious, political and economic interest of the people and thus sanctified it with a moral and intellectual justification.

Abul Faẓl's religious views enunciated the principle of "live and let live in peace", as he was a free-thinker and a rationalist, believing in the goodness of all religions. He, therefore, believed in religious toleration. He found refuge finally in reason and ridiculed those who believed in traditions and conventions. He believed in one supreme God and was never an atheist as alleged by some.

As such Abul Faẓl[6] proved to be the most favourite courtier of Akbar and an ardent supporter of his in his writings against the forces which challenged the concept of the Mughal emperor.[7] He genuinely held

6. Ibid, pp. 134-5.
7. Lunıya, *Some Historians of Medieval India*, p. 161, 1969 edn, while elucidating what the concepts of the Mughal Empire were, wrote: "The primary need of Akbar's time was political and social stability and security. Akbar made up his mind to achieve it and maintain and assert his power. This made him stand forth as the supreme wielder of authority over all his subjects, irrespective of their race, creed and language. Such nature of kingship needed urgently not only military strength to build it up, but academic propaganda to maintain and sustain it. Abul Faẓl was ably fitted by his temperament, education and training to champion the cause and claim of

Akbar in high reverential esteem for the latter's qualities of head and heart. And this was so, for Abul Fazl's views on political and religious norms were quite identical with those of Akbar. This belief, therefore, provided the basis for an everlasting friendship with Akbar. No wonder that Abul Fazl found in Akbar simultaneously the qualities of a King, a philosopher, a hero, a friend and a guide. A careful study shows that Abul Fazl was not the main spring behind to motivate Akbar's guidelines for his political and religious policies; nevertheless it was he who gave the cementing force on the moral and intellectual plain to sustain the emperor in clinging fast to his aforesaid unorthodox policies. By virtue of his official position it was incumbent on Abul Fazl to defend and justify Akbar's action and exalt him to high pitch. To do so for an ideal monarch was an act of worship for Abul Fazl.[8] Hence Abul Fazl's account about Akbar, although correct in matters of details, was written in a partisan spirit of favourable disposition for the emperor, and it aimed at only exalting Akbar's achievement, while glossing over his short-comings. To this task he employed his extraordinary genius and his unrivalled capacity to marshal facts and adduce arguments in a bewitching language. The great panorama

Akbar. This made Abul Fazl more of a literary artist than a scientific historian. He writes as an advocate and an apologist. He considers Akbar as a divinely-guided emperor. His object was to exalt Akbar whose service, according to him, was the service to his God. He seems to have based on reason Akbar's claim as the spritual and temporal head of his subjects (vide Akbarnāma)".

8. Akbarnāma, Introduction; cf. Siddiqi, Supra, P. 135, f.n. 15.

and a big canvas for the treatment of the matters, involving issues of primary importance which had till then kept the mind of the people agitated, provided Abul Fazl with a most suitable opportunity to write an epic on Akbar. Abul Fazl, with his rich literary apparel, succeeded amazingly well in combining history and epic into one unified and composite piece of a great work of art. It has an aroma of architechtonical greatness, with Akbar to crown the edifice as its caping-stone. Abul Fazl has succeeded well in his formulation of estimates on the great qualities of the head and heart of Akbar, and the latter's strength of moral conviction, the surging urge for cultivation of spritualism of a high and undiluted nature and his profound sagacity. Abul Fazl carries away the reader alongwith himself and the latter is simply overwhelmed with an awe at the spectacle of the great physical prowess of Akbar in a holy combination with his sense of kindness, stern justice and good fortnne. Abul Fazl, by his language pulsating with a peculiar dynamism of its own and vibrating with a crusading spirit, has left an inimitably undying impression about Akbar to occupy a most coveted position in the hierarchy of the notable Indian monarchs by presenting this Mughal emperor's new concept of the empire, his evincing of an unfailing interest in the welfare of his people through a number of administrative measures and his most scruplous regard for religious toleration. This has made Akbar to become a legend for Indian people as one of the most successful monarchs who had an unshakable moorings of his own to bring about the Consummation of the welfare of the people.

In the field of secularising[9] Indian History under the able lead of emperor Akbar, Abul Fazl struck out a course of his own. He discarded the views of his early predecessors that Indian history was a record of struggles between the forces of Islam and Hinduism. For Abul Faẓl the conflict was between the Mughal empire on the one hand and the Indian princes, be they Hindū or Muslim, on the other. In essence it was a conflict between the forces of peace, stability and a progressive government of an ideal monarch who was capable to guide the people in political and spritual spheres to the desired goal, and the forces of chaos, disintegration and a bad government of the local rājās and Zamindārs. To Abul Faẓl the Mughal empire of Akbar had become essentially Indian in character, and it was no more the privileged concern of a racial or combination of racial groups, or those of the faithful alone. The religious, political and economic dues of the Hindū landed-aristocracy in general and those of the Rājpūts in particular were accorded full cognizance by this great Mughal emperor and this led them now to join the imperial confederation most ungrudgingly only to bring about unity, stability and economic prosperity to the country. These are amply evident from the writings of Abul Faẓl on his findings of Akbar.

9. Siddiqi, Supra p. 136. Sarkar, Supra p. 184, has held that Abul Faẓl, by discarding the earlier theological conception, has led history to tend inevitably to concentrate more and more on the activities of the king and his court. This led to secularization of history. The chronicler like Abul Faẓl now pleaded for the moral value behind the study of history in place of the earlier theological justification.

There is no denying the fact that Abul Fazl[10] was very careful in ensuring the accuracy of the facts that he recorded. But in treatment of the subject-matter he has become more of subjective rather than objective. His construction of sentence betrays his own evaluation of a particular event of fact. For example, he was at pains to explain invariably the consideration that weighed with emperor Akbar in undertaking military operations against a Rājpūt prince or a Muslim king and, while doing so, he applauded Akbar's motive.Obviously it went against the norm of historical objectivity.

While Abul Faẓl[11] was an ardent advocate of reason and ridiculed those who believed in tradition in the face of reason, he did not measure Akbar at times with the same standard. While dwelling at length on the extraordinary spritual qualities of Akbar amounting to prophecy and raising him to heights of supernatural powers, or recording about the marvels of Akbar's good fortune, Abul Fazl refused to listen to the voice of reason. The messiah of reason fell a victim to credulous superstition.

There are evidences to show that Abul Fazl[12] at

10. Mohibbul Hasan, *Historians of Medieval India*, p. 137.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid, pp. 137—8; C. H. Philips, Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, p. 146, has written here thus : "He (Abul Faẓl) was, besides a most assiduous courtier, eager to extol the virtues, to gloss over the crimes and to preserve the dignity of his master and those in whom he was interested. His narrative is florid, fickle, and indistinct, overloaded with commonplace reflections and pious effusions, generally ending in a compliment to his patron····His object was to compose a *history*

times glossed over certain events and facts to avoid showdown with the merit of Akbar in his assessment about him. For instance, *Akbarnāma* refrains from recording that Akbar's policy of converting *jāgīr* lands into the *Khālṣa* land under the charge of *Karorīs* had proved a failure and that it resulted in the ruination of a large area of cultivated lands and hardships to peasants. Abul Fazl's silence is ominous; he fails to write even a few lines on the exertions of the Karorīs. He does not even put on records that the grant of jāgīr lands was resumed by the 24th regnal year, as the experiment had failed.

Again Abul Faẓl's account[13] of the religious discussions held in the Ibādat-khāna in the presence of emperor Akbar and the emperor's growing disgust and final breach with úlamās, leading ultimately to the proclamation of Akbar as mujtahid or Imām-i-Kāmil, is far from complete and is not in accord with truth. As Abul Faẓl was himself a party to these religious debates and played a dominant role in turning the table against the ulamās, his account can not be taken for impartial and objective.

Abul Faẓl's bestowal of over-care[14] to chronicle Akbar and his activities has led to the omission of many

suitable to the temperament of the mortal with a cryptic tongue."

Luniya, *Some Historians of Medieval India*, p. 161, wrote: "V. A. Smith observes that·····that the author (Abul Fazl), an unblushing flatterer of his hero (Akbar), sometimes conceals, or even deliberately perverts, the truth (e. g. dating of Akbar's birth with the story of his naming and the account of his capitulation of Asīrgarh)."

13. Mohibbul Hasan, *Historians of Medieval India*, p. 138.
14. Ibid pp. 139-40

other facts, which, if done, could have given us the other side of the picture to impart a proper perspective. For example, we know nothing about the Afghān or Rājpūt side of the history, their stand and the nature of the triangular conflict in which Akbar did succeed but after much of strenuous diplomacy and in combination with military operations. The result is that his narrations on the subject fail to point out the poignancy of a grim struggle that was being fought for the empire of Hindustan. His narrative appears to be an overt-act on the part of Abul Faẓl to convey to us that Akbar's good fortune and his insurmountable military power found no match in the opposing forces of the Rājpūts. But this narration of Abul Faẓl is divorced from the hard realities of the situation, for Akbar had to exercise his great foresight, diplomatic endeavours, combined with the task to organise successful military operations that brought success in his lap, and not merely by virtue of his good fortune as recorded by Abul Faẓl.

It is equally worthwhile to note here that Abul Faẓl has failed to take proper notice of the regional political and social forces, local patriotism and independence and racial conflicts which gave a challenge to the claims of Akbar as a rightful emperor of Hindustan. He has, therefore, failed to present the gravity of the conflicts in their depth, magnitude and intensity while evaluating Akbar's achievement.

Badāyūnī represents the next extreme in the scale in condemnation of most of the things about Akbar as contrasted from over-laudatory Abul Faẓl about this Mughal emperor. Akbar, having been impressed by

Badāyūnī's[15] extent of theological learning, had originally admitted him into his court to humble down the audacious Mullās who were puffed up with their ecclesiastical learning. But after the induction of Abul Faẓl at the court of Akbar, Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī paled off from the welter of limelight into insignificance, and henceforth he never forgave Akbar or Abul Faẓl for the fact that he did not receive his due which he deserved. The result was his bitterest castigation against Akbar and Abul Faẓl in his *Muntakẖabu-T-Tawārīkẖ*. He not only showed his distaste for Akbar's eclecticism and his freedom of thinking, but proved utterly irreconcilable with the patronising attitude that this great Mughal emperor showed to men of different creeds and religions, to the privations and detriment of the Muslims who alone, in his opinion, had the exclusive valid claim to hold offices and enjoy patronage under the government. One[16] consideration that weighed heavily with Badāyūnī in becoming Akbar's bitterest critic was his failure to get his expected preference and advancement in imperial service. Hence Badāyūnī showed his glee at Akbar's misfortune. Badāyūnī accounted for Akbar's troubles, viz, the rebellions of the Afghāns in Bengal and Bihar, and the rebellion of Mirzā Ḥākim, his brother, to be the outcome of divine wrath, for this Mughal emperor by his administrative measures directed at curbing the power of the Ṣadr in the grant of land. As he put it : "The king disturbed our madad-i-màāś land and God has now disturbed his country." It contained so much of hostile comment against Akbar that it could not be made public until the accession of Jahāngīr.

15. C. H. Philips, *Historians of India, Pakistan & Ceylon*, p. 147 ; Luniya, *Some Historians of Medieval India*, p. 164.

16. Sarkar, Personal History of Some Medieval Historians, published in Mohibbul Hasan's book *"Historians of Medieval India"* p. 188.

The fact essentially is that while Akbar, soon after Badāyūnī's entry into the court, began to suspect him as a fanatic at the bottom, Badāyūnī became severely malicious and critical of Akbar's ideas and policies in his turn.[17] But a more sober study shows that Akbar seems to have hardened his attitude in conceding a wide latitude to his Muslim courtiers and favourites in their accepted beliefs. One must not, therefore, summarily dismiss Badāyūnī's biting criticism of Akbar as mere offsprings of his religious fanaticism, bigotry and perversity.

If Abul Faẓl and Badāyūnī represented the two extremes in the scale, the former being over-laudatory and the latter being extremely condemnatory about Akbar, Niẓāmuddīn and the chroniclers of his school believed in objectivity of chronicling, giving no room for any affiliations. He was completely free from religious intolerance and nowhere betrayed his bigotry and partiality.[18] It is no doubt true that Niẓāmuddīn was a pious Muslim, but he held his religious view to himself and did not deem it politic to protest against Akbar's religious innovations.[19] Hence he could rise to higher rungs in the ladder of imperial favours. Hence his assessment of Akbar and his achievement is very much balanced. Niẓāmuddīn, no doubt, had not the literary talents of Abul Faẓl, but believing in objective presentation of history, he has proved to be a more reliable and trust-worthy historian. Hence his book has come to form the basis of many subsequent works.

17. Muhammad Mujeeb, Badāyūnī, published in "Historians of Medieval India" and edited by Prof. Mohibbul Hasan, p. 108.

18. Luniya, Supra, pp. 167-8.

19. Sarkar, Supra, p. 187.

B

S. H. Hodivala's Commentary

MISTAKES IN MUNTAKHAB U-T-TAWĀRĪKH

1. Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh, Ranking's trans., Vol I, p. 511, line 19. *"A short account of this sect is given in the Najātu-r- Rashīd which should be consulted."*

S. H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = vol II, p. 260, wrote: "The Najātu-r-Rashīd (Salvation of the wise) appears to have been a theological treatise or polemic. Badāonī himself indicates the general nature of its contents when he states that he has given a full account of the doctrines and prahas of the *Mahdavis* in that work (text I. 398, l,4). Elesewhere also he tells us that he has discussed the question relating to the muta' marriages, which are in vogue among the Shiās, in the Najātu-r-Rashīd (text II, 208; tr. II., 211-2)."

E & D, History of India as told by its own historians, V, p. 478, described Najātu-r-Rashīd as a "moral and religious work".

2. Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh, Ranking's trans., vol I, p. 415, lines 3-6 from foot.

"That very day an order was issued that I should translate and complete the remainder of those Hindū lies, part of which had been translated by the command of Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn, king of Kashmir, and named the Bahr-ul-asmār, wkile the greater part had been left untranslated".

E & D, History of India as told by its own historians, V, p. 478, called *Bahru-l-asmār* as "a work on *Hadīs*".

S. H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = Vol. II, p. 260, wrote: "There is some confusion (E & D, v, p. 478). *Bahru-l-Asmār* signifies 'Ocean of Stories', and it has neither art nor part with the *Hadīs* or Traditions of the Arabian Prophet It was really a Persian paraphrase of an old collection of Hindū fables and stories. Badāonī himself describes it thus, 'That very day (about 30th Ramzān, 1003. H), an order was issued that I should complete the remainder of those Hindū lies, part of which had been translated by the command of Sultān while the greater part had been left untranslated'. (Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh, text. II. p. 401; trans., Lowe, II, p. 415). There can be little doubt that the store-house of 'Hindū lies' which poor Badāonī had to continue was the *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara* of Somadeva or the *Kathā-Kosha*. Lowe asserts that the *Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara* can 'hardly be meant', and that the *Rāja-Taranginī* must be the work referred to, but the latter is a full-dress history or political chronicle in the grand style and اسمار means only 'tales, stories, fables or romances' (Richardson). Mr. Lowe's suggestion is absolutely ruled out by the fact that Badāonī speaks elsewhere of having 'rewritten in an easy style in 998 H. the *History of Kashmir*, which Mullā Shāh Muhammad of Shāhābād had translated formerly into Persian'. That work was undoubtedly the *Rāja-Taranginī* (II, 374; trans., II, 386) and the order regarding it was given in 998 H. This work, the Bahru-l-Asmār was commenced only in Shawāl, 1003 H. (II, 401; trans., II, p. 415).

3. Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh, Ranking's trans., vol I, p. 305, line 15.

"At this time the Sulṭān formed the opinion that in consequence of the refractory conduct of his subjects in the Doāb it was advisable to double the taxes levied on that country."

E & D, History of India as told by its own historians, V, p. 485, line 6 from foot, wrongly translated it : "At this juncture, it occurred to the Sulṭān (Muḥammad Tughlaq) to raise the taxes of the inhabitants of the Doāb, *ten or twenty per cent*, as they had shown themselves refractory".

S. H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement, Vol II, p. 260, have made corrections here to the effect : "The words in the original are دہ بست مقرر سازند Badāonī, B. I. text I. 228) which mean 'should be, fixed hundred per cent higher', that is, doubled. See my note on E. D. III. 228, 1 II, in S. I. M. H., Vol I., 293-4."

4. Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh, Ranking's trans., Vol. I, p. 497, lines 1-4.

"Also the Amīrs of five thousand, ten thousand, and twenty thousand, used every Friday to pitch a lofty tent supported by eight poles, and bring the shoes of Salīm Shāh, together with a quiver which he had given to the Sardārs in front of the throne; and first of all the commanders of the troops, and after him the Munsif, that is to say, the chief Commissioner (Amīn) followed by the others in precedence, with bowed heads and every expression of respect would take their seats in their appointed places."

S. H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement= vol II, p. 261, have commented here this : "It is a far cry from Badāonī to Vālmīkī and Salīm Shāh to Rāma, but it is permissible to recall that when Rāma positively refused to leave the forest, or take up the kingship, his brother

Bharat requested him to insert his feet into a pair of bedecked sandals which he brought with him and when Rāma had done so, carried them away to Nandigrām as symbols which would protect the realm. He then cried to the people :

'Haste, for these sandals quickly bring,
The canopy which shades the king.
pay ye to them all reverence meet,
As to may elder brother's feet.
For they will Law and Right maintain,
until King Rāma comes again.

Rāmāyana, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, trans. Griffith, Book II, canto CXV, Edition 1915, p. 224.

The once proud and contumacious Afghān nobles must have sunk low indeed under the tyranny of savage Sulṭān. There is no parallel to this debasing and humiliating ceremony in Muslim annals and one can be found only when we dig deep into the episodes of Indian protohistory or myth. At the same time, the discovery of an earlier example is interesting, as it examplifies the extraordinary vitality of old Hindū custom and tradition."

5. *Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh*, Ranking's trans., Vol I, p. 551, line 10.

"As the name of the citadel of Agra was originally Bādal Garh, the words Ātiś-i-Bādal garh made a chronogram to record the date."

S. H. Hodivala, *Studies, Supplement* = vol II, p. 261, have commented here thus : "Read 'Bādalgarh' with a *Rā* and not a *dāl*. The *Abjad* value is really 963 (or 964), not 962 (1 + 400 + 300 + 2 + 1 + 4 + 30 + 20 + 200 + 5). آتش بادلگده with a '*dāl*' would yield only 767 (1 + 400 + 300 + 2 + 1 + 4 + 30 + 20 + 4 + 5)."

6. Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh, Lowe's trans., Vol II, p. 18, line 20.

"When the Khān Zamān rose from table, the enemy found the cloth spread just as it was, and began to plunder."

E&D, History of India as told by its own historians, V, p. 492, line 5 from foot, have translated, thus : "When Khān Zamān arose from his repast, he found the enemy engaged upon their meal or occupied in plundering."

S. H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = Vol. II, p. 262, observed : "Lowe's rendering is more correct.The sentence runs thus in the text(M. T., II, p. 25, l 9) :

زمانے کہ خان زماں از سر سفرہ برخاست غنیم سفرہ را ہماں طور گسترده یافت و شروع در تاراج کرد

7. Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh, Lowe's trans., Vol II, p. 129, line 14.

"When Ḥusain Khān arrived at the place where Sulṭān Muḥammad, nephew of Pīr Maḥmūd Khān, had been martyred, and which is a burial-place of martyrs, he read the Fatiḥah for those pure spirits, and built a cuffah over the dilapidated tombs of those martyrs."

E&D, History of India as told by its own Historians, V, p. 497, line 14, have translated thus : Ḥusain Khān arrived at last at the place where Sulṭān Maḥmūd, nephew of Pir Muḥammad Khān, was slain. He read the *fatiḥa* for the pure spirits of the martyrs who fell there, and repaired their dilapidated tombs."

S.H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = Vol II, p. 262, remarked here thus : "The names in this passage have been sadly muddled in the text also (II. 125. l. 8 from foot). Lowe's rendering is equally incomprehensible, as he says that 'Ḥusain khān arrived at the place where Sulṭān Muḥammad, nephew of Pīr Muḥammad Khān, was martyred' (trans., II; p. 129). The reference is really to the martyr, Salār Ma'sūd, who is said to have been the nephew of iconoclast Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaẓna, and not Pīr Muḥammad Khān, as Badāyūnī writes that Ḥusain Khān read the *fatiḥa* for the pure spirits of the martyrs who fell there and repaired their *dilapidated tombs*. Salār Mas'ūd's mausoleum is now in Bahraich but there are many Ganj-i-Shahīdān or 'mounds of martyrs' graves' in the neighbouring districts also, which are locally believed to be the last resting places of his companions and the sites of the battles waged by them in their crescontade."

8. Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh, Ranking's transaltion, Vol II, p 155, line 17.

"The Rājah (of Awēsar) with the help of the villagers had erected crow's-nests in the tress, and from that vantage-ground many useful men became marks for arrows and musket-balls, and some were martyred and others were wounded"

E & D, V, p. 504, line 14 from foot, have translated thus: "The Rājā of Awēsar had formed stages of wicker-work on the tops of the trees, and from this secure position several of our men were killed and wounded."

S. H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = Vol II, p. 262, observed thus : "

راجه او بسر یاکواران تختها بر سر درختان تعبیه کرد

Text, II, 151, lines 3 from foot.

'The Rājā of Awēsar had provided the villagers with planks (or platforms) on the tops of the trees.'

There is nothing to justify the mention of 'wicker work' in the text. The Rājā had hidden sharpshooters in sheltered positions on the trees to snipe the Mughals for whom they had laid the ambush. The thing meant is the *machān* of Indian sportsmen. تخته is a plank board, panel or flat piece of timber."

9. Muntakhabu-T-Tawārikh, Ranking's translation, Vol II, p. 159, line 16.

"Masnadi Ali-Fattu, a ghulām of Adli"

E & D, History of India as told by its own Historians, V, p. 507, line 5 from foot, have translated here more correctly "Masnad-i-Ālī, Fattū (Katlū), the slave of

Ádlī". But there was no occasion here for E & D to put comma after "Masnad-i-Ālī" and before "Fattū". Actuallay the translation should have been "masnad-i-Ālī Fattū, the slave of Ádlī."

S. H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = Vol II, pp. 262-3) commented here thus : "The emendation suggested in the parenthesis is unnecessary. Fattū is the short form of 'Fatḥ' and is quite correct. He is called Fattū in the T. A. also (B. I. Text II, 170, line 5; E.&D., V., p. 287). Badāonī mentions him as Fattū here (text, II, 156; Lowe, II, 159) and also at (text, II, 63; Lowe, II, 62). The title *Masnad-i-Ālī* which is given to him by Badāonī, proves that he is the Fatḥ Khān, *Masnad-i-Āli* of Abul-Faẓl. q. v. Blochmann, Āīn. tr. I (reprint), 564,599, 396. A. N."

10. Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh, Ranking's trans., vol II, p. 163, lines 1-2.

"When the Mirzā heard of his unceremonious words...."

E&D, History of India as told by its own Historians, v, p. 570, line 11, translated here thus : "The Mirzā (Ibrāhīm Ḥusain) heard these *ceremonious* words of his and said....."

S. H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = Vol II, 262, commented thus : "Lowe has 'unceremonious' (tr. II. 163). The text has سخن بے تکلفانه (II, 159, last line). The word which has been rendered 'uncircumcised fellow' on line 9 is the Turki قلچی which strictly means 'a man who is in service, but not in that of the King', and is loosely used for any inferior servant or menial. Here it is used in the sense of the English 'Johnny' or 'chap' or 'Fellow of no account.' Dowson seems to have read

it wrongly as قلفچی Qalafchi; قلف means 'being uncircumcised' according to Richardson's dictionary."

11. Muntakhabu -T-Tawārīkh, Ranking's translation, vol II, p. 186 line, 4 from foot.

"When the translation was finished, I called it Nāmah-i-khirad-i-afzā, a name which contains the date of its composition"

E & D, History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol V, p. 513, line 14, have translated it thus: "when the translation was finished, I called it *khirad-afzā*, a name which contains the date of the composition".

S. H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = vol II, p. 263, observed here: "The *abjad* value of خردافزا is only 600+200+4+1+80+7+1=893. The correct chronogram is نامۂ خردافزا (text, II, 184, line 1; trans., II, 186), which is equivalent to 989 (50+1+40+5+893). Mr. Lowe says the title means 'Book of Mental Recreation', but a more correct rendering would be 'the wisdom-increasing book."

12. Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh, Ranking's translation., vol II, p. 194, line 8 from foot.

".....and the Amīrs had no longer to suffer from the inconvenient reluctance of their followers."

E & D, History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol V, p. 516, line 9, have translated it thus: "The *amīrs* also were set free from the unseemly blandishments of the uncircumcised."

S H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = vol II, p. 263, commented here: "

وامرا نیز از نازہائے بے محل قلفچیان خلاص یافتند

B. I. text II., line 3 from foot.

Here again, the word should be قلفچیان and it merely means 'servants, followers.' Dowson's way of putting it can only mislead and confuse the reader, as it may mean that these troublesome people were Hindūs, and not Muslims."

13. Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh Ranking's translation, Vol II, p. 204, line 8.

"He named that cell the 'Ibādat khānah', which became by degrees Iyādat-khānah....."

E & D, History of India as told by its own Historians, V, p. 518, line 19, have translated it thus: "He called the building 'ibādat khāna, and by degrees it became at last....."

S. H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = Vol II, pp. 263-4, commented: "Dowson notes that 'the meaning is here doubtful, as the text has three variant readings, 'ibādat, iyādat and ibārat-khāna, no one of which seems applicable.' May I venture to suggest that it may be عنادۃ 'obstinacy, perverseness, stubborness, wrong-headed opposition'. Elsewhere in speaking of the Ibādat-khāna, Badāonī complains that 'innovators and schismatics' artfully started their doubts and sophistries, making right appear to be wrong and wrong to be right." (E & D, V, p 527, text, II, 255, line 7 from foot).

Some light is thrown also on the point by the couplet which Badāoni himself cites from a poem which Mullā Sherī had composed on the subject of the Ibādatkhāna.

In these days I have seen united with the wealth of Qārūn, the ritual of Pharaoh and the buildings of Shaddād (trans., Lowe, II, p. 204; text, II, p. 201)".

14 Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh, Ranking's translation, vol II, p. 207, line 8 from foot.

"In this year His Majesty gave orders that the Āīmahs of the whole empire should not be let off by the Karorīs of each parganna, unless they brought the farmān in which their grants subsistence allowance, and pensions were described, to the Ṣadr for inspection and verification."

E & D, History of India as told by its own Historians, V, p. 521, line 1, have translated it thus :

"This year the King gave orders that the rent-free lands throughout his dominions, whether in the shape of *ayma, madad-i màāsh, wakf* or pensions should not be considered valid, and that the revenue-officers should not recognize them until the *Ṣadr* had approved the grants."

S. H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = vol II, p. 264, observed here thus : "

دریں سال حکم فرمودند کہ ایمہ جمیع ممالک محروسہ تا فرامین مدد معاش واوقاف وادرارات خویش
بامضائے صدر نرسانند کروریان مجری ندہند

Text, II, p 204, line 4 from foot,

In this year, it was ordered that so long as the *Āīma* in any part of the imperial dominions did not get the farmāns for their subsistence-allowances, religious endowments or pensions validated by the Ṣadr, the grants should not be passed or sanctioned by the *Karorīs.*

Āīma (or āīmadār) is a generic term and is applied here by Badāonī to all the three sorts of beneficiaries named *Madad-i-Màāsh, waqf and idrār* and were

different forms of charitable grants which were held by or made to the *Āīma or Āīmadārs.*

Āīma is a somewhat ambiguous word, which is used in two different senses. Some authorities say that ایمہ with a tashdīd is the plural of the Arabic *'imām'* (priest, religious leader). But others think that it is a Turki vocable یمہ or ایمہ meaning ' food or daily allowance', خوراک وروزینہ as the Ghiyāsu-l-Lughāt puts it. Badāonī favours the latter view and the Āīmas are Āīmadārs, or recipients of subsistence-allowances."

15. Muntakhabu-T-Tawarikh, Ranking's translation, vol II, p. 213, line 2 from foot.

".....he (emperor Akbar) merely looked to the propriety of the words, how could it be reasonable that his meaning should be so distorted ?"

E & D, History of India as told by its own Historians, V, p. 523, line two from foot, translated it thus :

"He (Akbar) had only looked upon the words (Allāhu akbar) as being apposite, and there could be no sense in straining it to such an extent."

S. H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = vol II, pp. 264—5, observed here thus : "

فرمودند کہ × × × مقصود ما مناسبت لفظی است ایں دعا را آناں جانب بردن چہ معنی داشت

Text, II, 210, line 12.

Mr. Lowe translates this difficult sentence (as stated above, M. T. . trans., II, p. 213, line 2). Blochmann's rendering is : 'he merely looked to the sound of words, and he never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extent', (Aīn, trans. , I, reprint, 175 note).

The difficulty lies really in the phrase مناسبت لفظی which seems to me to mean 'assonance of the words, resemblance in sound but difference in meaning, jeu de mots, play upon words'. Such conceits or quibbles are greatly admired in the East and Akbar says that his object was merely to suggest the pun, and that he never dreamt that any one would be so stupid or malicious as to think that the alternative meaning was really intended. As the whole question has been discussed at some length in my 'Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics' pp. 81-92. it seems needless to say any thing more about it here."

16. Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh, Ranking's translation, Vol II, p. 259, line 24. *"Although Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Amīn, the preacher, and one of the seven Imāms kept urging me with the greatest importunity not to commit this folly, but to assemble some reciters of the Qurān to my house to recite the whole Qurān in order to secure a long life to my son, I declined to do so, and at the end of six months my son died."*

E & D, History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol V, p. 526, line 1, translated it : "Notwithstanding that Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Amīn, the preacher, was constantly citing the seven imāms, urging me in high-flown language not to commit this absurdity, and to invite some learned men to my house, he could not persuade me....."

S. H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = Vol II, p. 265, commented here thus : "

هر چند حافظ محمد امین خطیب از جملهٔ هفت امام بمبالغه تمام می گفت که این فضولی مکن . . . . سخن او کار نکردم

Text, II, p. 252, line 9 from foot.

There is no reference to the Shiā imāms (who are really twelve) and no appeal or adjuration was made in their names. This Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Amīn was one of the seven imāms or 'leaders of prayer' or 'court chaplains' whom Akbar had appointed at this time. Badāonī himself was one of these seven Peshnamāz, as they were also called."

The sentence should be translated thus : "Although Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Amīn- the reciter of the khuṭba (or bidding-prayer)--who was one of the corps of seven imāms (whose duty was to take the lead in prayers), exhorted me very strongly (or insistently) not to commit this folly," (.....he could not persuade me).

17. Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh, Ranking's translation, vol II, p. 267, line 14 from foot.

"Learned monks also from Europe, who are called Pādre, and have an infallible head, called Pāpā, who is able to change religious ordinances as he may deem advisable for the moment, and to whose authorities kings must submit, brought the gospel, and advanced proofs for the Trinity."

E & D, History of India as told by its own Historians, V, pp. 528-9, have translated it thus: "In A.H. 986 (Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = vol II, p. 265, has recorded it as A. H. 983) the missionaries of Europe who are called Padrīs, and whose chief Pontiff, called Pāpā (Pope), promulgates his interpretations for the use of the people, and who issues mandates that even kings dare not disobey, brought their gospel to the king's notice, advanced proofs of the Trinity, and affirmed the truth and spread about the knowledge of the religion of Jesus."

S H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = vol II, p. 265--p. 266, has commented here: "Mr. Lowe has rendered the last two clauses thus : 'His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion and wished to spread the doctrine of Jesus' (trans. 267). Mr. Vincent Smith has repeated this and aggravated the blunder by advancing the gratuitous conjecture that 'the statement may be true for the time when the influence of Aquaviva was strongly felt.' (Akbar, 165 note). But Badāonī says nothing of the sort and these predications are made, not about Akbar, but about the priests or Padrīs.

ودانایان فرنگ ملک افرنجه که ایشان پادهری . . . . . میگویند انجیل آورده ودلایل برثالث ثلاثه گذرانیده وحقیقت نصرانیت اثبات کرده ملت عیسوی را ترویج دادند

Text, II, 260, line 1.

The subject of the verbs اثبات کرده and ترویج دادند is دانایان فرنگ افرنجه 'the christian priests'. Mr. Lowe has absurdly misrepresented the meaning by relating them to the emperor. Dowson's rendering is much more correct.'

18. Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh, Ranking's translation, Vol II, p. 268, line 20.

"He began also, at midnight and early dawn, to mutter the spells, which Hindūs taught him for the purpose of subduing the sun to his wishes"

S H. Hodivala. Studies, Supplement = Vol II, pp. 266-7 observed here : "Akbar prided himself upon being a rationalist, but he had his own superstitions and seems

to have believed not only in astrology, dreams, omens from birds and beasts, and presages from the shoulder-blades of a sheep, but magic and incantations. Ferishta relates a curious anecdote connected with the emperor's siege of Asīrgarh, which he must have heard when he went round the fortress in A. H. 1018 in the company of Khwāja Abū-l-Ḥasan Turbatī.

'As the siege was prolonged, Akbar,' he states, 'ordered a body of persons who were conversant with talismans and incantations to employ their knowledge of the occult sciences for the conquest of the citadel. At the same time, he himself took up his rosary and, with a view to capture the fort, repeated those names of the Glorious Luminary, which he had tested and found efficient for victory and overthrow of adversaries."

The whole statement is so curious and Brigg's versions (Iv, 326) so inadequate, that it is permissible to quote the text : "

اکبر بادشاه جمعے راکه از طلسمات وافسون وقوف دارند مامور ساخته که علمے چند که موجب تسخیر قلعه باشد بظهور رسانند وخود نیز بر نیت کشاد حصار تسبیح می کنند وبذکر اسامی نیر اعظم که موجب فتوحات ونگونساری اعداست ومکرر تجربه نموده استعمال می نماید

Text, II, 290,line 11.

It would seem as if these اسامی نیر اعظم were the spells which Badāonī says 'the Hindūs had taught him.' Elsewhere, Badāonī declares that Akbar had 'one thousand and one Sanskrit names for the sun collected and read them daily at noon, devoutly turning himself

quickly round about, used to strike the lower ends of his ears with his fists' (II. 322; tr. II 332). Abul Faẓl also refers to the matter thus : 'when H. M. first came to Burhānpūr', he writes, 'he engaged in special acts of devotions and took to repeating the Great Name. He gave an order to the writer to send him at the end of every session, varied sweetmeats and to keep an eye on the arrangements of fate. This was excellently observed. At the end of the first session (*khatam*) was the capture of Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mirzā. Similarly, news of victory was brought to his hearing. There was the victory of Aḥmadnagar, the death of the ring-leader of the Tārīkīs, the taking of Mālīgaṛh, the conquest of Asīr. Whoever considers the piety of the world's lord will not be astonished at these marvels, and will know a little out of many.' (A. N. III 785; tr. III. 1170-1171). What a satire we have here on human frailty. Akbar and Abū-l-Faẓl openly professing their belief in capturing impregnable fortress by *mantras* and thamaturgic mummery. Poor Dara Shikoh also is said, by khwāfī khān, to have been induced by two sanctimonious impostors to employ magical arts for taking the fort of Qandhār and to have got nothing but derision and contempt for his credulity and folly (text. I. 723). Akbar appears to have been popularly supposed to possess supernatural powers and the contemporary traveller Thomas Coryat writes that he had learned all kind of sorcery (Foster, E. T. I. 276)".

19 Muntakhabu-T-Tawārikh, Ranking's translation, Vol II, p. 330.

"Such discussion as one never heard : as, shall I eat turnips ? But such is my fate, to be employed on such works."

E & D, History of India as told by its own Historians, V, p. 537, line 14, translated thus : "such injuctions as one never heard of—what not to eat and a prohibition against turnips. But such is my fate, to be employed on such works."

S. H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = Vol II, pp. 267-8, commented thus : "

چه اعتراضات که نشنید و حرام خورم و شلغم خورم این معنی داشت گویا نصیبهٔ فقیر ازین کتابها همین بود

Text. II. 320, l. 4 from foot.

He would be a bold man who could say what is or is not forbidden in the *Mahābhārat*, but it may be said with confidence that Badāonī is not referring to any prohibitions in regard to turnips or any other articles of human diet. He is only bewailing his own lot and inveighing ironically against Akbar for having found fault with his translation. 'And what reproaches did I not hear ? I was (called) a Haramkhur (eater of uulawful things) and a shalgamkhūr (turnip-eater). And here (in this translation) lay the origin of these words. Verily I may say that this was the only reward that fell to the lot of this humble individual, for (the writing of) these books'.

Badāonī is really referring to a *contretemps* which is recorded in the annals of the 40th R. Y. He had to translate, in his portion of the *Mahābhārata*, a discourse relating to rewards and punishments in the future life. Akbar thought that Badāonī had interpolated something, with the object of blostering up the Muslim belief regarding *Munkīr* and *Nakīr* and was very angry. He denounced him as an intractable and irrepresible bigot

and seems to have used these abusive epithets, when complaining to Abū-l-Faẓl and Naqīb Khan about it. Badāunī himself was sent for and explained that he had only written what he had found in the book he had been ordered to translate and that he had added nothing of his own (see text, II, 399-400; Lowe, II, 413-7). Compare also Blochmann's rendering of this sentence in the Āīn, tr. I. reprint III note 2. Lowe's revision is better than Dowson's".

20. Muntakhabu-T-Tawārikh, Ranking's translation, Vol II, p. 334, line 6 from foot.

"His Majesty also called some of the jogis, and gave them at night private interviews enquiring into abstract truths; their articles of faith: their occupations; the influence of pensiveness; their several practices and usages; the power of being absent from the body; or into alchemy, Physiognomy, and the power of omnipotence of the soul."

E & D, History of India as told by its won Historians, V. p. 588, line 13, have translated it : "Nightly meetings were held with some of these men (Jogis) and they used to employ themselves in various follies and extravagances, in contemplations, gestures, addresses, abstractions and reveries and in alchemy, fascination and magic."

S. H. Hodivala, Studies, Supplement = vol II, pp. 268-9, commented thus :"

و مجهولات حقایق مختلفه و اعتقادات و اشتغال و مراقبه و سلوک اطوار و جلسات و حرکات و سکنات و خلع بدن و کیمیا و سیمیا و ریمیا از ایشان معلوم شد

Text II,324, 1. 5 from foot.

'And he acquired from them a knowledge of various abstruse principles (or their philosophy) and the articles of their creed, their practices or daily exercises, their method of ecstatic contemplation, their ceremonies and rites, and also (Yogic) postures, their periods of active exertion and self-restraint (or rest), the power of divesting the physical body, alchemy and the occult arts called *sīmiyā* and rīmiyā.'

The passage is difficult because B. is trying to render into Persian certain Sanskrit words used in the yoga literature. His جلسات are really the 84 asanas of Hatha yoga and مراقبه is Dhyāna and *Dhārnā,* intensely concentrated meditation. خلع بدن *Samādhi,* trance in which the soul leaves the body. سیمیا is the power of being present in any place in an instant by a mere act- of the will (Ghiyās). سیمیا is the power of transferring one's soul to any other body and assuming any shape or form one pleases (ibid). The mystical doctrines and mysterious practices which are said to have been expounded and discussed at the seances with these ascetics are really the eight fundamental elements of *Yoga,* which ere categorically stated thus in one of Patanjali's sūtras.

यमनियमासनप्राणायामप्रत्याहार धारणा ध्यानसमाध्योऽष्टाङ्गानि

'Restraint, observance, posture, regulation of the breath, abstraction, concentration, meditation and trance are the eight accessories of Yoga.' *Yoga sutras,* text and trans., B. D. Basu (Allahabad, 1912, Chap. II., Sutra. 29)."

21. Muntakhabu-T-Tawārīkh, Ranking's translation, Vol II, p. 378, line 1.

"In the month of Jamada' I-awwal of the year nine hundred and ninety-seven (997) I finished the translation of Rāmāyana which had taken me four years"

E & D, History of India as told by its own Historians, V, p. 539, line 16, have translated thus : "In the month of Jumāda-l-avval, A. H. 999, I completed the translation of Rāmāyana, having occupied four years in the work." E & D have wrongly given the date of the completion of the translation of Rāmāyana as A H. 999. It is A. H. 997 as rightly given in Ranking's translation of Badāʊnī, II, p. 378. S H. Hodivala, Studies; Supplement = Vol II, p. 269, has also supported the date as A. H. 997. He commented thus :

"As the work was entrusted to him in A. H. 992 (text. II. 336, l. 16 tr. 346), 999H. must be a mistake for 997 H. The B. I. text has سبع وتسعين وتسعمائة in words, but 999H. in figures (366, l. 7). Mr. Lowe gives the date correctly as 997H (tr. 378) in words as well as figures."

FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION.

No thing in this world is one thing alone. This applies to an edition in the Bibliotheca Indica as well as to everything else. The publication of works in the series involves problems of scholarship as well as of ways and means. The work on Badāōnī's "Choicest of Histories" was taken up by the Asiatic Society of Bengal as early as 60 years ago. In 1864 the first fascicle of the Persian text of Vol. II was published. After Vol. II, the two others were taken up, and in 1869 the edition of the text of all three volumes was completed. In 1884 a beginning was made with the publication of an English translation. It was only in 1922 that the last part of this translation saw the light. The only thing now still to be done to complete text and translation, is the addition of an index to Vol. III of the latter. This index is now in the press. If all goes well the whole undertaking of 62 years' duration will be brought to a termination in 1925. This will be the result of the joint labour of three English translators and one English and two Indian editors.

It cannot be said that this lengthy labour has met with great response from the learned public Though printed in very limited editions, there are still an appreciable number of copies in stock of five of the six volumes. The only volume which has been sold out is the one containing the translation of the second part of the History. The demand for this volume has not so much been due to the fact that it contains the description of the greater part of Akbar's reign and has been required by historians, but to the fact that the book has been prescribed in some Indian Universities as a text-book for Persian. A handy crib was welcome to the students. This fact has resulted in the complete selling out of the volume, which has now been out of print for some considerable time. As at present the whole work is to be finally completed, and this History of Akbar's reign is of great historical importance, the Council of the Society have decided to reprint this volume so that on its completion a complete set of the work may be available to students. The decision was made possible because sufficient funds for the purpose were available in last year's budget, a fortunate circumstance of rare occurrence. There is another reason for which a reprint is desirable. The old edition was printed on the perishable wood-pulp paper so much in use in the eighties of last century. Copies subjected to the Indian climate have deteriorated so much in the forty years of their existence that renewal has become in most cases imperative. Indian Libraries as well as private possessors of the first edition may welcome the reprint for this reason alone.

As the reprint was made possible by favourable but exceptional budgetary circumstances no attempt could be made to revise the translation. To have done that would have been to put off the issue to an

uncertain future, and the golden opportunity might be missed. What has been solely done was to eliminate misprints. The old edition contained 13 pages of errata. These have all been corrected, and an almost equal number of unregistered typographical errors have been eliminated in addition Lowe's translation is, in its formal aspect, disconcerting in several ways. I mention in the first place his inconsistency in transliteration, secondly, his unorthodox punctuation. The first defect has already been remedied, to a large extent, by the skilful indexer of the old edition, who has supplied a number of cross-references putting the matter more or less in order. To equalise the transliteration throughout the reprint in a satisfactory way would amount to a revision for which there was no opportunity and would necessitate the making of a new index. Half a dozen names of most frequent occurrence have, however, been made almost uniform, especially after the first few formes. The original punctuation has not been changed Text-emendations have not been made, though in several places they would be called for. Numerous mistakes in the chronograms have however been silently corrected, whenever observed The translation itself is admittedly not perfect At the same time it has the same use and value as a copy of some famous painting by an inferior though skilful hand. The general outlines and general effect of the original are reproduced, but in details the hand of the copyist betrays itself This however is not new, and not an exception: *traduttore traditore*. It is not easy to find the specialist with sufficient devotion to a single work, and the requisite knowledge and temperament, to make of the translation of a characteristic work a faultless masterpiece. Not all thyrsus-bearers are bacchantes, and most translations are rather samples of workmanship, however honest, than artistic creations. It may take a long time to find the right man and scholar to give a translation of the present part of Badāōnī, beyond any criticism and free from any fault But if we have to wait for that, the next edition might have to wait for decades. It is better to be content with what we have than to wait for perfection in a distant future: *le mieux c'est l'ennemi du bien*. Besides, though the present translation is not perfect, decided improvement of the whole would not be quite so easy a task, and anyhow for forty years no better translation has appeared. What might be done, however, at this occasion, is to plead for scholarly team-work with regard to work of this nature. Many Persian scholars and Indian historians constantly handle their Badāōnī. Many of them may have solved the problem of a happy rendering of a difficult idiom in the original. Others may have succeeded in aptly turning an aphorism or epigram into appropriate English. Others again may have discovered an historical allusion, a matter of legal or religious practice, which has not properly survived in the translation. Others may be able to contribute to the identification of mutilated names. Teachers who go through the book with their pupils must have their marginal annotations and glosses. If all students possessing such material, or any suggestion, correction, or other contribution—however isolated and small—were to send their observations to this Society to be filed there for the use of any future reviser or re-translator, it would be to the benefit of all. I hope the expert readers of this reprint may bear the suggestion in mind. I myself have noted down everything I observed in the course of my proof-reading, and, in a number of doubtful cases, I have verified the original with interesting results. As however, the edition had to be a reprint, and the reprint had to be finished within the financial year, these notes have not been used here.

In order not to interfere with references to the old edition, which has now been before the public for so long, the reprint has been so arranged that it corresponds page for page with the old edition. The old index applies therefore equally to the new edition It would have been desirable in order to facilitate references to have added at the top of the pages the year dealt with on each of them. The advantage of such an arrangement was only realised when a substantial portion of the volume had been printed off, and therefore, as the next best thing, I have prefixed a table giving the correspondence between page numbers and years.

For the convenience of historians as well as the general reader I have also added a complete table of the correspondence between Christian and Hijra dates, both for years and months, for all the 42 years dealt with in the book.

Another improvement would have been the introduction of indented or marginal title-heads for the separate paragraphs throughout the book, but as this would have involved a re-arrangement of the pages and would have caused delay it had to be left over. For a book of this nature, disjointed and without any divisions, such title summaries are nevertheless almost indispensable. The references to the original text have been brought into the margin, in fat type, and are now more conspicuous than in the old edition. The numbers refer to the pages of the edition by W. N. Lees, in the Bibliotheca Indica, 1864.

The whole of the printing has been finished in six months, the rapid speed being necessitated by budgetary considerations and made possible by the co-operation of the Baptist Mission Press

As the work involved in the reprint has practically monopolised the whole of my scanty leisure time during the period, it will be understood that my share in it has to be looked at rather as an administrative piece of work than one of scholarship and that its scope has been limited to a task of intelligent typography. I hope, however, that the result may be found acceptable and prove useful.

JOHAN VAN MANEN,
General Secretary,
Asiatic Society of Bengal.

September, 1924.

TABLE INDICATING THE NUMBERS OF THE PAGES IN THIS VOLUME ON WHICH THE EVENTS OF EACH YEAR ARE BEGUN.

Year A.H.	Page.	Year A.H.	Page.
963	1	984	235
964	10	985	255
965	13	986	260
966	24	987	275
967	29	988	298
968	39	989	299
969	45	990	309
970	50	991	331
971	64	992	346
972	68	993	352
973	86	994	360
974	88	995	366
975	104	996	375
976	109	997	378
977	124	998	383
978	135	999	386
979	139	1000	392
980	143	1001	398
981	167	1002	402
982	176	1003	410
983	203	1004	418

TABLE OF CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN A.D. AND A.H. DATES. - THE NUMERALS IN THE COLUMNS BELOW THE MUHAMMADAN MONTHS REFER TO DAYS AND MONTHS OF THE CHRISTIAN YEAR.

NOTE —The following remarks (adapted from Sewell and Dikshit's Indian Calendar, p. 103) should be taken into account when using the following table of corresponding A.D. and A.H. dates:—

"The New Style was introduced into all the Roman Catholic countries in Europe from October 5th, 1582 A.D., the year 1600 remaining a leap-year, while it was ordained that 1700, 1800 and 1900 should be common and not leap-years. This was not introduced into England till September 3rd, A.D. 1752. If it is desired to assimilate the date of any Table of Muhammadan initial dates giving the comparative dates according to English computation, to that of any Catholic country, ten days must be added to the initial dates given in Tables containing the English computation, from Hijra 991 to Hijra 1111 inclusive, and 11 days from Hijra 1112 to 1165 inclusive. Thus for Catholic countries Hijra 1002 must be taken as beginning on September 27th, A.D. 1593, as against on September 17th of the same year in England."

The Table appended here gives the "Catholic" computation, and is extracted from the one published by Wüstenfeld. In A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582) ten days, corresponding to 5th to 14th October, have been skipped in the month of Ramadān to make the adjustment necessitated by the introduction of the New Style in Europe.

		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
		Muḥarram, 30 days.	Ṣafar 29 days.	Rabī'u'l-awwal or Rabī' I, 30 days.	Rabī'u'l-ākhir or Rabī'u'l-th-thānī or Rabī' II, 29 days	Jumāda'l-awwal or Jumāda I, 30 days.	Jumāda'l-ākhir or Jumāda'th-thānī or Jumāda II, 29 days	Rajab, 30 days.	Sha'bān, 29 days.	Ramaḍān, 30 days.	Shawwāl, 29 days.	Dhī'lqa'da, 30 days	Dhī'l-ḥijja, 29 or 30 days.
A.H.	A.D.												
963	1555-56	16 11	16-12	**14-1**	13-2	13-3	12-4	11-5	10-6	9-7	8-8	6-9	6-10
964	1556-57	4-11	4-12	**2-1**	1-2	2-3	1-4	30-4	30-5	28-6	**28-7**	26 8	25-9
965	1557-58	24-10	23-11	22-12	**21-1**	19-2	21-3	19-4	19-5	17-6	17-7	15-8	14-9
966	1558-59	14-10	13 11	12-12	11-1	9 2	11 3	9 4	9 5	7-6	7-7	5 8	4-9
967	1559-60	3 10	2 11	1-12	31-12	**29-1**	28-2	28-3	27 4	26-5	25 6	24 7	23 8
968	1560-61	22-9	22-10	20-11	20-12	**18-1**	17-2	18-3	17-4	16 5	15-6	**14-7**	13-8
969	1561-62	11-9	11-10	9-11	9-12	**7-1**	6-2	7-3	6-4	5-5	4-6	3-7	2-8
970	1562-63	31-8	30-9	29-10	28-11	27 12	**26-1**	24-2	26-3	24-4	**24-5**	22-6	22-7
971	1563-64	21-8	20-9	19-10	18-11	17-12	**16-1**	14-2	15-3	13-4	**13-5**	11-6	11-7
972	1564-65	9-8	8-9	7-10	6-11	5-12	**4-1**	2 2	4-3	2 4	2-5	31-5	30-6
973	1565-66	29-7	28-8	26-9	26-10	**24-11**	24-12	**22-1**	21-2	**22-3**	21 4	20 5	19-6
974	1566-67	19-7	18-8	16-9	16 10	14-11	14-12	**12-1**	11-2	12 3	11 4	10-5	9-6
975	1567-68	8-7	7-8	5-9	5-10	3-11	3-12	**1-1**	**31-1**	29-2	30-3	28-4	28-5
976	1568-69	26-6	26-7	24-8	23-9	22-10	21-11	20 12	**19-1**	17-2	19-3	17-4	17-5
977	1569 70	16-6	16 7	14-8	13-9	12-10	11-11	10-12	**9-1**	7-2	9-3	**7-4**	7-5
978	1570 71	5-6	5-7	3-8	2-9	1-10	31-10	29-11	29-12	**27-1**	26-2	27-3	26-4
979	1571-72	26-5	25-6	24-7	23-8	21-9	21-10	19-11	19-12	**17-1**	16-2	16 3	15-4
980	1572-73	14 5	13-6	12-7	11-8	9-9	9-10	7-11	7-12	**5-1**	4-2	5-3	4-4
981	1573-74	3 5	2-6	1-7	31 7	29-8	28-9	27-10	26-11	25-12	**24-1**	22 2	24-3
982	1574-75	23-4	23-5	21-6	21-7	19-8	18-9	17-10	16-11	15-12	**14-1**	12-2	14-3
983	1575 76	12-4	12-5	10-6	10-7	8-8	7-9	6-10	5-11	4-12	**3-1**	1-2	2-3
984	1576-77	31-3	30-4	29-5	28-6	27-7	26-8	24 9	24-10	22-11	22 12	**20-1**	19 2
985	1577-78	21-3	20-4	19-5	18-6	17 7	16-8	14-9	14-10	12-11	12-12	**10-1**	9-2
986	1578 79	10-3	9-4	8-5	7-6	6-7	5-8	3-9	3-10	1-11	1-12	30-12	**29-1**
987	1579-80	28-2	30 3	28-4	28-5	26 6	26-7	24-8	23 9	22-10	21-11	20-12	**19-1**
988	1580-81	17-2	18-3	16-4	16-5	14-6	14 7	12-8	11-9	10-10	9-11	8-12	**7-1**
989	1581	5 2	7 3	5-4	5 5	3-6	3-7	1-8	31-8	29-9	29-10	27-11	27-12
990	1582	**26-1**	25 2	26-3	25-4	24-5	23-6	22 7	21-8	19-9	29-10	27-11	27 12
991	1583	**25-1**	24-2	25-3	24-4	23-5	22-6	21-7	20-8	18-9	18 10	16-11	16-12
992	1584	**14-1**	13-2	13-3	12-4	11-5	10-6	9-7	8-8	6 9	6-10	4-11	4-12
993	1585	**3-1**	2-2	3 3	2-4	1-5	31-5	29-6	29-7	27-8	26 9	25-10	24-11
994	1585-86	23 12	**22-1**	20-2	22-3	20-4	20 5	18-6	18 7	16-8	15-9	14-10	13-11
995	1586-87	12-12	**11-1**	9-2	11-3	9-4	9-5	7 6	7-7	5-8	4-9	3-10	2-11
996	1587-88	2-12	1-1	**30-1**	29-2	29-3	28-4	27-5	26-6	25-7	24-8	22 9	22-10
997	1588-89	20-11	20-12	**18-1**	17-2	18-3	17-4	16-5	15-6	14 7	13 8	11-9	11-10
998	1589-90	10-11	10 12	**8-1**	7-2	8-3	7-4	6-5	5-6	4-7	3-8	1-9	1-10
999	1590-91	30-10	29-11	28-12	**27-1**	25-2	27-3	25-4	25-5	23-6	23-7	21-8	20-9
1000	1591-92	19-10	18-11	17-12	**16-1**	14-2	15 3	13-4	13-5	11-6	11-7	9-8	8-9
1001	1592-93	8-10	7-11	6 12	**5-1**	3-2	5-3	3-4	3-5	1-6	1 7	30-7	29-8
1002	1593 94	27-9	27-10	25-11	25-12	**23-1**	22-2	23-3	22 4	21-5	20-6	19 7	18-8
1003	1594-95	16-9	16 10	14-11	14-12	**12-1**	11-2	12-3	11-4	10-5	9-6	8-7	7-8
1004	1595-96	6-9	6-10	4 11	4 12	**2-1**	1-2	1-3	31 3	29 4	29 5	27-6	27-7

MUNTAKHABU'T-TAWĀRĪKH.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[VOLUME II.]

[THE REIGN OF AKBAR, 963-1004 A.H.]

The Emperor of the time, the Khalīf of the age, Jalāl-ud-dīn 8
Muḥammad Akbar Pādshāh (may he ever be firmly seated[1] on the throne of the Khalifate and the seat of clemency!) with the approval of Bairām Khān, the Khān Khānān, began to honour and adorn the throne of the Sultanate, under an auspicious star, "on Friday the 2nd of the month Rabi'ul-avval, in the year nine hundred and sixty-three (963) in the garden of Kalānor[2]—which, to this day, they have not yet finished laying out. Then he sent messages of conciliation and courtesy to the Amīrs of the frontier, so that the *Khutbah*[3] was read also at Dihlī. And they composed this hemistich, as giving the date: '*More noble than all princes he.*'[4]

They composed also the following distich:—

'Jalāl-ud-dīn Muḥammad Akbar, that prince of the age,
At the date of [the death of] father said: *Prince of the age am I.*'[4]

And another [*mnemosynon*] they found [for the date]:
'*The granter of desires.*'[4] Then the world began to blossom like a rose-garden, and pitiless Fate, binding up those wounds, said:—

[1] The word in the text means 'ambushed'; but transpose the *k* and the *m* and read *mutamakkin* 'established.'

[2] A dependency of Lahore. The year is 1556 A.D.; as for the month, see Elliot, V. 247.

[3] A form of praise and prayer consisting of four parts: (1) The praise of God, (2) of Muḥammad and his twelve descendants, (3) of royalty, (4) praise of, and prayer for the reigning sovereign. The mention of the Emperor's name in the *Khuṭbah* constitutes a legal proclamation of his accession to the throne. See Kitto's *Court of Persia*, 160-1.

[4] The sum of the numerical values of the letters of each of these three expressions, in the original Persian, gives the date 963 A.H.

"When Death removes a crown by force,
At once another head is crowned[1];
When one old age completes its course,
A younger rises from the ground[2]."

9 Before the decree for the accession went forth. Bairām Khān had by all the arts of finesse sent for Pīr Muḥammad Khān Shirwānī,[3] (who with an army had gone in pursuit of Sikandar in the Mountains of Sawālik, as far as the confines of the district of Dahmīrī) so as not to allow the news of the death of the late Emperor[4] to be spread abroad.

Now Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī, who was of noble Sayyid extraction, and of the country of Kāshghar, in the symmetry of his limbs and the excellence of his valour was distinguished above all his compeers. To him the deceased Emperor had shown a special favour and a boundless condescension, so that he had honoured him by calling him his son. This man was a dullard. And in this place be it known concerning him that Bairām Khān had written an acrostic in twenty-four verses, of which the rhyme was *'azīm* and *qadīm*, and the rhyming letter *mīm*, in such a way, that the initial letter of the first hemistiches composed the words "Ḥazrat Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh Ghāzī" ["My Lord Muḥammad Humāyun Pādshāh Ghāzī"], and the initial letters of the second hemistiches "Shāhzādah [prince] Jalāl-ud-dīn Muḥammad Akbar"; and the final letters of the first hemistiches the words "Mīrzā Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī," together with some epithet or other which I have forgotten; and the sum of the twenty-four *mīms* which closed the verses gave [24 × 40 =] 960 the date of the composition of the acrostic. I have heard from trusty friends, that the last time the late Emperor honoured Qandahār with his presence, Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī one evening, having drunk too much wine, slew in his bigotry a zealous Shī'ah. When the heirs of the murdered man came to demand justice, and the Emperor sent for Shāh Abu-l-Ma'āli, he put on the dead[5] man's robe of black

[1] Compare: Le roi est mort. Vive le roi.
[2] Or *cradle*.
[3] On the spelling of this word, see Blochmann, Āīn i Akbarī. 324 *n*.
[4] Nasīr-ud-dīn Muḥammad Humāyun Pādshāh, father of Akbar.
[5] Instead of *maftūl* read *maqtūl*.

velvet lined with red and blue, and putting the hanger[1], 10
burnished bright, the very same with which he had despatched him, under his skirt, swaggered drunken into the royal assembly, and denied the deed. Bairām Khān on the occasion quoted these lines:—

"His dishevelled locks of hair To night-debauch confess;
Lo! a blazing proof is there, The lamp beneath his dress."

The Emperor was exceedingly delighted[2]; but the blood of that innocent one was hidden in the dust, and his murder was never proved. In short, when the royal Amīrs summoned Abu-l-Ma'ālī to the assembly on the occasion of the Accession, he returned answer, that he had an excuse and could not come; the second time they sent the message, that the Council was sitting and waited his presence, again he made excuse and sent some message of fulsome compliments, which Bairām Khān, thinking it the best course to pursue, accepted. But, when he came afterwards, Bairām Khān gave the order to Tulak Khān Qurchī, a man of great bodily power, who at that moment appeared on the scene like a spider's web [ready to catch a fly]; and, in accordance with a preconcerted plan, went unseen behind Abu-l-Ma'ālī and took him prisoner, and asked to be allowed to blot out his name from the tablet of existence. But the merciful Emperor disapproved of this design, and said that it would be a pity to shed the blood of a [possibly] innocent man on the very day of his Accession. So he sent him to Lāhōr. He escaped from that prison, and went to Kamāl Khān the G'hakkar. Now at that time the government of that country was in the possession of Ādam G'hakkar, uncle of Kamāl Khān. The latter treated Abu-l-Ma'ālī with honour, and the two set off with an army with full preparations for the conquest of Kashmīr. When he arrived at the frontier of Kashmīr, at Rājorī a number of outlaws gathered round him. And, in 11
the year 965, a party of the Chakks (which is a well-known tribe, and the dominant one in Kashmīr) took him with them, with the intention of conquering Kashmīr, and there he had a severe conflict with Ghāzī Khān, the prince of the Chakks, and was defeated. After this Kamāl Khān made an excuse for separating from him, so

[1] *Āvēz* from *āvēkhtan* to hang.
[2] *Viz.*, with this apt citation.

Abu-l-Ma'ālī disguised himself, and going to the district of Dībālpūr, took refuge with a servant of Bahādur Khān who at that time held the government there. The man's name was Tulak, and he had at one time been himself a servant of Shāh [Abu-l-Ma'ālī]. So Tulak concealed him. But it so happened that this Tulak had one night a quarrel with his wife, who being vexed with him, went in the morning to Bahādur Khān and told him that Tulak was concealing Abu-l-Ma'ālī in his house, and that they were plotting together against himself. Bahādur Khān, mounting his horse, had Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī seized and sent him to Bairām-Khān, and Tulak he ordered to be punished. Bairām Khān entrusted Shāh to Walī Beg the Turkomān, and sent him off towards Bakkar. Walī Beg annoyed him very much by the way, and sent him towards Gujrāt, that from thence he might go to Mekka. There he committed a murder, and fled and joined himself to 'Alī Qulī Khān[1]. When Bairām Khān received information of this, he sent an order to 'Alī Qulī Khān that he should send him to Āgra. At the time that, in accordance with this order, he arrived at Āgra the power of Bairām Khān was already on the decline; Bairām Khān, then, with a view to dispelling the suspicions of the Emperor sent him for a time to the fortress of Biyāna. And, when he professed a resolution of making a pilgrimage to Mekka, he took him as the companion of his journey. But after a few days Abu-l-Ma'ālī separated from him also, and went to offer his adhesion to the Emperor. But, when of his extreme arrogance, he rode proudly up to him, this affair became the cause of his being imprisoned a second time, until he was sent to Mekka, as will be mentioned in its place[2]. It happened that, when, at the very time of the Accession, he fled from Lāhōr, Pahlawān Gul Guz his keeper committed suicide through fear of the Emperor's anger.

12

After the settlement of the decree for the Accession the imperial armies were levied against Sikandar [who was] in the mountain district. Sikandar kept up the war for three whole months, but was at last defeated. At this time Rāja Rāmchand[3] came from Nagarkot to pay

[1] See p. 5. [2] See text, p. 39. l. 6.

[3] The most renowned of all the rājās of the hills. *Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī*, Elliot, V. 248.

his respects to Akbar, and had an interview with him. And the imperial standards on account of the rainy season, when they had arrived at Jālandhar, remained there five months.

Contemporaneously with the decease of the late king, and the Accession of the Emperor, Tardī Beg Khān commandant of Dihlī had sent Mīrzā Abu-l-Qāsim, the son of Kāmrān Mīrza,[1] with the Imperial work-shops, and some picked elephants, in company with Khwāja Sultān 'Alī Wazīr Khān, and Mīr Munshī Ashraf Khān, to pay their homage to the Emperor. In the same year Mīrzā Sulaimān[2] came with Ibrāhīm Mīrzā[3] with the intention of conquering Kābul, and Mun'im Khān,[4] being besieged, sent particulars to the court. Then the Emperor appointed Muḥammad Qulī Khān Bārlās, and Atka Khān,[5] and Khizr Khān Hazārah[6] with a company of men to bring the Queen Dowager and the other wives [of Humāyun] who were in Kābul.[7] Now before the arrival of this troop [at Kābul Mīrzā Sulaimān] had sent Qāzī Nizām of Badakhshān (who was one of his most honoured Ulamā and who afterwards was known simply by the title of Qāzī Khān,) on an embassy to Mun'im Khān to make proposals of peace, only on the condition that they should at once insert his name also in the *Khutbah*. Mun'im Khān accepted the conditions, as being the best remedy for the general distress, and Mīrzā Sulaimān, being satisfied with this concession, returned to Badakhshān.

During the first days of the Accession 'Alī Qulī Khān, having received the title of Khān Zamān, led an army into the district of Sambhal against Shādī Khān the Afghān, who was one of the Amirs of 'Adalī.'[9] And on the banks of the river Rahab[9] he fought 13

[1] Kāmrān Mīrzā was brother of Humāyun the father of Akbar.

[2] Governor of Badakhshān.

[3] His son.

[4] Governor of Kābul and Ghazni. Erskine, *Humāyun*, 509; Elliot, V, 249.

[5] See note on the page corresponding to p. 52 of the text.

[6] A tribe which inhabited the Hindu Kush. Elphinstone, 304.

[7] Humāyun, on invading India, left his family and harem at Kābul. Erskine, 509.

[8] The nominal Emperor of India at the time of Humāyun's invasion.

[9] Written *Rahat* with the four-dotted *t* by Firishta.

a severe battle against all Khān Zamān's available force, which consisted of two or three thousand horse, and defeated him. Khān Zamān was making preparations to dislodge the enemy, when, in the meanwhile, letters came from Dihlī, Āgra, and Atāwa, saying, that Hēmun Baqqāl with a murderous army, and elephants and much wealth furnished by 'Adalī, having swept before him the Amīrs from the frontiers of Hindustān,[1] had arrived close to Dihlī with the intention of offering battle. Then Iskandar Khān the Uzbek from Āgra, and Qiyā Khān Kank from Atāwa, and 'Abdu-llāh Khān the Uzbek from Kālpī, and Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān from Biyāna, and others from the frontiers, came to Dihlī, and joined themselves to Tardī Beg Khān.[2] But Khān Zamān, remaining on the same side of the river Jumna, was not able to form a junction with them. And Pīr Muḥammad Khān Shirwānī,[3] who had come from the imperial camp with a message to Tardī Beg Khān, went along with the victorious army. Near to Toghlaq Ābād [the ancient fortress] in the environs of Dihlī a sharp conflict occurred, and 'Abd-ullāh Khān the Uzbek, and La'l Khān of Badakhshān, who were on the right wing, sweeping the hostile ranks before them, continued the pursuit as far as the towns of Houdal and Palwal, and took much spoil. But Hēmun, who with elephants huge as mountains had remained apart from the fray in the centre of the army, shouted out just as Ḥājī Khān came up from the direction of Alwar,[5] and then attacked Tardī Beg Khān, who had but a handful of men, and in a single charge swept him before him; but he turned back for fear of treachery, and did not pursue the Moghul. At the time of evening prayer, when the Amīrs of the army returning from their pursuit [of the left wing of Hēmun's army] reached the camping-place, they, finding that Hēmun himself had settled down there, having drawn out softly from the city of Dihlī,
14 took immediately to flight. But Hēmun forbad his men to pursue them. And Khān Zamān by way of Mīrat'h[6] joined this army

1 *i. e.*, the north-west of India, the term does not include Bengāl.

2 The commandant of Dihlī.

3 Compare p. 2, note 3.

4 *Victorious* is a fixed epithet of the imperial army.

5 About 60 cosses S. S. W. of Dihlī

6 Text, p. 50, p 1. 5.

at Sirhind. The emperor when he heard this dreadful news appointed Khizr Khān Khwāja, the husband[1] of Gulbadan Bēgum the emperor's aunt, to meet Sikandar, and intending to extirpate Hēmun he made his glorious entry[2] into Sirhind. And there the scattered Amīrs came to salute him. The Khān Khānān,[3] who, although he was in disposition alienated from Tardī Beg Khān, still in spite of this used to call him "Toqān," *i. e.*, "Elder brother," perceiving the cause of the defeat of that army to have been the treachery[4] of Tardī Beg, and having succeeded in impressing this on the emperor's mind by bringing Khān Zamān, and many others, as witnesses to substantiate his accusation, obtained a sort of permission to put him to death. So at the time of afternoon prayer he went to the house of Tardī Beg Khān, and taking him with him, brought him to his own abode into the tent, and afterwards at the time of evening prayer he rose up on the pretence of performing the ablutions, and gave to some men, who were held in readiness for the purpose, the signal to slay him. So they made an end of Tardī Beg Khān.[5] And in the morning, when Khwāja Sultān 'Alī and Mīr Munshī did not come to the Dīwān, he, suspecting them also of treachery, had them imprisoned together with Khānjar Beg, a relation of Tardī Beg Khān. But some time after they regained their liberty.

Then Hēmun in Dehlī gave himself the title of Bikramajīt, who was a great Rāja in Hindustān, from whom the people of Hind take their era, he lived 1600[6] odd years ago. When he had done his best there to subvert the ordinances of Islām he came with 1500 elephants of war, and treasure without end or measure, and an immense army, to offer battle at Pānīpat. He sent on his artillery before him, and the opportunity presenting itself to a com- 15

1 Lit. "In whose net was &c."

2 *Anglice* "retreated to."

3 *i. e.* Muḥammad Bairām Khān Turkomān. The *tārīkh* of his death is given on p. 45 of the text.

4 But see Elliot's note, V, 251.

5 Tardī Beg Khān was a noble of importance in the time of Humāyun, and one of his most *faithless* followers. Blochmann's *Ain i Akbarī*, I, 318. He was a *Sunnī*. Bairām Khān was a *Shī'ah*, Badāonī, III, 190.

6 His date is 57 B. C. The date of the year in which the writer speaks is 964 A. H. And A. H. is 621. Thus 57 + 621 + 964 = 1642, and the "odd years" of which he speaks are 42.

pany of the great Amīrs, such as Khān Zamān, Iskandar Khān and others, who were advancing as vanguard,[1] they took it at Pānīpat after some fighting. And Hēmun raising the hopes of the Amīrs of the Afghāns, whose leader was Shādī Khān Muswānī, with a suitable augmentation and a gift of lands, opening the door of his treasuries, and giving great largesses, tried to console the army for the loss. But the Afghans, since they were sick of his usurpation, began to pray for his fall, and in impromptus kept saying things to this effect: "Welcome a vicissitude even against ourselves," consequently without delay he started from Pānīpat mounted on an elephant called "Hawāy," and came to the district of K'haramanda (where there is now a famous caravanserai), and on the morning of Friday the 10th of the sacred month Muḥarram[2] 964 A. H., (which day is also called Rōzi 'āshūrā):—

"To friends it is a blessed date,
But unto foes unfortunate:"—

fighting and slaughter began between the Amīrs of the vanguard and the hosts of Hēmun. The Emperor and the Khān Khānān on that day were drawn up in three divisions, and kept sending help to one another until news of the victory were received. And Hēmun, whose army was all dispirited, and who set all his hopes on the elephants, surrounded by his chiefs charged the imperial hosts, and threw both right and left wings into great confusion. Then, at last, through the efforts of the archers and the scimitar-strokes of some avenging veterans that breach was healed, and the wavering fortunes of the day were retrieved. Then Hēmun, bringing up all his mountain-like elephants to bear upon one point, charged the centre where the Khān Zamān was stationed. But the soldiers of Islām received him with a shower of arrows, and Hēmun in those circumstances, with his head bare, like one bitten by a mad dog, kept
16 shouting his battle cry "give and take," and also repeating a charm which he had learnt. Suddenly the arrow of death, which no shield can ward off, struck his squinting eye so that

[1] *Manqalāy*, for *manghalāy*, is a Moghul word meaning "forehead," then "vanguard," and must not be confounded with the Arab *munqalā* "ambassador."

[2] The first month of the Muhammadan year

his brain passed clean out from the cup of his head, and he became unconscious. The troops near him, who still held out, when they saw this take place, fled. The army of the people of Islām pursued, and a general carnage ensued: and Shādī Khān Muswānī, who was in the van of the army, was slain. Shāh Qūlī Khān Maḥrum[1] happened to meet with Hēmun's elephant, and the elephant-driver said to him. "Do not kill me! Hēmun is riding upon my elephant." So they brought him as he was to the camp. And Shaikh Gadā-ī Kamboh and the others, said to the Emperor, "Since this is your Majesty's first war against the infidels, you should flesh your sword in this unbeliever, for such an act would have great reward" But the Emperor replied, "Why should I strike him now that he is already as good as dead? If sensation and activity were left in him, I would do so." Then the Khān Khānān was the first to strike his sword into him, as an act of religious warfare, and following his example, Gadā-ī Shaikh, and the others, deliberately made an end of him. Thus was fulfilled the saying, "What is the good of killing one who is going to be burnt?"[2] And they found this *mnemosynon* for the date:—

"If through treachery, deceit, and fraud great Dehli fell,
By Fate's decree, into the hand of Hindu Hēmun;
Muḥammad Akbar, that Shāh whose glory reached the sky,
By help of God captured that black faced Hindu Hēmun.
Creation's scribe on lasting tablet with pen of power
Wrote concerning that day: *He seized Hindu Hēmun.*[3]

Nearly 1500 elephants, and treasure and stores, to such an amount that even fancy is powerless to imagine it, were taken as spoil. And Pīr Muḥammad Khān, and Ḥusain Khān, a relation 17
of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, and many others, in consort with Sa'īd Khān the Moghūl, pursued the fugitives from Dihlī, and passing from Alwar they came up to the wife of Hēmun, who had with her elephants laden with gold. She herself gained the mountain and jungle ground in the district of Kuwa (?) and

[1] See Brigg's Firishta, Vol. II, p. 189.

[2] *i.e.*, is going to Hell. Cf. text, p. 51, l. 10.

[3] The words "bigrift Hēmu-rā" give the date 964. The final *n* of *Hēmun* is elided as in *Zamīdārān* for *Zamīndārān*, text, p. 51, l. 7.

Bajwāra,[1] but left the gold behind, the greater part of which the rustics[2] of the country of Bajwāra seized; still the part which fell into the hands of the army of the Faithful was so great that they gave it away by shieldfuls, and "*nizār-i-zarhā*" "scattering of gold pieces" was found to give the date (964). And on the road, which the Queen took, there had fallen such quantities of coins and ingots of gold, that for many a year travellers and passers-by used to find them. In this manner the treasures, which Shēr Shāh and Aslīm Shāh, and 'Adalī had amassed through a course of years, were dissipated.—

"O mortal! eat, dress, scatter, give,
For life must needs end in the grave:
When one in other spheres doth live,
It recks not all that this world gave!
O lay not up the hoarded gold,
For many with excessive toil
Have hoarded up, with greed untold,
Wealth, which another seized as spoil."

When, the second day after the victory, the Emperor came to Panīpat, he had a mināret built of the heads[3] of the slain. From Pānīpat, His Majesty came without delay to Dihlī, and caused the *Khutbah* to be proclaimed once more from the pulpit; there he stayed one month, and illustrious Amīrs were appointed as governors of Āgra, Sambhal, and other towns. Then news came to Dihlī, that on the confines of Chamyārī, a place within 20 *cosses* of Lāhor, Khizar Khān[4] had been defeated before Sikandar, and had arrived at Lāhor. His Highness had scarcely departed for Jālandhar, when
18 Sikandar had once more betaken himself to the mountains of Sawālik. Then the royal army going in pursuit penetrated as far as Disuha (?) and Dahmīrī.[5]

[1] Text, p. 54, l. 7. It is in the neighbourhood of the River Satlaj.

[2] *Guwār* is the Hindūstānī *ganwār* a villager, rustic, from *gānw*, Sanskrit *grāma* a village: the word recurs at p. 55, l. 21 of text.

[3] Persian *az kallahā*, but compare Mīrkhand who says that Taimūr took a place, and *az sarhāy kushtagān* manārhā sākhtand; and comp. our text, p. 169, l. 11.

[4] Compare p. 7.

[5] Comp. p. 2.

Be it understood, that with reference to the occurrence of events I desire from this point to omit trifling occurrences, and to occupy myself solely with events of general importance, in fact mounted on a single horse to give the reins to the steed of my pen upon this open race-course, and to finish succinctly the history of these 40 years, from the accession of Akbar[1]; but success[2] depends upon God!

In this year Sikandar shut himself up in the fortress of Mānkōt, and the great Amīrs day by day kept attacking him and pressing him sore. And especially Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān, a relation of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, was so persevering in those attacks that if Rastam[3] had been alive, he would certainly have acknowledged his merits Moreover his brother Ḥasan Beg was killed:—

"Upon the top of thy mountain Ḥasan was slain,
Greater than of Karbalā[4] of thee is the bane."

And this perseverance, which was observed on the one side by the Emperor, and on the other by Sikandar, was the reason of the high estimation in which Ḥusayn Khān was held, and raised him day by day to a higher rank, so that valuable lands[5] were made over to him in fief, till at last he came into the government of Lāhor, and in many places wielded his sword with effect When eventually the siege turned out of long duration, and corn became dear among the garrison, and the Amīrs of Sikandar one by one deserted him, and came to the imperial court, as for instance Sayyid Maḥmūd Bārha, and others, he brought forward proposals of peace, and sent his son 'Abd ur-Raḥmān, together with Ghāzi Khān Sūr, with a present of elephants to visit the Emperor,

[1] The Pers, *Khalāfat-panāhy* is a compound adj. meaning "belonging to him in whom the Khalifate takes refuge," *i. e.*, "of the legitimate successor of the Prophet," meaning "of Akbar." It agrees with *julūs* "accession."

[2] Luckily for us our author did not attain success in this his endeavour. For, while from other authors we can learn the bare facts of history, it is to Badāonī that we look for those little pieces of gossip, which give us such an insight into the manners of the times. It is this fact that renders this work so extremely interesting.

[3] Rastam a famous hero of Persian myths. See note to p. 51 of text.

[4] A place in Irāq, famous for the murder of *Ḥusayn* and *Hasan*, the sons of 'Alī

[5] *Aylak* is Turki for "a field."

through the intervention of Atka Khān and Pīr Muḥammad Khān, on the 27th of Ramzān[1] in the year 964, and surrendered the fort. Then Akbar issued his firmān that Jounpūr should be given temporarily[2] to Sikandar in fief, and that as soon as the Khān Zamān[3] should deliver the country before him [*i. e.* Bengal] out of the hands of the
19 Afghāns, he should take his place. So Sikandar skirting the mountains came to Jounpūr. And when the Khān Zamān received possession of Jounpūr, Sikandar on the authority of a firmān asked for the district of Gour[4] that he might bring it under his command. There all sorts of accidents befel him, and after some time through the game of Fortune such a position of the pieces[5] came about that he even attached himself again to his old friends, and fickle Fate folded for him the carpet of gladness:[6]

"Fate's chequered board is not ever kind,
Nor can seed of joy be always sown,
These possessions must be all resigned,
Except mere dregs of joys which once were known."

It may here be mentioned that during the siege Muḥammad[7] Qūlī Khān Barlās, and Atka Khān, and the other Amīrs brought the Balqīs[8] of her day, the Queen Dowager[9] and other ladies veiled with the veil of chastity, from Kābul to the camp. And on the 2nd of Shavvāl[10] in the year nine hundred and sixty-four (964) the imperial army moved towards Lāhor. And during this march[11] ill-feeling arose on the part of the Khān Khānān against Atka Khān on account of one of the Emperor's elephants having run into the

[1] The 9th month.

[2] *Bi'lfi'l* which means in Arab. "actually" is here used in the Hindustani sense of "for a time."

[3] *i. e.*, 'Alī Qūlī Khān, p. 5.

[4] Gour is a chief town of Bengal.

[5] Referring to the popular game of chess.

[6] *i. e.*, he died, *viz.*, two years after his appointment. *Akbarnāmah.*

[7] Cf. p. 5.

[8] The Queen of Sheba. See Al-Qor'ān XXVII, 20–45.

[9] Her title was *Maryam Makānī*. Blochmann, p. 309.

[10] The 10th month.

[11] *Yurish* is Turki for "a march", from *yurumek* "to go"

Khān Khānān's tent; but Atka Khān came to Lāhor, and bringing all his sons with him to the Khān Khānān's tent, took an oath on the Glorious Word[1] [that the affair was a mere accident], so all suspicion was removed. In this year, through the intervention of Mullā 'Abdullāh Sultānpurī,[2] Sultān Ādam G'hakkar hastened to the Court to give in his adherence. And between the Khan Khānān and him a bond of brotherly love was formed, and in the presence of the Emperor himself a quarrel which had existed between Kāmal Khān and his brother's son[3] ended in a settlement. Then Sultān Ādam returned to his usual place of abode loaded with honours and presents. 20
After the passing away of the rainy season the imperial army marched towards Dihlī. And while camping at Jālandhar the nuptial bond was tied between the Khān Khānān and Her Highness Ṣalīmah Sultān Bēgam, daughter of Mīrzā Nūr-ud-dīn Muḥammad, and sister's daughter to the deceased Emperor, when a great feast was prepared, and gifts and largesses were distributed.

And on the 25th of the month Jamādā II[4] in the year 965 the royal cavalcade alighted at Dihlī.

And in those days the Khān Khānān used to come two days a week to the court, and in conjunction with the nobles, used to settle the important affairs of the kingdom. Now, among the incidents which happened at that time, was the story of the affection of the Khān Zamān for Shāhim Bēg. In brief it is as follows: In attendance on the late Emperor were two men of good looks, good disposition, and approved manners belonging to the corps of the Qūrchīs,[5] the one Khūshḥāl Bēg, and the other Shāhim Bēg son of the *Sārbānbāshī*[6] of Shāh Ṭahmāsp [of Persia]. Both of them were pre-eminent for beauty of disposition and appearance, the beau

[1] Al-Qor'ān.

[2] Called Makhdūm ul Mulk

[3] But in the text, p. 55, l. 1, Sultān Ādam is said to be uncle of Kāmal Khān. Consequently we must read here "between him and Kamāl Khān his brother's son." See also p. 3.

[4] The 6th month.

[5] The Qūrchīs (or *Koorchees*) were a corps of cavalry, composed of the *ancienne noblesse*, at the court of the kings of Persia of the Safevi dynasty. See also last line of this page of Text, and p. 56, line 11.

[6] Chief officer in charge of the camels.

ideal of the age, and paragons in the practice of valour. Now the Khān Zamān, before his appointment to proceed towards Sambhal,[1] cast secretly a glance at Shāhim Bēg, and his extempore poem on the subject is as follows:—

"Of men and things there is no mark upon the board of life,
To me, love's pupil, naught but love for thee doth life impart.
Who else, as I for love of thee, lives such a weary life,
Grief's my friend, blood's my drink, pain's my sweetmeat, my food's my heart."

Now, when after the decease of the late Emperor he became an attendant on his present Majesty, he remained faithful to Shāhim Bēg, who was one of the Qūrchīs of the palace; and from the
21 district of Lak'hnou he sent persons secretly to Dihlī, to fetch Shāhim Bēg from thence to join him. So the Khān Zamān, following the manners of Transoxiana,[2] manifested wonderful affection for Shāhim Bēg, and called him "my king," and gave himself up entirely to humouring him, and many times waited on him like an ordinary servant, and remained, while serving him, standing in his presence, and the like. Now I have heard from Mīr Abu-l-Ghays Bokhārī of Dihlī (the mercy of God be upon him!), whose disciple Shāhim Bēg had after a manner been, that at the time when Shāhim Bēg came from the imperial camp to Jounpūr, agreeably with the age of youth, which "has just left the Presence of My Lord,"[3] was much occupied in prayer with the congregation, and in thanksgiving and reading the Qorān, and private prayer, and continual sanctity, and never turned his eye to unlawful things. And the Khān Zamān, through imitation of him, became adorned with scrupulous regard for the Law, and the

[1] See p. 5.

[2] Abridged translation.

[3] This is an Arabic quotation; but from what I know not. Compare:—

The youth who daily from the East
Must travel, still is Nature's priest,
And by the vision splendid
Is on his way attended.—*Wordsworth.*

The same word '*ahd*' is used for "age" and "meeting with," "presence," I do not see how to retain the paronomasia in English.

practice of holiness. And, to please Shāhim Bēg, he deputed officers to go into his own camp that, enforcing the observance of things commanded by the Law, and preventing the committal of such things as are forbidden, they might abolish all wanton and forbidden practices. And Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad Makkī, (who understood the seven manners of reading the Glorious Word, and with whom the writer of these pages had learnt to read the Qorān at Sambhal in the time of Islīm Shāh), he retained with orders to instruct Shāhim Bēg with extreme and boundless care. But, since the asceticism of youths is of unstable equilibrium, this piety was in a short time changed to the opposite:—

"Long time on my patience I myself did pride,
In practice of patience I displayed myself. 22
Love entered in, how could patience then abide!
Then thanks be to God! that I have proved myself."

Shāhim Bēg became attached to a dancing-girl named Ārām Jān, who was very fascinating, and graceful in her movements; apropos of which:

"No one can force th' affections of the heart,
Nor count on winning or by grace or art:
Many of beauteous form, and glances sweet,
Pour forth their heart-blood at the loved one's feet:
Many a one of fairest cheek, and mild,
Has been despised by him on whom she smiled."

Shāhim Bēg could not rest till he had gained her, and although the Khān Zamān possessed this girl in lawful marriage, he gave her up to him. He was perfectly happy with her for some days, and then he gave her up, and made her over to 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān bin Mu'ayyid Bēg, who had a desperate fondness for her. When news of the Khān Zamān['s misconduct] came to the court, the Emperor's wrath knew no bounds, and an order went forth from Āgra and Dihlī to Jounpūr addressed to the Khān Zamān to seek Shāhim Bēg, and another was issued to the fief-holders of that district, to the effect that, if the Khān Zamān should be dilatory in this matter, an *Aghnāgh*, *i. e.*, a meeting, should sit upon him, and bring

him to punishment. Then the Khān Zamān sent a confidential servant of his, Barj 'Alī by name, to the court to gloss over those faults of his, and to retrieve his shattered fortunes. He was first
23 of all to repair to the dwelling of Pīr Muḥammad Khān, who was the Khan Zamān's plenipotentiary, and whose abode was upon a tower, and to deliver his message. It may be that harsh language was contained in the letter, for Pīr Muḥammad Khān threw him down from the top of the tower, so that he was dashed to pieces. Pīr Muḥammad Khān with hardness of heart laughingly said, 'This little fellow has become a victim to his name.'[1] When the Khān Zamān heard this news he set his heart on getting rid of Shāhim Bēg, and extemporised the following :—

"When Union turns away, and leaves the country,
The [cold] wind of absence knows no bounds.
My breast is burning with desire for Union,
[But] my place of resort is the shop of the stitcher of fur."

And so, in accordance with the exigencies of the moment, he gave him leave to retire to the district of Sarharpūr, (which is about 18 *cosses* from Jounpūr, and was fixed as the fief of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Bēg) that he might occupy himself there for a time in the pleasures of the chase, and return as soon as the wrath of the Emperor should be abated. So Shāhim Bēg, in company with 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Bēg, spent his time at that town, where there was an artificial lake of pure water, and a most pleasant garden, and a beautiful building in the middle of the lake, (and a most delightful and tranquil spot it is!); until on a certain day they had a wine-party and became exceedingly elevated, when—in accordance with the following :

"Singing and love and constant drinking
Are all three things which to madness tend :
When wine and love their arms are linking,
God be our refuge! for bad's the end"—

he asked 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Bēg for Ārām Jān. He brought forward the excuse that he was married to her, and so Shāhim Bēg became enraged with him, and all that friendship in a moment ended in hatred :—

[1] Viz. *Barj* "a tower," *nomen et omen.*

"Many have I observed, through the freaks of fickle Fate,
Turned from hate to friendship, or again, from love to hate," 24

and through pride and drunkenness of wine and youth he gave his orders, and had 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān seized: and, on the ground that Ārām Jān had first been his, he demanded her from the house of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān, and kept her with him. But Muayyid Bēg, the younger brother of 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Bēg, from a strong feeling of his brother's wrongs, assembled a body of men, and attacked the balcony,[1] where Shāhim Bēg and Ārām Jān were together. Shāhim Bēg rose to drive them back, and a fray ensued, in which insane affair an arrow reached a mortal part of Shāhim Bēg, and he died. The following hemistich they composed as giving the date :—

"He cried *ah!* and said: *Shāhim is become a martyr.*"

Be it observed that, when the numerical value of "*ah*"[2] is subtracted from that of "*Shāhim Shahīd shud,*" we get 963, the date. But, it is a disputed point, whether that fatal accident befel Shāhim Bēg in this year, or the year before; probably the latter: but God knows. Then 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān fled to the court, where he was favourably[3] received. The Khān Zamān had put on mourning and pursued 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Bēg to the water of the Ganges, but being unsuccessful he returned disconsolate [to Jounpūr] with weeping eye and parched heart :—

"In grief the Sun dropped blood at dawn,[4]
Moon tore its face, Zohrah its tress,
Night put on mourning black, and Morn
Raised a cold sigh, and rent its dress."

During these few years the Khān Zamān with a small force had several brilliant engagements with the numerous forces of the Afghāns, and obtained the victory over them. The history of this

[1] Pers. *Bālākhāna*, whence the English word, formerly pronounced balcōny.

[2] $\bar{a} + h = 1 + 5 = 6$; $3 \times sh = 900$, $\bar{a} = 1$, $2 \times h = 10$, $y = 10$, $m = 40$, $2 \times d = 8$. Sum 969. And $969 - 6 = 963$.

[3] *Tarbiyat yāftan*, here, as in Text 86, 17; 134, 9; 161, 12, is used in the Hindustani sense of "being favourably received."

[4] The word *shafak* means both "twilight", and "condolence", so that the expression in the original has the *double entendre* of "at dawn" and "through sympathy."

25 series of battles forms a model page in the annals of the time. Amongst them is the battle of Lak'hnou, in which Ḥasan Khān Bachgotī brought 20,000 men against the Khān Zamān, who had not assembled more than 3,000 or 4,000. Up to the moment when the enemy[1] crossed the river Karwī and attacked Bahādur[2] Khān, the Khān Zamān himself was engaged in taking a meal. When news was brought that the enemy was advancing to the attack, he called for a chess-board and kept playing at his ease. When he was told that the foreign troops had driven back his own men, he then at last called for his arms, and put them on. And, while the enemy was plundering his tents, and his whole army was in confusion, he ordered Bahādur Khān to retire; then he, with a handful of men, with drums beating, fell upon the enemy, repulsed them, and pursued them to a distance of seven or eight *cosses*. The slain he piled up in heaps, and then returned victorious. So, also, at Jounpūr he fought with the Bengālī,[3] who called himself Sulṭān Bahādur, and had issued coin, and caused the *Khutbah*[4] to be read in his name in Bengāl. This man advanced upon Jounpūr with between 30,000 and 40,000 horse, and the followers of the Khān Zamān were completely routed. When the Khān Zamān rose from table, the enemy found the cloth spread just as it was, and began to plunder. But afterwards the Khān Zamān with a small[5] body of men brought destruction[6] on the fortune of the Afghāns, slaying many and taking many prisoners; and such an amount of booty did he take, that his army was completely set up in stores. And, in truth, such was his kingly good fortune, that he, and his brother with his own troop, obtained such a series of victories on the eastern side of Hindustān, as has fallen to the lot of but few. And, had

[1] This seems to be an Indian use of the word *Ghanīm*, see Shakespeare's *Hindust. Dict.*

[2] That is, Muhammad Sa'īd Shaibānī, younger brother of the Khān Zamān.

[3] The *Gourī*, see note, p. 12.

[4] See note, p. 1.

[5] Lit. "a numbered band", like the Hebr. *m'thēy mispār* "men of number," it means "a few."

[6] For the peculiar idiom in which *az* is to be rendered by "on" cf. note to p. 57 (Text). Or the phrase may be translated literally "Extracted vengeance from", cf. δίκην λαβεῖν παρά τινος, and Hebr. *niphra' min* "was paid from" *i. e.* "took vengeance on."

they not shown the stain of rebellion upon the forehead of loyalty, these two brothers would have been on the path to a royal distinction. But, in the end, they sank all that perseverance and energy in the dust of degradation:— 26

"For fifty years one may maintain a name,
But one base act will cover it with shame."

And the rest of their acts will be mentioned in the years before us, if God, He is exalted, will it.

And in this year the Khān Khānān brought to punishment Muçāḥib Bēg, the son of Khwājah Kalān Bēg, a man who was not free from evil qualities, and inward vice.

And on the 17th of the sacred month of Muḥarram in the year 965, which coincides with the 3rd year from the Accession, the royal train adorned the city of Āgra. And in this year took place the appointment, removal, rise, and fall of Pīr Muhammad Khān: and this is how it came about. Pīr Muhammad Khān from being a Mullā had become an Amīr, and as has been related, he had become the closer and opener of every important affair of state, and finance, as vicegerent of the Khān Khānān. All the Pillars of the State used to go to his house, and but few obtained admittance. His opulence had reached to such a pitch that one day, in the course of going from Dihlī to Āgra, when the Khān Khānān went on an hunting expedition with Pīr Muhammad Khān, the Khān Khānān asked his private purveyors: "Is there no provision in store, for we are hungry?" and Pīr Muhammad Khān on the spur of the moment said: "If you will be pleased to alight, whatever may happen to be at hand shall be served." So the Khān Khānān with his suite alighted under a tree, and 3000 drinking cups, and 700 porcelain dishes of various colours(?)[1] were brought out from the travelling-stores of Pīr Muhammad Khān. Though the Khān Khānān was astonished, he let no sign of his astonishment escape him, but great jealousy found its way into his heart:—

"Perhaps in this place you may chance to fail to see,
How many envious foes, and jealous friends there be"

[1] In the text we should, possibly, read *būqalamun* of various kinds, or colours.

27 When they arrived at Āgra, Pīr Muhammad Khān was indisposed for some days, and the Khān Khānān came to visit him. One of the servants, who was in the habit of keeping off people, both great and small, came to stop him, and said: "Be pleased to wait until your request has been made known, when you have made application you may come in;" on this the astonishment of the Khān Khānān knew no bounds, and he said: —

"For a wilful fool there is no cure!"

When this came to the ears of Pīr Muhammad Khān, ill as he was, he came running, and "after the destruction of Bozrah"[1] begged forgiveness, saying: "Forgive me, for my Porter did not know you." The Khān Khānān answered: "Nor you either!" In spite of this, when the Khān Khānān came in, not one of Pīr Muhammad's household was dismissed except Ṭāhir Muḥammad Sulṭān his chamberlain, who had obtained that position with great difficulty. Praise be to God! for if the fortunes of that man be such what shall I say of myself!—

"O go not to the Sulṭan's Court,
For there indeed thou 'lt profit naught.
Let the gruff Porter's stern rebuff
For wisdom's warning be enough."[2]

And the Khān Khānān, after he had sat down for a moment, came out again, and Pīr Muhammad was left to meditate upon the affair. After two or three days the Khān Khānān sent to Pīr Muhammad Khān the following message, by the hand of Khwājah Amīnā[3] (who afterwards became Khwājah Jahān), and of Mīr 'Abd-ullāh Bakhshī, and a number of courtiers: "You will remember that you came to Qandahār in the position of an unfortunate student, and that when we found that you possessed ability and the quality of fidelity, and

[1] *I. e.* 'after the steed was stolen,' when it was too late. Cf. Roebuck's *Eastern Proverbs*, p. 137.

[2] Compare

Repulsed by surly groom that waits before
The sleepy tyrant's interdicted door.

Dryden's translation of Juvenal.

[3] Kh. Amīnuddīn Maḥmūd of Harāt, financier and calligraphist.

when also some worthy services had been performed by you, we raised you, a mere student and beggar, from the lowest step among the degraded, to the highest grade among the exalted in 28 Sulṭānship and Khānship, and to the post of an Amīr of Amīrs; but, since the carrying of a high position is not in your capacity, but, since the carrying of a high position is not in your capacity, nothing but suspicious rebelliousness and baseness remains in you. So we will take away from you for a time the insignia of your pride, that your base disposition and inflated brain may come to their senses. Now it is right that you should surrender the standard, and kettle-drum, and paraphernalia of pomp." So Pīr Muhammad Khān, in accordance with this command, surrendered on the spot to some of the Khān's people those accessories of conceit (which have carried a host of ignorant men off their balance, and do so still, and have driven, and still do drive them, from the path of manliness and generosity, and have made, and still make, them associates of the Ghūls of the desert), and become the same *Mullā* Pīr Muhammad that he was before; nay he became poorer still:—

"Whatever the rolling heaven gives is but a loan,
In a mill the white is but contingent[1] to the stone."

Soon after this they sent the Mullā to the fortress of Biyānah, and there he was confined. And from this place he wrote numberless pamphlets on the subject of proof by *tamānu*,[2] which is that made use of in the verse of the Qorān [XXI, 22]: "If there were in them gods beside God, verily both heaven and earth would come to ruin," and is a well known method of argument among logicians: and others besides addressed to the Khān Khānān, and thus made endeavours at reconciliation, and liberating himself; but all was in vain:—

[1] Arab. *'āriz*, accidental, contingent, *συμβεβηκός*.

[2] *At-tamānu'* consists in two things rendering one another mutually impossible. In the verse in question are implied that the ruler of heaven and earth can be only *one*—and that that *one* can be none but God alone. Two kings cannot rule over one land, and just so two gods cannot rule the universe. If they both wished to do something, their powers would come into collision in doing it; if their wills differed, they would mutually hinder one another. It may not be unprofitable to observe, that the same line of argument is adopted in Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, Bk. XII *ad finem*.

"The heart's a glass, if broken, how repair the ill!
It is no earthen cup to be cracked and patched at will."

After some days they sent him from Biyānah by order of the Khān Khānān, on a pilgrimage to the sacred Mekka: and he was still in Gujrāt, when the decline of the Khān Khānān's[1] power began. Then he returned, and came to pay his homage to the Emperor, and having obtained the name of Nāsir-ul-mulk, he was appointed to go in pursuit of the Khān Khānān, as shall be record-
29 ed in its proper place[2] if God (He is exalted!) will. And the office of vicegerent of the Khān Khānān was transferred from Pīr Muhammad Khān to Hājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī, who was also one of the Khān's followers. And the following line is applicable to this occurrence:—

"The dog sits down in the sausage-seller's place."[3]

And Shaikh Gadā-ī Kamboh, son of Jamāl Kambo-ī (a poet of Dihlī, who after the second defeat in India during the time of the exile at Gujrāt had come to the Khān Khānān) through the influence of the latter, they put over the heads of all the magnates of Hindūstān and Khurāsān, and appointed him to the high office of Ṣadr.[4] And the Khān Khānān, nay even the Emperor himself, was often present at his house at singing parties, where the most abject flattery rained down on all sides, and which became a regular hypocrisy-shop. And,—since, from the time of the establishment of Islām in Hindūstān, God (praise to Him, and glorious is His Majesty!) has created the great Shaikhs of this country, just the opposite[5] in nature to the secular princes, *viz.*, always peasant-

[1] In the Text, for *Khānān* read *Khān Khānān*, as it is in 35, line 8.

[2] Page 39 of Text.

[3] Cf. Roebuck, *Eastern Proverbs*, p. 273.

[4] There was in each district an officer called *Ṣadr*, whose business it was to see that the objects of all grants made by the crown (*auqāf*) for maintaining the *imāms* &c. were carried into effect. See Elphinstone's *India*, Bk. VIII chap. II. The *Qāzī* and *Mīr 'Adl* were under his orders, and he had a clerk called the *Dīvān-i Sa'ādat*. Blockmann *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, 268. Compare also p. 52 of our Text.

[5] Here *bakhilāf* "in contrary distinction to" is put after its case, as *khilāf az* "except" in Ḥāfiz, Calcutta Ed. p. 91*b*, 3 lines from the bottom:—

"nīst dar dā-irah *yak naqṭa khilāf az* kam u-bēsh,"
'There is not in the circle anything more or less, except a single dot."

natured, servile in disposition, and low-minded, and since their pomp and glory has never consisted in smiting with the sword, but in flattering others, in spiritual hypocrisy, and ignominy, and the garb of dignity and honour has ever been too strait for the stature of their ambition—the chief Imāms, at this exaltation of Shaikh Gadā-ī, about the eminence[1] of whose family they had stories, went mourning from house to house, and so the Arabic Proverb "The death of the great has exalted me" became verified:—

"At my rival's insolence I'm mightily surprised,
O may that beggar Gadā-ī[2] ne'er be highly prized."

And he drew the pen of obliteration through the grants of land and pensions[3] of the old servants of the crown [*Afghāns*, Blochm.], and to every one who bore the disgrace of coming to his levees he gave a *sayūrghāl*,[4] but not unless. But still, compared with this [niggard] age, in which demurs are made to the giving of a single acre of land, or even less, as *madad i ma'āsh*, one might call Shaikh 30
Gadā-ī a very "world-giver."[5] Then the princes and nobles of the kingdom, as many as came, flew into a rage at the advancement, honour, and unseasonable exaltation of Shaikh Gadā-ī, and some of them consoled themselves with these words:—

When a fool is exalted through riches,
In the assembly, above the wise and excellent,
He is still the last in all good qualities,
As though the accusative were to prevent the nominative.

If an Emperor sit humbled,
It is neither disgrace to him, nor praise to you.
Dost thou not see that the Sura *Ikhlāç*
Comes after "May the hands of Abu Lahab perish?"[6]

[1] Said ironically.

[2] *Gadā* means a beggar.

[3] *Auqat* is a misprint for *auqāf*.

[4] The Chagatāi word *sayūrgāl* is translated by the Pers. *madad i ma'āsh*, *i. e.*, "assistance of livelihood." They were lands given for benevolent purposes, and were *hereditary*, thus differing from *jāgīr* or *tuyūl* lands, which were conferred for a specified time. Blochm. 270.

[5] Cf. p. 71, l. 7 of Text.

[6] That is in the Qor'ān the glorious Sura 112, on the nature of God, comes after Sura 111, which speaks of Muhammad's unbelieving uncle Abu Lahab.

And Mīr Sayyid Ni'mat Rusūlī, who has been mentioned, repeated the distich, and made it well known in mosques and monasteries. And in the mosque, and in Shaikh Gadā-ī's own tribunal they wrote up his disgraceful deeds, until he came to read them and had them erased. Still it was no good: and this is one of the lampoons:—

"Mention not Gadā-ī's name, eat not his bread
Since *beggary*[1] is bad, Gadā-ī's face is black."

And some instances of his insincerity, and stupidity, and evil goings-on with respect to the Emperor were exposed, which will be mentioned in their proper place. And in these days the king studied under that paragon of greatness Mīr 'Abd-ul-Latīf, who is one of the great Sayfī-Sayyids[2] of Qazwīn, and who came from the country of 'Irāq to India in the year 963, and with him he began reading the Dīwān[3] of "mystic language." And 'Abd-ul-Latīf's able son, an Amīr endowed with excellent qualities, and commendable dispositions, in whom is reflected the truth of the Arabic proverb: "A well-bred son takes after his noble parents," whose name is Mīr Ghiyās-ud-dīn, and surname Naqīb Khān, a very miracle of knowledge in manners and customs, chronology, biography, and all subjects of conversation, one of the wonders of the day, and a blessing of the blessings of the age, a second Preserved Tablet,[4] and who bears to myself, the writer
31 of these pages, the relation of co-temporary, fellow-student, and co-religionist, is at present in attendance on His Majesty, giving all his attention to reading history, and all books of verse and prose, both day and night.

And in the year 966 the capture of the fort of Gwālyār took

[1] Punning on the meaning of the word *Gadā-ī* (see preceding page).

[2] They were known "in Irān for their Sunnī tendencies," Blochmann *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, p. 447. They were, consequently, especially esteemed by our Author.

[3] Probably the *Dīvān-i Ḥāfiz*, for Blochmann says "at that time Akbar knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards he was able to repeat some Odes of Hāfiz." *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, 448.

[4] *Louh-i maḥfūz*, the Indelible Tablet on which, according to Mahometan belief, the transactions of mankind have been written by God from all eternity. It is referred to in Qor'ān vi, 38. The sixth great article of faith with a Moslem is God's absolute predestination of both good and evil.

place. A *ghulām* of 'Adalī,[1] Buhail[2] Khān by name, who was besieged therein, sued for quarter and gave up the keys. The date will be found contained in the words *Fatḥ-i bāb-ī kil'ah-e Gwālyār*, "The opening of the gate of the fortress of Gwālyār." And in this same year Sangrām[3] Khān, also a *ghulām* of [the late] 'Adalī, sold the fortress of Rantambhor into the hand of Rāi Surjan Hādā. The facts of the case are as follows. Before the Emperor made the city of Āgra the goal of his prosperous journey, he had appointed some of the Amīrs, such as Hindū Bēg Moghūl, &c., to reduce the fort of Rantambhor. They besieged Sangrām Khān and ravaged the environs of the fortress, and the surrounding district, but were unsuccessful in their main object. But when Biyānah was given as a fief to Ḥabīb 'Alī Khān, one of the followers of the Khān Khānān, and Basāwar, and Todah[4] Tark 'Alī, which is better known as Todah Bihyūn, were given to Chaghatāī Khān, then Ḥabīb 'Alī Khān was honoured with the command of the army, and, superseding the Amīrs of the surrounding district, was appointed to undertake the siege. When he had besieged the place for the space of one year, and reduced the garrison to great straits, Sangrām Khān made proposals of peace, asking for some mediator to plead his cause with the Khāns, and requested special conditions for his own personal advantage. The Khāns chose my father, and that pilgrim to the two sacred precincts, Hājī Bhikan Basāwarī, and sent them to arrange this important matter. After much altercation, Sangrām Khān agreed to surrender the fortress on certain conditions, among which was one that he should receive part-compensation in the shape of ready-money, goods, and the most valuable of the furniture of his own house. But when the Amīrs, since they had 32 not the money to pay down, practised delay and procrastination in the matter, and moreover there was some idea of after all taking

[1] On the death of Islām Shāh (A. H. 960) Muhammad Shāh Sūr 'Adil, commonly known as '*Adalī*, had usurped the throne.

[2] Elliot's MS. of Tārīkh-i-Alfī has *Babhal*, Abul Fazl says *Sohail*. 'Adalī had given the command of Gwālyār to this *ghulām*.

[3] Called Hājī Khān in the Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī. Elliot, V, 260.

[4] About 10 cosses S. W. of Rantambhor.

the fortress by assault, then[1] Sangrām Khān gave up the fortress to Rāi Surjan,[2] and got all he wanted from him: and this unfortunate army after so many years of effort got no thanks. Then Sangrām Khān in company with Hājjī Khān Alwarī went to Gujrāt. And Rāi Surjan strengthened the fort with the stores of provisions and arms. Thus by means of riches and address he became master of some also of the *pargannas* in the vicinity of the fortress. Then Ḥabīb 'Alī Khān and the Amīrs, after spending some time in ravaging the country, separated and returned to their fiefs

In this year Jamāl Khān, a *ghulām* of [the late] 'Adalī. who had become possessed of Chunār, sent a representative to court, to intimate that if they could send a man fitted to be trusted with the affair he would surrender to him the fortress, on which the Khān Khānān sent back, in company with Jamal Khān's representative Mihr 'Alī Bēg Sildūz, (who afterwards attained the rank of Khān, and was made governor of the fortress of Chītor), with a farmān containing friendly terms.

And in those days I left home and, going from Basāwar to Āgra, with the intention of pursuing my studies, I made acquaintance with Mihr 'Alī Bēg, and remained at his house. And he greatly importuned my late teacher Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgōr (the mercy of God be upon him!), and my deceased father Shaikh Mulūkshāh (may he rest in peace!), to allow me to be his travelling companion, and carried the matter to such a pitch that he declared that he would lay aside the business[3] of his journey, if I could not go with him. And both of these valued persons, whom I have named, in their generous friendship towards me, thinking it best for me to go, would take no refusal. So I, to gratify my teacher, although it was the height of the rainy[4] season, and I was an inexperienced traveller, abandoning my studies, mounted the dangers of the jour-

[1] The apodosis is introduced by *wa* "and" as by τε in Herod. i, 116 ἐπεὶ δὲ ..... αὐτὸν εἵρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης ..... ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι

[2] The Ṭabaqāt-i Akbari says that he was a relation of Rāi Udī Singh, who is mentioned on p. 51 of our Text

[3] *Viz.*, of making terms with Jamāl Khān for the surrender of Chunār.

[4] *Bashakūl* for *Barshakūl*.

ney. And passing through Kanouj,[1] Lak'hnou, Jounpūr. and 33
Benāres. having seen the wonders of the world, and having been in the company of some of the great Shaikhs and Doctors of that part of the country, after crossing the river Ganges I came to Chunār in the month Zī-l-qa'dah[2] in the year nine hundred and sixty-six (966). Jamāl Khān sent some of his people to meet Mihr 'Alī, and bring him to his house. There he received him with fitting hospitality and shewed him the palaces of Shēr Shāh and Salīm Shāh, and all the defensive munitions of the fort. But when the farmān of conciliation, containing a grant of five pargannas in the neighbourhood of Jounpūr in exchange for the fortress of Chunār, was read, Jamāl Khān showed that he had further expectations, and proposing the most impossible terms endeavoured to detain Mihr 'Alī in inactivity until an answer to his representation should arrive from the court. Meanwhile he artfully held communication both with Khān Zamān[3] and Fatḥ Khān Afghān Tabnī (?)[4] who with all his force was at the fortress of Rohtās, holding out to them separately promises of the fortress. Then Mihr 'Alī, when he became aware of the treachery and perfidy of Jamāl Khān, and when also a suspicion as to Fatḥ Khān's fidelity found way into his mind, fearing lest they should league together for his injury, left the fort unattended, on the pretext of taking exercise So leaving me in the fortress, he crossed the Ganges in the greatest perturbation. Then insinuating myself into Jamāl Khān's good graces, and promising him to bring back Mihr 'Alī, and restore peace and quiet, in the evening I got into a boat with the intention of crossing the river. It happened that my boat fell into a terrible whirlpool at the foot of the hill which adjoins the wall of the fortress, and a dreadful hurricane arose, which made the boat shake in every timber, and if the mercy of the Creator of land and sea had not been my shelter,[5]

[1] Kanyākubja or Canouj is one of the most ancient places in India. See Elphinstone, p. 233.

[2] The 11th month.

[3] He was at Jounpūr. - See p. 17.

[4] The reading is here doubtful.

[5] The word *bādbānī* in Pers. means "a sail," but in this Indo-Persian it is probably used with some reference to its meaning in Hindūstānī which is given by Shakespeare as "a shade to protect a candle from the wind."

34 the bark of my hope in that whirlpool of calamity would have been dashed to atoms on the hill of death :—

"I came into a sea whose waves were man-devouring.
No boat in that sea, no sailor, it is wonderful!"

And in the jungle at the foot of the Chunār hill I came to the dwelling and abode of Shaikh Muhammad Ghous, one of the great Shaïkhs of India. and a man of prayer. One of his followers met me, and showed me a cave where the Shaikh had lived for twelve years as a hermit, subsisting on the leaves, and fruit of the desert trees. So celebrated had he become for the fulfilment of his blessings, that even powerful and absolute monarchs used to bow the head of sincerity and courtesy in his honour.

After that Mihr 'Alī returned to Āgra, Fatū a *ghulām* of 'Adalī got into his possession the fortress of Chunār.

In 966 A. H. the aforenamed Shaikh with disciples and followers arrived with state and pomp at Āgra, coming from Gujrāt. The Emperor received him with frank confidence. But his arrival was displeasing to Shaikh Gadā-ī who on account of jealousy, hypocrisy, and envy (which to the saints of Hindustān, in their feelings towards one another, are the very necessaries of life), looked on his arrival as a case of opening a shop in the story above his own shop :—

"The truth of this proverb wisdom will see,
That, 'Two of a trade can never agree.'"[1]

And the Khān Khānān, on account of the influence which Shaikh Gadā-ī exercised over his mind, did not receive Shaikh Muhammad in such a friendly manner as he ought to have done. On the contrary he held many preconcerted conversaziones, in which he brought forward the Shaikh to be a butt for the arrows of contumely, by bringing on the *tapis* a treatise of his, in which, describing the circumstances of his own exaltation, he says that in his waking moments he had had an interview and conversation with the Lord of Glory (glorious is His Majesty!), who assigned to him a supe-
35 riority over the Repository of Prophecy,[2] (may God bless

[1] See Roebuck's *Eastern Proverbs*, p. 61.

[2] Muhammad the Prophet.

him, and his family, and give him peace!), and which contained other such follies equally contemptible and reprehensible from the point of view of reason or tradition. So the Shaikh much chagrined retired to Gwālyār, and occupied himself in the pursuits of his holy calling, contenting himself with a *jāgīr* which yielded a million sterling[1]!

In this year Bahādur Khān, brother of the Khān Zamān, with the intention of subjugating the country of Mālwah,[2] which Bāz Bahādur, son of Suzāwal[3] Khān at that time held, had advanced as far as the town of Siprī,[4] when the Khān Khānān's troubles came about, so he turned back, and with the Khān Khānān's leave came, and attached himself to the Court. In the same year Ḥusain Khān came from Andarī to Āgra, and going with some of the gallant Commanders towards Rantambhōr performed some brilliant exploits at Sūpar,[5] and thence he carried his operations to the castle of Rantambhōr, and defeated Rāī Surjan in battle and compelled him to shut himself up in that fortress. Against him he acquitted himself well; but on account of the confusion which reigned in the circles of the Khān Khānān, he left his circle of investment incomplete, and went to Gwālyār. And when thence he was making for Mālwah, the Khān Khānān recalled him to Āgra.

On the 20th of Jumādā-s-sānī[6] in the year 967 the Emperor crossed the river Jumna on a hunting expedition. And some malevolent speakers, who were jealous of the absolute authority which the Khān Khānān enjoyed as the *Vakīl*, and especially Adham Khān (who on account of his being the son of Māhum Atka[7] held the post nearest to his person), and Ṣadiq Muḥammad Khān and others, seized the opportunity of misrepresenting to the Emperor certain words of the Khān Khānān. And in fact the Emperor

[1] A *kror*, or 10 million rupees, or *tankas* (?)

[2] For an epitome of the history of Mālwah see Elliot, V. 168.

[3] Called Shuja' Khān Afghān, in the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī. He is called Shujāwal by Blochmann, p. 428.

[4] *Sīrī*, Ṭabaqāt-i Akbari. Siprī was about half way on his road.

[5] That is 'Sheopoor,' 120 miles S. W. of Āgra (Elliot).

[6] The 6th month.

[7] See footnote on the page of the Transl. corresponding to p. 52 of the Text whence it will be seen that she ought to be called *Ankah* or *Anagah*.

himself (because he had not absolute power in his own kingdom,
36 and sometimes had no voice in some of the transactions relating to expenses of the Exchequer, and because there was no privy purse at all, and the servants of the Emperor had but poor fiefs, and were kept in the depths of poverty, while the Khān Khānān's were in ease and luxury) wished that the circle about him should be put on a different footing. But he had no power to accomplish this, until, in accordance with the saying "When God wills a thing, its causes are at hand," circumstances combined to bring about the desired result :—

"When the subject-matter is collected,
Then the act of verse-making is easy."

Close by Sikandrah-rao which is [more than] half-way to Dihlī Māhum Ankah represented to His Highness, that the Queen Dowager, who was at Dihlī, had fallen suddenly ill, and impressed upon him that he ought to direct his course thither. Shahāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān the Governor of Dihlī came to meet the Emperor, and they two in concert made mountains of mole-hills, and prejudiced his mind against the Khān Khānān :—

"Thy mole, and tutty-mark, and locks, and brow,
Are all banded together.
For the purpose of killing Mus'ūd[1]
She is become an arraigner."

Eventually she made the following representation: "When the Khān Khānān learns that the imperial cavalcade is come to Dihlī at my instigation, he will be sure to wish to avenge himself, and I have no power to resist him, so it is best that I should receive permission to make a pilgrimage to Mekka." The Emperor could not make up his mind to part with Māhum Ankah. So he allayed their terror, and sent to the Khān Khānān the following message: "Since without your leave and approval I have journeyed thus far,[2] all my attendants are in the uttermost terror. It is right, therefore, that you should show yourself amicably inclined towards them, and

[1] *Mus'ūd Bakk* a Persian Poet, see Sprenger *Catalogue of MSS. in library of king of Oudh*, p. 486.

[2] Of course this message is somewhat ironical.

so enable them to continue in my service with minds at ease." The
37 Khān Khānān sent Khwājah Amīnā,[1] and Hājjī Muhammad Khān of Sīstān, and Tarsān Muḥammad Khān, who were the centre and pivot of important affairs, to wait on the Emperor, to make apologies, and assure his Majesty of his continued fidelity, and good will. But these advances did not reach the door of acceptance, and the above-mentioned magnates were not allowed to return. Then Shahāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān and Māhum Ankah, being determined to go through with the matter, spread abroad the news of the Emperor's alienation from the Khān Khānān, so that it reached the utmost publicity. Then the Amīrs one after another left Āgra for Dihlī; and the affair is an exact parallel to that of the Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Moghūl with Amir Chūban, who was a vazir of almost regal magnificence: an affair which is mentioned in the books of history. And so the well known [Arabic] proverb was fulfilled "The world is like the course of the ass; when it goes forward it *does* go forward, when it goes back it *does* go back:"

When Fortune wishes to come to a slave,
All strangers claim relationship with him.
But when the time of prosperity turns away,
His very door and wall become a sting to him.[2]

Qīyām Khān Kang was the first of the Amīrs who arrived at Dihlī. And Shahāb-ud dīn Aḥmad Khān, and Māhum Ankah attached each one, as he came, more and more to the cause of the Emperor by holding out promises of high offices and fiefs, and with the greatest care and vigilance they applied themselves to strengthening the fortifications.

The Khān Khānān, who was at Āgra with all his devoted adherents, called a council The advice of Shaikh Gadaī, with several others, was this, that before the balance of fortune should have turned against him he should set out, and get the Emperer into his power, so as to prevent his being accessible to the Khan's detractors. The Khān Khanān did not approve this advice, saying "Since the heart of the Emperor is alienated from me, any further friendly

[1] Comp. p. 20.

[2] *I. e*, his own house turns against him.

38 intercourse in public is out of the question, but how could I possibly assume any other guise! for, after spending a lifetime in loyalty to his person. in my old age to put a dishonourable stain on the forehead of my fortune were to cause me an eternal disgrace." Now he had always had a desire to make a pilgrimage to Mekka and Medīna, so he got things ready for his journey to Ḥijāz,[1] and set off for Biyānah, intending to go by way of Nāgōr. He told his intention to all his supporters, and gave them leave to go to the court. And Bahādur Khān, who had been sent for from Mālwah [2] he allowed to go as their companion. He then released Muḥammad Amīn Dīwānah[3] from the prison in the fortress of Biyānah, and departed:—

"There is no permanence in any prosperity,
"However much you may have tried it:
For lo! '*Prosperity*'[4] read backwards is '*transient*,'[4]
Read it and see for yourself."

And those, who had the Emperor's ear, represented to him, that the Khān Khānān intended to go to the Panjāb. So the Emperor sent from Dihlī a message by the hand of Mīr 'Abd-ul-Laṭīf Qazwīnī, saying: "Our intention in coming[5] to Dihlī was simply, to transact some important State affair on our own absolute authority. But since you have long had a desire to retire, and have taken the resolution of going to Ḥijāz, it is just as well that you should do so. And now you shall have as many pargannahs in Hindūstān as you please, and your agents shall forward the revenues of them to any place at which you may happen to be staying." When the

[1] Ḥijāz = Arabia petræa (Mekka and its territory in particular).
Najd = ,, deserta.
Yemen = ,, felix.

[2] See p. 29.

[3] And also Shāh Abul Ma'ālī (*Akbar-nāma*), who was imprisoned there, see p. 4.

[4] The letters of the first word (اقبال) read backwards give (ابقا) the second.

[5] This reminds one of the message of Richard II to his uncles, "I left London, not through any hostility to you, but to resume my power."

Khan Khānān heard the will of the Emperor, he went from Mēwāt to Nāgōr: and, with the exceptions of Walī Bēg Zu-'l Qadr. and Ḥusain Qulī Khān (who became Khān Jahān),[1] and Ismā'il Qulī Khān his brother, and Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥarram, and Ḥusain Khān a relative of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, none remained with him. From Nāgōr he sent to the Court by the hand of Ḥusain Qulī Khān his paraphernalia of pomp, consisting of such kettle-drums and standards as he possessed. Also Shaikh Gadaī, at last on the confines of 39
Bikanīr, chose too to separate himself, and the hidden meaning of the following became manifest:—

"Every brother must part from his brother
(By thy father's life!) except the two stars *Al-Farqadāni*."

The Emperor. on his way from Dihlī to the Panjāb, had reached the town of Jhujhar, when these insignia of power were brought to him, and their surrender pleased him much. At this halting place Shāh 'Abū-l-ma'ālī, who had come to pay his respects to the Emperor, wished, in the madness of his brain, to overtake[2] his majesty on horseback. The Emperor had him arrested and given in charge of Shahāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān. And at the same stage Pīr Muḥammad Khān Shīrwānī, who was awaiting the proper season [for the pilgrimage] at Gujrāt, having received information of the confusion of affairs, and of the causes of the Khān Khānān's dismissal, set off at once to the Emperor and did him homage, and received the title of Nāçir-i mulk. When he had received the insignia and standards of Khān-hood, he was appointed by the Emperor to go after the Khān Khānan, and pack him off as quickly as possible to Mekka without giving him any time for delay. He started off quickly enough, but remained at his leisure at Nāgōr, and after a few day's journey wrote a letter to the Khān Khānān as follows:—

"I came, in the heart the foundations of love were firm likewise,
My sorrow-laden soul is of sorrow-for-thee the companion likewise."

The Khān Khānān wrote in answer: "Your coming was manly, but your delay.-after having come near, is cowardly."

[1] A title in reputation next to that of *Khān Khānān*. Blochm. 330.

[2] So too the Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī. Firishta says that he wished to remain mounted while saluting the Emperor. *Elliot.*

The Emperor, when he had returned to Dihlī, sent for Mun'im Khān from Kābul, in order to invest him with the office of Prime-minister (*Vakīl*).[1]

The Khān Khānān went from Nāgōr to Bīkānīr with the intention of keeping an eye on the proceedings of Māldeo Rāja of Jodhpūr, who with a considerable force had made himself master of the road to Gujrāt[2]. But being very much annoyed, when he became aware of Pīr Muḥammad Khān's pursuit of him, he became desperate, and at the instigation of some demon-like men turned to the Panjāb. His wives, family, and effects, together with his lawful heir Mīrzā
40 Abd-ur-raḥīm, (who was then but three years of age, but now holds the post of Khān Khānān, and Commander-in-Chief), he put for security into the fortress of Tabarkindh,[3] which was a fief of Shēr Muḥammad Dīwānah, the reputed son of the Khān Khānān. But news came to the Khān Khānān, whilst at Dīpālpūr, that the said Dīwānah had seized those effects and was behaving most treacherously to his adherents. Upon this he sent to Dīwānah one Khwājah Muzaffar 'Alī Dīwānah, (who afterwards became Muzaffar Khān), and Derwīsh Muḥammad Uzbek with sage and soothing words, [thinking] that "may be when he has repented of his base conduct, he will return to rectitude." But a dog had bitten Dīwānah:—

"O wise men stand on one side,
For *Dīwānah*[4] is intoxicated."

Shēr Muḥammad sent Khwājah Muzaffar a prisoner to the Court, and this blow caused the Khān Khānān more despair than all the rest besides, so that starting from where he was, he set off for Jālandhar. Then Shams-ud-dīn Atkah Khān, and his son Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān, and Ḥusain Khān the relative of Shahāb Khān, and all the Amīrs of the Panjāb assembled in accordance with a farmān, and in the confines of the parganna of Dik'hdār,[5] at a spot

[1] When he received the title of Khān Khānān. See p. 38.
[2] With the intention of attacking him. *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*.
[3] I. e., *Sirhind*, Elliot V, 265.
[4] *Dīwānah* means 'possessed,' 'mad.'
[5] In the vicinity of Jālandhar, between the Sutlej and the Biyah, *Akbar-nāma*.

called Kanūr Phillour,[1] hemmed in the Khān Khānān. There a severe contest took place, in which Ḥusain Khān the relative of Mahdī Qāsim Khān distinguished himself; but unfortunately a sword-blow struck him in the eye so that one might say of him that he was "eye stricken."[2] He fell from his seat in the saddle, and being made prisoner was sent to the Court together with Walī Bēg, and his son Ismā'īl Qulī Khān, and several others of the chiefs; as will soon be mentioned, if God (He is exalted!) will. After that blow the Khān Khānan fled, and immense spoil fell into the hands of Atkah Khān and his army. Among these things was a standard worked with pearls and gems, which the Khān Khānan had 41
had made, and intended to have sent to the most holy sepulchre[3] (may mercy and favour rest on its inhabitant!). Of this Imām my lord Moulawī Jāmī (may his tomb be hallowed!) wrote those laudatory and descriptive couplets:—

"Peace on the family of *Ṭā Hā*[4] and *Yā Sīn!*
Peace on the family of the Best of the Prophets!
Peace on the Shrine, wherein there rests
An Imām, in whom sovereignty and religion are pre-eminent!"
"An Imām, yea in sooth an absolute monarch,
For the sanctuary of his door is become the *Qiblah* of kings.
King of the palace of Knowledge, Rose of the garden of Bounty,
Moon of the mansion of Majesty, the Pearl of the casket of Contingency.
[Peace] on Ibn Musā Riza, to whom from God
Is the name *Rizā*,[5] because doing *God's will* was his habit."

[1] See Elliot V, p. 266, VIII, p. 107; Blochmann, p, 317.
[2] A pun. The Persian compound means "stricken by the evil eye," but grammatically it might also mean "stricken in the eye."
[3] Of Imām Rizā, at Ṭūs in Khurāsān. Belfour's *Translation of Ali Hazin*, 128.
[4] Ṭā-Hā (which is the title of the 20th chapter of the Qur'ān, and is composed of two letters of the Arabic alphabet) is considered, and often used, as a name of the Arabian Prophet (of whom Muṣṭafā and Aḥmad, as well as Moḥammad, are also names): so likewise is Yā-Sīn, which is the title of the 36th chapter of the Qur'ān. Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, ed Poole, London, 1871, vol. ii, p. 139.
[5] *Rizā* means "Will."

They say that the banner cost nearly a *kror* of gold. And Qasim Arsalān found the date of the event in the words, "*'alam-i imām-i hashtum*,[1] "banner of the 8th Imām."[2] Atkah Khān sent it with the rest of the spoils to the Court, and it was put into the imperial treasury One of the remarkable incidents of this year was that the Khān Khānān published as his own[3] a *ghazal* of Hāshim Qandahārī, putting the lines into a different arrangement[4]; he ordered 60,000 tankahs of money to be paid to him by way of compensation, and asked if the sum were sufficient; Hāshim by way of an extempore joke said "Sixty is too little." upon which he increased the sum by 40,000 and gave him altogether a complete *lac*. From it you would infer that the Khān Khānān's star was setting, and as a matter of fact his power at this period was on the decline. The *ghazal* is as follows, of which the *Maṭla'*[5] is Hāshim's:—

"What am I? one who has let go the rein of his heart;
Who by the hand of his heart has fallen from his feet upon the road of trouble;
Who is become like a madman in the skirts of the mountains:
Who has without will of his own turned his head to the desert.
At one time like a candle seized by the fire of his heart,
At another like a wick fallen into the heart of the fire.
I, Bairam, am free from care for little or much.
Never have I uttered a single word *less* or *more*."

[1] 70 + 30 + 40 + 82 + 45 + 700 = 967.

[2] The *Shī'ah* (lit. followers) are the followers of 'Alī, the husband of Fāṭimah, the daughter of Muḥammad. They maintain that 'Alī was the first legitimate *Khalīfah* (successor to Muhammad), and therefore reject Abu Bakr, Omar, and Othmān, the first three Khalīf-s, as usurpers According to the *Shī'ah* the Muslim religion consists of a knowledge of the true *Imām*. The twelve *Imāms*, according to the *Shī'ah* are as follows:

(1) Ḥazrat Ali, (2) Imām Ḥassan, (3) Imām Ḥusain, (4) Zain-ul-Abidīn, (5) Imām Muḥammad Bāqir, (6) Jāfir Sādiq, (7) Musā Qāsim, (8) *'Alī Musā Rizā*, (9) Muhammad Taqī, (10) Muḥammad Naqī (11) Ḥassan Askarī, (12) Abu Qāsim. Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism*, 170.

[3] Cf. Martial. ii, 20. "Carmina Paullus emit · recitat sua carmina Paullus,
Nam quod emas possis dicere jure tuum."

[4] اولجه is probably the Hindustani *ulajh*, 'confusion,' cf. p. 51, l. 5, text.

[5] The two initial hemistichs are called the *Maṭla'*.

42

This *maṭla'* also is one of Hāshim's:—

"Thy lip was smiling on account of the weeping eye that I have,
Thy heart was contented on account of the distracted state I am in."

And in the same way the Khān Khānān, although he had nothing in his treasury, gave at one sitting a *lac* of *tankahs* worth in money and goods to Rām Dās of Lak'hnou, who was one of the musicians[1] of Aslīm Shāh, and one that in music[2] and song you might term a second Miyān Tān Sīn. This man used to be the Khān Khānān's companion and intimate associate, and by the beauty of his voice continually brought tears to his eyes. There was likewise a certain Ḥijāz Khān Badāūnī, who formerly was among the number of the Amīrs of the Afghāns, and had a standard and a kettle-drum, and a pennon, and afterwards towards the end of his life retired from military affairs, and in the enjoyment of a very trifling pension pursued rectitude in the path of asceticism and devotion. To him in return for a *Qaçīdah*, which in the *Maqṭa'*[3] he dedicated to the Khān, he gave a *lac* of *tankahs*, and made him Superintendent of the Government of Sirhind, and caused him to be appointed to that province. The *Maṭla'* of the Qaçīdah is as follows:—

"When the seal of the ring of the heavens
Went down into the water,
The rim of its signet gave
A ruby-tinge to the ground."

And so that saying of Khwājah Kalān Bēg came true, *viz.*, "*Heaven above*[4] is of course a good judge of poetry!" The sum of the whole matter is that 100,000 were to the liberal mind of the Khān as *one*. How different indeed to these base ones, who now have come to the surface of the water:—

"If the odour of fidelity thou perceivest from any one,
His foot thou shouldest kiss much more than that of kings."

[1] The word *kalāvant* is the Sanskrit *kalāvat* a musician.

[2] *Vādī* is the Sanskrit *vādya* music.

[3] The two concluding hemistichs are called the *Maqṭa'*. A *ghazal* is an Ode. A *Qaçīdah* resembles the *Idyllium* of the Greeks.

[4] That is, those in power are sure to appreciate your doggerel, if only you flatter them enough in it.

43 In the month Zî-'l-qa'dah[1] of this year, after the appointment of Atkah Khān to march to the Panjāb, the Emperor appointed Khwājah 'Abd-ul-Majīd of Harāt, with the title of Āçaf Khān, to the Government of Dihlī. And then as it was the best thing to do, since Ḥusain Khān's father Walī[2] Beg and his brother Ismā'il Qulī Khān were with the Khān Khānān, he delivered Ḥusain Khān[2] to Āçaf Khān's keeping, and himself went to the Panjāb.

Mun'im Khān, in accordance with orders, having come from Kābul to the halting-place of Ludhiyānah,[3] in company with Muqīm Khān sister's son to Tardī Bēg Khān (who afterwards became Shujā'at Khān), waited on the king. He received the title of Khān Khānān and was raised to the office of Prime-minister. And the saying came true, "One minister comes in and the other goes out." To this same halting-place came the news of the victory of Atkah Khān and the flight of the Khān Khānān towards the mountains of Siwālik. The captives were brought into the Emperor's presence, and he had them imprisoned. One of them, Walī Bēg, who had received mortal wounds, went from a [temporal] to an eternal prison, and they sent his head to Dihlī. Ḥusain Khān was committed to the charge of his wife's brother Malik Muḥammad Khān son of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, and the Emperor eventually took him into favour, and appointed to him as his fief Pātyālī, which is a town on the banks of the Ganges and the place of the birth and growth of ['A]mīr[4] Khusrou (mercy be upon him!)

After his defeat the Khān Khānān retired to Talwārah and shut himself up there. This is a very strong and almost inaccessible place in the mountains of Kushmāl,[5] on the banks of the river Biyāh, the government of which belonged to Rāja Gobind Chand The forces of the

[1] The 11th month.

[2] See page 33.

[3] The Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī says it was *Jālandhar*.

[4] Amīr Khusrū, the very Prince of Sūfī poets (or king as his poetical title of *Khusrū* implies), was of Tātar origin. His father Amīr Seifuddin came to Hindustān, and settled at *Pātiāli* near Dihlī, where he married the daughter of Amād ul Mulk. His son Amīr Khusrū was born A. H. 651, A. D. 1253 Ouseley's *Persian Poets* p. 146.

[5] Abu-l-Fazl says *Siwālik*. Elliot.

king drew near and joined battle. And Sulṭān Ḥusain Jalāīr, a youth of great beauty, symmetry of form and bravery, fell in that battle. When they brought his head to the Khān Khānān, offering him congratulations, he calling to mind the youth's devotion to himself in times gone by, covered his face with a handkerchief and wept aloud, saying: 44 "A hundred reproaches on this life of mine! For through the misfortune of my soul so many youths are lost." Although the Hindūs of that place supported the Khān Khānān, fellow-feeling with the Moslem religion seized his skirt, so that turning his thoughts to the world to come, and purifying himself in the path of religion, he with a view to obtaining forgiveness for his shortcomings, sent without delay, and with the greatest humility, a message by the hand of Jamāl Khān, a *ghulām*, craving an audience with the Emperor. Then Mullā 'Abd-ullāh of Sulṭānpūr, whose title was Makhdūm-ul-mulk, set off with the intention of acceding to his request. But the armies still remained in the same position, and the coming and going of messengers continued, until Mun'im Khān, with a handful of intrepid men, came up and seized the Khān Khānān's person and brought him back. And all the Amīrs, in accordance with orders, went to meet him, and all honour and respect, just as in former times, having been paid to him, he received a free pardon, moreover a special dress of honour and a horse were given to him. Then Mun'im Khān brought him to his own abode, and put all his tents and appliances at his service. And two days afterwards he received permission to proceed to Mekka with such an allowance for travelling expenses as beseemed his rank. And the Amīrs and courtiers, both small and great, gave him every proper assistance in the shape of money, and that kind of stores which the Turks call *Chandogh*, and the Emperor having appointed Hājjī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī as the Khān's escort, himself went for recreation and hunting towards the castle of Firūzah, going by way of Dihlī; and on the fourth of Rabi'-ul-awwal[1] in the year nine hundred and sixty-eight (968) he made his glorious *entrée* into Dihlī. And on the 12th of Rabi'-us-sānī he arrived at Āgra, the metropolis, by water.

[1] The 3rd month

Now they say that the Khān Khānān going with his retinue to Gujrāt by way of Nāgōr, passed through a jungle which abounded in
45 the prickly acacia, and the corner of his turban was caught in a thorn and fell from his head. And, whereas such an event is usually considered a bad omen, in the Khān Khānān's case it was turned to quite the reverse,[1] for Hājī Muḥammad Khān aptly quoted the following [couplet from Hāfiz]:—

"When in the desert through desire for the *Ka'bah*[2] thou dost set thy foot,
If the thorn of the acacia hit thy head do not grieve."

And so the Khān's gloom was turned to cheerfulness:—

"By speech knots are untied,
By speech the rust of the heart is polished off:
Many a knot which comes into our affairs from destiny,
To open which seems difficult,
Suddenly, by a graceful turn of language,
That business is converted into facility."

When he arrived at Patan in Gujrāt, Musā Khān Fulādī, governor of Patan, and Hājjī Khān of Alwar, received him with the greatest respect, and gave themselves up to the necessary duties of hospitality. One day the Khān Khānān was taking a trip on the lake, called Sahnas Lang,[3] where one named Mubārak Khān Afghān, (he belied his name!), whose father the Khān Khānān at the beginning of the conquest of Hindūstan had ordered to be put to death, being resolved on vengeance, at the hour of evening prayer, when the Khān Khānān was getting out of the boat, came with a lot of ruffians, on the pretence of meeting him, and with one blow of his gleaming dagger made him drink the draught of martyrdom. And the date was found as follows:—

[1] Compare the case of William the Conqueror's falling down on landing in England.

[2] The *Ka'bah* (cube) is the square stone building in the mosque (called *Musjid ul Ḥarām*, 'sacred mosque,' or *Bait-ullāh* 'house of God') at Mecca, which contains the Black Stone (*Ḥajr ul aswad*), round which the act of encompassing (*Ṭawāf*) is performed at the Pilgrimage (*Ḥajj*.).

[3] *Sahasnak* (Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī).

"When Bairam put on the *Iḥrām*[1] in order to encompass the *Ka'bah*,
On the road he became a martyr,[2] not having obtained his desire.
Of my heart I asked the date of his martyrdom,
It said: *Muḥammad Bairām is become a martyr*[3];"

And the humble author of this history discovered an enigma 46
"He said, 'The rose is gone from the garden of beauty.'[4]"

Fragment.

"From the bowl of Fortune, who has ever drunk a draught,
To whom its drink has not been more deadly than poison?
How should the world make thee secure from vicissitudes,
When itself is not secure from vicissitudes?
Heaven is a thief breaking into the tent of life,
Alas! its form is not bending for naught!
Seek not repose, since for any one beneath the sky,
The means for attaining this has never been collected.
Only look at the blue[5] garment of the sky, and learn,
That this sphere can be nothing but a house of mourning
Put up with wounding, for to us from Fate
Wounds have become our portion, but not the antidote.
O Khāqānī, listen not to the deceptions of the world,
For its own laws are not secured from revolution."

The Khān Khānān always had a sympathetic heart, and was devoted to the words of the great Shaikhs (God be favourable unto them!), and in his noble company the talk was ever of the Word of God, and the Word of the Prophet. One day he went to Sīkrā to see a certain ascetic Dervish, and asked the meaning of this verse of the Qur'ān, [iii 25]: "Thou exaltest whom thou wilt, and thou

[1] The pilgrim-dress.

[2] To die on the pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the twenty-one ways of becoming a martyr (*Shahīd*). See Herklot's *Qanoon-e-Islām*, 71, 72.

[3] The sum of the numerical values of the letters of *Shahīd shud Muḥammad Bairām* is 968.

[4] *Gulshan-i-Khūbī* "garden of beauty" = 1018; take away *Gul* "rose" = 50, and the difference is 968.

[5] *Blue* is looked on as a presage of evil.

humblest whom thou wilt." And, since the Dervish had not read a commentary, he gave no answer. Then the Khān Khānān himself said. "Thou exaltest whom thou wilt," namely by means of contentment, "thou humblest whom thou wilt," by continued
47 craving.[1] Moreover Friday's prayers and attendance at the mosque were never neglected by him. He was, however, somewhat touchy on the subject of precedence, as Muḥammad Amīn Khatīb once said to the writer, "With regard to the titles of his Highness, you will do well to give him ever so many more than to other people."

And in the same year Miyān Ḥātim Sambhalī passed from the world, and a blow fell on religion for [says the Arabic proverb] "The death of the learned is a fissure in religion." And they found the date in the words,[2] "He is with the mighty King."

On the 12th of Rajab-ul-murajjab[3] in this year Bāz Bahādur, son of Sajāwal Khān[4], governor of Mālwah, advanced with elephants and numerous followers within 7 *cosses* of Sārangpūr[5] to oppose Adham Khān, Pīr Muḥammad Khān, and the other renowned Amīrs. He gave battle and was defeated, and his retinue, and servants, and wives, were all taken prisoners. On the day of the victory, the two captains remained on the spot, and had the captives brought before them, and troop after troop of them put to death, so that their blood flowed river upon river; and Pīr Muḥammad Khān, with a smile on his face, said in jest "what a plague of a strong neck this victim has, and what a power of blood has poured from it!" And as for God's creation, (which is only another term for *mankind*), with my own eye was it seen, that in his sight it was valued but as radishes,[6] and cucumbers, and leeks. When I, without any prejudice against either side, came to that army and saw the terror, like that

[1] 'A contented mind is a continual feast,' and so the contented man is always exalted. On the other hand the discontented man is always asking for more, and always considers himself ill-used.

[2] The words "'inda malīk-*in* muqtadir" give the date 968.

[3] The 7th month of the Muḥammedan year.

[4] *I. e.* Sajāwal Khān Sūr; see Blochm., 428.

[5] In Mālwah

[6] In Zia-al-Barni, p. 469, l. 15 (cf. p. 497, l. 11) *zakhm-i turub* "smiting of radishes" is used for "cutting off the head"

of the Judgment-day, I said to my friend Mihr 'Alī Khān Bēg Sildoz,[1] "Though the rebels have met with their deserts yet it is not at all in accordance with the Sacred Law to kill and imprison their wives and children." Then he, on account of the pain offered to his religious feelings and conscience, spoke to Pīr Muḥammad Khān to the same effect. He replied "In one single night all these captives have been taken, what can be done with them!" And the same night these plundering[2] marauders, having stowed away their Muḥammadan captives, consisting of the wives of Shaikhs, and Sayyids, and learned men, and nobles, in their boxes and saddle-bags, brought them to Ujjain[3] and other districts. And the Sayyids, and 48
Shaikhs of that place came out to meet him with their Qur'āns in their hands, but Pīr Muḥammad Khān put them all to death, and burnt them:—

> "Having torn off the binding of the Qur'ān,
> And made its leather into a kettle-drum,
> It is very clear from this, that he is
> An enemy of the Prophet."

All that had been the talk, with respect to the cruelty, insolence, and severity of Pīr Muḥammad Khān was shown to be only too true. And that, which former generations have said, was verified, viz., *He who seeks learning in scholastic theology, is an infidel: and the Doctors of scholastic theology are infidels, to whatever sect they belong; we flee to God for refuge—from a knowledge which doth not profit, from prayer that is not heard, from a heart that is not humble, and a belly that is not satisfied.* Adham Khān sent the whole account of the victory to the Court, with some elephants under the escort of Çādik Muḥammad Khān. But most of the elephants, and of the ladies of the ḥaram, and the dancing-girls and nautch-girls, belonging to Bāz Bahadur, and all his precious things he kept for himself. On this account the Emperor on the

[1] *Sildoz* is the name of a Chaghtai clan.

[2] *Quzāq*, whence the word *Cossack*.

[3] The name in Sanskrit is Ujjayini, *i. e.*, "victorious"; *cf.* Νικόπολις, and Alqāhirah "the victorious," *i. e.*, Cairo the metropolis of Egypt.

1st of Sha'bān[1] in the year nine hundred and sixty-eight (968) set out from Āgra, and came to Sārangpūr, and having taken possession of the spoil, and arranged the affairs of that state, on the 29th of Ramzān[2] he came back to the foot of the throne.[3]

In this year the Khān Zamān,[4] with the help of Ibrāhīm Khān Uzbek, and Majnūn Khan Qāqshāl, and Shāhim Khān Jalāir,[5] fought against Shēr Khān, son of 'Adalī, who had succeeded to his father at Chunhār, and was come to Jounpūr with a considerable force. The Khān Zamān defeated him, and gained a signal victory. This is the second victory that was gained at Jounpūr. (On the 17th of Zī-l-ḥijjah of this year the Emperor came to Āgra.)[6] And towards the end of this year, on account of the suspected insubordination of the Khān Zamān, the Emperor honoured Karah with
49 his presence, passing by way of Kālpī, and accepting the hospitality of 'Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek the governor of that place. Then the Khān Zamān and Bahadur Khān came quickly from Jounpūr with every appearance of good will, and paid their respects to the Emperor, bringing with them elephants, and valuable presents, by way of compliment: then they, being honoured with a gift of horses, and dresses of honour, were dismissed to their fiefs. And *Peace is the best*[7] gives the date of that event, with one unit too much:

"The Messenger of prosperity in this ancient world
Uttered the shout that: *Peace is the best.*"

On the 17th of Zī-l-ḥijjah[8] of this year [A. H. 968], the Emperor returned to Āgra.

[1] The 8th month.

[2] The 9th month entitled *al-mubārak* "the blessed." During this month a fast of the most rigorous kind is enjoined. On the night of the 27th of this month, called *Lail-ul-qadr* "the night of power," the Qur'ān began to be revealed.

[3] *I. e.*, returned to Āgra.

[4] *'Alī Qūlī Khān*, see p. 5.

[5] *Jalāir* is the name of a Chaghtāi tribe.

[6] This sentence, which is out of place here, is repeated on the next page of the text, where it is appropriate enough. It occurs in the latter position in the *Ṭabaqāt i-Akbarī*.

[7] These words give: 1+30+90+30+8+60)+10+200=969.

[8] The 12th month.

And in this same year his reverence the Doctor Mulānā Sa'id, the profound Professor of the age, came from Transoxiana; but, on account of want of appreciation on the part of his cotemporaries, he could not remain in Hindūstān: —

"Say O Humā,[1] never cast thy glorious shadow on a land
Where the parrot is less esteemed than the kite."

And His Highness[2] the Qāzi Abu-l-Ma'ālī, the son-in-law of His Highness the Prince[3] of Bukharā, also, who was a master-builder in legal science, and a second glory of the Imāms, and in the Derwish order was one whose words and direction were followed, and who after saying the 5 customary prayers,[4] used to make a practice of reading the Qur'ān aloud,[5] came; and the compiler of this epitome read a few lessons in the beginning of the Sharḥi-Waqāyah with auspicious and blessed results in the presence of that great man. And Naqīb Khān, also, had the good fortune to study under him, and verily, he was a wondrous precious person and blessed (the mercy of God be upon him!)

On the 8th of Jumādā-l-awwal[6] in the year nine hundred and sixty-nine (969) the Emperor went on a pilgrimage[7] to the blessed tomb of that Pole-star of Shaikhs and Saints, Khwājah Mu'īn-ud-din Chishtī (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!), and gave presents and alms to the people who waited there. And 50
at the town of Sāmbhar, celebrated for its salt-mines, Raja Pahārah Mall, governor of Ambēr,[8] together with his son Rā[i] Bhagvān Dās, came and paid his respects to the Emperor, who then espoused his

[1] *Humā* a bird of happy omen. Every head which it overshadows, it is supposed, will in time wear a crown.

[2] *Khudādām* (like *Bandagān*, p. 19, l. 3 *infrā*, and p. 235, l. 11 of Text) is merely a circumlocution for the person himself.

[3] Comp. the expression *'Azīzi Miṣr* 'king of Egypt.'

[4] *Viz.* (1) Before dawn, (2) midday, (3) afternoon, (4) before sunset, (5) evening. These five hours of prayer are of divine institution (*farz*).

[5] Read *Jahrānah*, not *Jahri-arrah*, which is nonsense.

[6] The fifth month.

[7] *Ziyādat* is, of course, a printer's error, for *Ziyārat*.

[8] The three great Rājpūt states are Jaipūr or Ambēr, Jodhpūr or Marwar, Ūdipūr or Mēwār.

gentle daughter in honourable wedlock. And Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain, who held a fief on the confines of Ajmīr, he appointed to reduce the fortress of Mīrt'ha, which is within 20 *cosses* of Ajmīr, and was held by Jaimall Rājpūt; and then returned quickly[1] to Āgra. Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain gave quarter to the garrison, but stipulated that they should carry away with them none of their goods or personal property. So Jaimall evacuated the place. But a certain Deo Dās one of Jaimall's soldiers contrary to the stipulations, at the time of withdrawing, with a considerable number of men set fire to the goods and chattels of the fortress, and offered an obstinate resistance. After raising many of the imperial soldiers to the grade of martyrdom, he himself went into eternal fire, and 200 of his renowned Rājpūts went to hell.[2] Thus by the help of Shāh Budāgh Khān, and his son 'Abd-ul-muṭlab Khān, and other Amīrs the fortress was taken.

In those days Pīr Muḥammad Khān, who after Adham Khān went to the Court possessed absolute power in Mālwah, collected a great force, and led it against Burhānpūr and reduced Bījāgaṛh, a strong fortress, by force of arms, and made a general slaughter. Then he turned towards Khāndēsh, and was not content with himself, unless he practised to the utmost the Code[3] of Changīz Khān [the Moghul, viz., *no quarter*], massacring, or making prisoners of all the inhabitants of Burhānpūr and Asīr,[4] and then crossing the river Narbadah he raised the conflict[5] to the very heavens, and utterly destroyed many towns and villages of that district, and swept every
51 thing clean and clear :—

[1] "In a day and a night" *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*! "In less than three days," *Abu-l-Fazl*. "In three days." *T. Alpī*. Elliot.

[2] Our candid author was a pious *Muslim*, and speaks in fitting terms of *Kāfirs!*

[3] It is very strange that Defrémery (*Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Janvier, 1852, p. 76) should call *Taurat* a 'mongol word'; when it is known to all that it is *Hebrew*, and is used in the Qur'ān (in the form *Taurāt*) to denote the Pentateuch. But it is, of course, true that it is used of this code.

[4] A well-known place in Khāndēsh, Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī, Elliot, v. 275.

[5] The word used is *'arbadah*, because of its similarity of sound to the name *Narbadah*.

"First they carried off every one from house and home,
All money and chattels, whether hidden or exposed:
They robbed the crown from the pulpit, as well as the turban from the preacher,
They tore the cupola from the mosque, as well as the lamp from the Mināret."

Then, while his men were in confusion,[1] and left far behind him, Bāz Bahādur Khān, who fled together with some of the rulers of that country, in conjunction with other *zāmīndārs* made an attack on Pīr Muḥammad Khān. He could not sustain the attack, but betook himself towards Mandū. In the course of his retreat, in company with all his Amīrs, he rode his horse into the river Narbadah. It chanced that a string of camels which were passing at the time, attacked his horse, and he went by water to fire.[2] And so the sighs of the orphans, and weak, and captives were his ruin :—

"Fear thou the arrow-shower[3] of the weak in the ambush of night,
For, the more he sighs through weakness, the stronger is the blow of his dart.
When you have cast Bīzhan[4] into the well, do not sleep like Afrāsyāb,
For Rustam is in ambush, and a crocodile is under his cuirass."

[1] *Uljah* is a Hindūstānī word meaning "confusion", it occurs also p. 41, line 13 of Text.

[2] *I. e.*, was drowned, and went to Hell.

[3] The arrow-shower is *prayer*, cf. the saying of some Christian writer that: Fervent prayer is like an arrow shot from a strong bow, it pierces the cloud; but half-hearted prayer is like an arrow shot feebly, which falls to the earth without reaching its mark. "The ambush of night" means the darkness of anguish and oppression.

[4] *Bīzhan*, (whom Sir W. Jones calls the Paris of Ferdusi), on account of his love adventure with *Manīzha*, daughter of Afrāsyāb, was made a captive by the Turks, and confined in a dismal dungeon, till he was delivered by *Rustam*. The crocodile represents Rustam's charger named *Rakhsh* The reader is referred to the *Shāhnāmah* for further legends about *Rustam*. Here, as the Deliverer, he represents God, who avenges the cause of the helpless, when they cry unto Him against the oppressor. Cf. Exodus xxii. 23; Deut. xv 9; xxiv. 15, &c.

And the Amīrs of Mālwah, seeing that their remaining any longer in that district was beyond the bounds of possibility, read the verse of flight[1], and came to the Court. For some time they were imprisoned, but eventually obtained their release. Bāz Bahadur Khān again became possessed of Mālwah, but 'Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek, in conjunction with Mu'in-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān Farankhūdī and others, brought that country into subjection to the Emperor Bāz Bahadur for some time took refuge in Chitōr, and Ūdīpūr, with Rāna[2] Ūdī Singh, but afterwards went away: and after remaining some time in Gujrat he came to the Court, and returned to his allegiance He was imprisoned for some time, and, though he
52 obtained his release, he did not escape the claw of death:—

"In this many-coloured garden there does not grow a tree,
Which can escape the molestation of the wood-man."

And 'Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek remaining at Hāndiyah,[3] the auxiliary[4] Amīrs went to their fiefs, and Mu'īn-ud-dīn Khān came to the Court.

In this year Khwājagī Muḥammad Çalih of Hirāt, grandson of Khwājah 'Abd-ullāh Marwārīd, a well-known Wazīr, was appointed to the Çadr-ate.[5] But he had not such absolute power [as his

[1] *I. e.*, they fled. Compare the following two from *Bahā ud-dīn Zahīr*. (1) *Wakuntu ka-sūrat-i-'l-'ikhlāç-i anmā 'abarta, wakanta 'anta ka-dī janābah*, "And I was like the Sūrah of Sincerity [so pure and sincere] when you passed by, and *you* were like one ceremonially unclean [*i. e.*, not fit to touch the Qur'ān]." (2) *Qara'nā Sūrat 'as-salwān-i 'ankum, bal ḥafiẓnāhā*, "We read the Sūrah of Parting without regret from you, nay, we learnt it by heart." Sūrah cxii see p. 23, is called *Sūrat-ûl-'ikhlāç*, but there is not one called *Surat-'us salwān*. The latter expression is imitated from the former which is proverbial. So the expression "the verse of flight" (possibly too with some reference to Al Qur'ān xxxiii. 16) is after the analogy of the phrase "the verse of the Throne" meaning Al Qur'ān ii. 256.

[2] *Rāna* is Hindi for *Rāja*; and fem. *Rānī* (text, p 17, l. 6) for *Rājnī*. *Ūdī* is the Hindi *Udaya*.

[3] Spelt *Hindra* in the maps.

[4] *Kūmaki* (or *Kūmākchī*) means 'auxiliary' The words are *Chaghatāī—Tātar*, see Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turk-oriental*, p. 476, and C. Defrémery, *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, Février—Mars, 1852, p. 283.

[5] See p. 22, note.

predecessors] in the matter of conferring and granting *Aukāf*,[1] and *Madadi ma'āsh*: and his authority was more that of a clerk.

In this year Sayyid Bēg, son of Ma'çūm Bēg, came as ambassador with a letter from Shāh Ṭahmāsp [of Persia], containing all the conventional condolences [for the death] of the late Emperor. That letter shall be given hereafter *in extenso*, if God (He is exalted!) will. He was received with all honour and respect, and the Emperor presented him with a sum of seven *lacs* of *tankahs*[2] and a horse, and dress of honour, besides all the hospitality and kindness, which the Amīrs showed him, so that he went back from Hindūstān with gifts and presents without number.

On Monday the 12th of Ramzan[3] of the year 969 Adham Khān through pride, and presuming on his favour with the Emperor, and being jealous because he had taken the premiership from Māhum Ankah[4] and given it to Atkah Khān (surnamed A'zam Khān, who on his arrival from the Punjāb had been made Prime-minister) at the suggestion of Mun'im Khān and Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān,[5] and some others, who were jealous of Atkah Khān, cut him in pieces [as he sat] at the head of the Dīwān. Then with his sword in his hand he swaggered in, and took his stand at the door of the royal

[1] *Ibidem.*

[2] *Tankah*, called *Tāka* in Bengāl, is there at the present time the name for *rupee*.

[3] The ninth month.

[4] Ferishta (Briggs ii. p. 211) says that 'a nurse's husband, and her male relations are called Atka [Blochmann *Atgah*]: the wet-nurse herself in Turkī is called Anka [Calcutta Chaghatāī Dict. and Blochmann pronounce *Anagah*]: a foster-brother is called Koka [or with the affix of unity, Kokaltāsh, which Ab-ul-Fazl writes *Gokaltāsh*].' Whenever, then, a Persian Text, as here, has *Atkah* after the name of a *woman*, it must be read *Ankah* or *Anagah*. Akbar had three nurses, *Māhum Anagah* mother of Adham Khān and Muḥammad Bāqī Khān; *Pīchah Jān Anagah*, wife of Khwājah Muqçūd 'Alī a servant of Akbar's mother; and *Jījī Anagah* wife of Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad Atgah Khān (the *Atkah Khān*, whose death is here recorded). Ab-ul-Fazl says, that after the fall of Bairām Khān, Māhum Anagah, by whose machinations that result was brought about, became *de facto* [if not *de jure*] prime-minister, while the ostensible minister was *Mun'im Khān*.

[5] A Sayyid of Nisāpūr, and a relative of Māhum Ankah.

inner apartments. Then the Emperor also seized a sword, and coming out, asked him, "Why did you commit such an act?" He
53 answered, "A disloyal[1] fellow has met with his deserts." Then they bound him hand and foot, and cast him down from the top of the terrace of the palace, and since he still breathed the Emperor commanded them to throw him down a second time. By chance it happened that the murderer was buried one day before his victim. And so that disturbance died down. And one date is *Two violent deaths took place*,[2] and another, by way of a riddle, is:—

"From his violence A'zam Khān lost his head."[3]

The second is exactly correct, but the first is one too many. And some one else said as follows:—

"The army's greatest[4] Khān, A'zam Khān,
Whose equal none saw in this age,
Went to martyrdom in the month of fasting,
He drank fasting the draught of death.
Would that he had been martyred one year later,
For then the year of his death would have been *Khān Shahīd*."[5]

And when she had presented the food of the fortieth[6] day of mourning for Adham Khān, Māhim Ankah, through grief, joined her son.

[1] In the text read *nā* instead of *tā*.

[2] 6+4+600+6+50+4+300=970.

[3] *Zulm* 'violence' gives 970. The 'head' of *A'zam* is *A*, *i. e.* 1, subtract this from 970, and you get 969 the date.

[4] Punning on the name *A'zam*, which means 'greatest.'

[5] *I. e.*, 'Martyr Khān' = 970.

[6] On the 39th day after the death they cook, during the day, *polāū*, a dish made of rice, meat, stale butter clarified (*ghī*), curdled milk, spices, &c.; and at night they prepare plenty of curries, *tulun* (fried food), *polāū*, &c. (*i. e.*, such dishes as the deceased was in the habit of eating during his life), arrange them in plates, together with various aromatic spices &c., some of the clothes, and jewels of the deceased, which they deposit on the spot where the individual gave up the ghost, and over them suspend to the ceiling a flower-garland. Some foolish women believe, that on the fortieth day the soul of the dead leaves the house, if it has not done so previously; and if it has, it returns to it on that day, takes a survey of the above articles, partakes of such as he takes a fancy to, swings by the flower-wreath, and departs. These sayings and doings, however, are all innovations, and consequently unlawful. *Qanoon-e Islām*, 424.

In this year my late, lamented, father (may God have mercy on him!), the Shaikh Mulūkshāh, on the 27th of Rajab in Āgrah, through liver-complaint, transferred the baggage of existence from this transitory world to the eternal kingdom. I carried his corpse in a coffin to Basāwar and buried him there. I found the date as follows:—

"The Title-page of the Excellent of the world, Mulūkshāh,
That Sea of Knowledge, that Source of Generosity, and Mine of Excellence,
Since in his time there proceeded from him a very World of Excellence,
The date of the year of his death comes out: *a World of Excellence*."[1]

And by a curious coincidence the Pīr, who had been his patron, *viz.*, Shaikh Panjū Sambhalī, who had a great following, and a few of whose excellencies will be mentioned, if God will, in the sequel to this work, in this same year attained union with the True Beloved, and the following was found to give the date:— 54

"The Perfection of Truth and Religion, Shaikh Panjū,
Whose place the Garden of Paradise became,
By way of enigma the date of his death
Is got out from his heart-attracting Name."[2]

And another *mnemosynon* for the date is *Darwīsh dānishmand* "the learned Dervish" (may God have mercy on him!).

In this year Mun'im Khān, the Khān Khānān, and Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, the High Admiral, on account of their being accomplices in the lawless and base act of Adham Khān, and for other reasons, passing the ford of *Pūyah* in a boat at the time of evening prayer, with the connivance of certain poor *zamīndārs*, in company with two or three horsemen, went towards Ropar[3] and Bajwārah[4]

[1] *Jahān i jazl*=3+5+1+50+80+30+800=969.

[2] By taking the numerical values of the letters in *Shaykh Panjū*, omitting *P* which is not included in *Abjad*, we get 969.

[3] On the river Satlaj.

[4] P. 10.

by the skirts of the mountains. Thence they continued their flight towards Kābul, where Ghanī Khān, son of Mun'im Khān, was governor, and eventually came to the *pargana* of Sarūt, which is in the Dōāb, the fief of Mīr Muḥammad Munshī. Qāsim 'Alī Khān, [and] Asp[1] Julāb Sistānī, governor of that *pargana*, a donkey of a fellow, recognizing in their mode of action in the jungle signs of flight, with a number of ruffians and whole *posse comitatus*, came and seized both of them. Then he sent the news to the people of Sayyid Maḥmūd Bārha, who happened to be in the neighbourhood. The latter appointed a number of his sons, and friends, to accompany them, and sent them with every mark of honour and respect to Āgra. The Emperor commanded a number of those about his person to meet them, and bring them to his presence. Then at his own request he reinstated the Khān Khānān in his office of Premier under even better conditions than before. So the Khān Khānān, in conjunction with Shīhāb Khān and Khwājah Jahan, continued to conduct public affairs.

In this year Mīr Muḥammad Khān Atkah,[2] surnamed Khān Kalān, went with a considerable force to the aid of Kamāl Khān[3] 55 G'hakkar into the territory of the G'hakkars, and after a battle took prisoner Sultān Ādam the paternal uncle of Kāmal Khān, who has been already mentioned.[4] His son, Lashkarī by name, fled to Kashmīr, and was afterwards captured, and both father and son[5] died a natural death. Then the whole district was entrusted to Kamāl Khān, and he hastened to do homage to the Emperor at Āgra.

One day the Emperor made a great feast, and Khān Kalān wished to present a *qaçīdah*, which in his vanity he had called *Gharrā* [splendid], in the presence of the Amīrs and nobles and great poets. As soon as he had recited the first line of the first couplet as follows :—

[1] *Asp* means "a horse," hence the wit of calling him "a donkey."

[2] Elder brother of Atka Khān (*A'zam Khān*).

[3] A farmān had been issued that the territories of the G'hakkars should be divided between him and Sultān Ādam. But the latter resisted this division of territory. Elliot, V. 279.

[4] See above, p. 13.

[5] The Akbar-nāmah says that the son was put to death. Elliot, V. 280.

"Thanks be to God that *I* have returned
After conquering the G'hakkar"—

suddenly 'Abd-ul-Malik Khān, his relative, (while the Emperor was giving all his attention to the *qaçīdah*, which was in fact the cause of the issue of the invitations, and in return for which Khān Kalān *expected* a great gift), came forward and shouted out "My Khān you ought to have said *we* returned, for there were other *expectants* besides yourself." At which the whole company fell on the back of their heads[1] with laughter. Then Khān Kalān threw his turban on the ground and exclaimed "My Liege! satisfaction from this little incapable, who has marred the results of all my labour!" And one of the witticisms of the time is this verse which 'Abd-ul-Malik made for his signet ring :—

"When you increase '*Abd*[2] by *Malik*
You must put *Alif Lām* between."

And Mullā Shīrī, the well-known Hindū poet, has a *qaçīdah* of eulogy and satire dedicated to him; and this is one of the couplets in it :—

"If a rustic[3] confront you, get out of his way,
For you are a gentleman, and ought not to confront a rustic."

In this year Maulānā 'Alā-'ud-dīn Larī, author of notes in explana- 56
tion of the "*'Aqā'idi nasafī*," came from the Khān Zamān's
to Āgra, and applied himself to the study of the sciences, and founded a school of worthless persons, the date of the foundation of which is given by the words *Madrasah-e Khas*[4] "A school of the worthless." Then he went on a pilgrimage, and from that journey he travelled to the other world (God's mercy be upon him!).

In this year the affairs of Kābul fell into confusion, and several Governors, becoming marks for the arrows of promotion, and then

[1] Anglicè "split their sides."

[2] *'Abd* is 'servant' and 'Malik' is 'king,' *'Abd-ul-Malik* means 'servant of the king.' But there is perhaps a further meaning of an unedifying nature.

[3] The same word that is used in p. 10, l. 2; see note on that passage.

[4] 40+4+200+60+5+600+60=969.

of disgrace, in a short space of time felt the effects of the ups and downs of fortune. Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān, *Ākhtah-bēgī*,[1] on his coming to Hindūstān from his own quarter, had been promoted to the government of Kābul. The Khān Khānān, Mun'im Khān, on account of the bad disposition of Ḥaidar Khān, now wrote for his own son Ghanī Khān to come, and then appointed him to supersede Ḥaidar Khān. But Ghanī Khān, through his depravity, followed in the footsteps of Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān, and committed many discreditable actions. For instance, without any cause he imprisoned Tolak Khān Qūchīn,[2] who was one of the chief Amīrs. But he in turn fell into his hands, and experienced the lash of the hemistich :—

"The drink, that thou givest others, thou thyself shalt drink."

When with a hundred strategems Ghanī Khān effected his escape, and, breaking his word, and oath, brought a considerable force to bear against Tolak Khān, who without waiting to fight made for Hindūstān: then Māh Jūjak Bēgum, (mother of Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the son of the Emperor Humāyūn, who was at that time ten years of age), with the concurrence of Shāh Walī Bēg Atkah, and Fazā'il Bēg the Blind, brother of Mun'im Khān, whose eyes Mirzā Kāmrān[3] had put out,[4] and his son Abu-l-Fatḥ Bēg, closed the fort of Kābul against Ghanī Khān. So he was compelled to go to Hindūstān, and, on account of his undutifulness towards his father, being unable to find road or way, fled, as an exile[5] and wanderer, to Jounpūr, until at last he escaped from the disgrace of existence. Now the afore-mentioned Fazā'il Bēg was

[1] The officer in charge of the geldings, not to be confounded with the higher title Ātbēgī (from the Turkish *āt* a horse) Blochmann, *Āīn-i Akbarī*, 432, *n.*

[2] He began his career under Bābar, joined Humāyūn on his return from Persia, accompanied him to India, and after the Emperor's death became a supporter of Akbar. Compare p. 3, where he is called *Qūrchī* (comp. p. 13 *n.*) His correct appellation seems to be *Qūchīn*. He is called *Qūlchīn* in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

[3] Humāyun's brother.

[4] See Erskine ii, 336.

[5] The reading of this word in the original is doubtful.

the Bēgum's lieutenant, and his son Abu-l-Fatḥ Bēg acted as his deputy, and they by combined tyranny helped themselves to good fiefs. and put off the Prince's suite with inferior ones. Shāh Walī Atkah not being able to stand this, with the assistance of 'Alī Muḥammad Asp (who is now on the list of the Emperor's Courtiers), and by the Bēgum's orders one night made an end of Abu-l-Fatḥ while he was drunk. On which, as his father was making for Hazārah[1] with his goods and chattels, suddenly the servants of the prince went after him and sent him to his son.[2] Then Shāh Walī Bēg with the Bēgum's permission assumed the management of affairs, and gave himself the title of 'Ādil Shāh. On account of these things the Emperor sent Mun'im Khān, with some Amīrs, to undertake the guardianship of the Prince, and the government of Kābul. Then the Bēgum Māh Jūjak taking the Prince with her went with the whole of the forces of Kābul to Jalālābād[3] intending to offer resistance. Mun'im Khān and all of the auxiliary Amīrs, among whose number were Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās and Ḥasan Khān brother of Shihāb Khān, on the first attack met with a severe repulse,[4] and giving his retinue to the wind turned his face towards the Court in such a plight as may no one see [again]! After this victory the Bēgum on a suspicion of treachery sent Shāh Walī to the world of non-existence :— 57

"A partridge eat an ant, a hawk came and asked satisfaction of the partridge,
Afterwards an eagle came, and did the same by the hawk,
A hunter shot an arrow at him, and took his life,
The rolling sphere one day brings down dust on the hunter."[5]

[1] The northern portion of the tract which is included in the branches of the Hindū Kush.

[2] *I. e.*, killed him too.

[3] Known of old by the name of Jusāī. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

[4] According to Elliot's translation of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* "Mun'im Khān defeated and scattered her forces at the first attack." He, or his MS.. is evidently in error.

[5] For a parallel instance of primitive notion of retribution, see Mishnah. *Ābōth*, ii: Hillel saw a scull floating on the water, and said to it 'Because thou madest others to float, thou hast been made to float: and, eventually, they who made thee to float, shall themselves float.'—The Persian idiom here is

When Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī returned from Mekka he went towards the Court. Suddenly near Jālwar, at the instigation of Mīrzā
58 Sharaf-ud dīn Ḥusain, he took to rebellion, and went about laying his hands on everything he came across. This Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain had at this time fled from Āgra, and Ḥusain Qulī Khan, Çādiḳ Muḥammad Khān, and others had been sent in pursuit of him, as will be mentioned shortly, if God (He is exalted!) will. Then Ismāīl Qulī Khan and Aḥmad Bēg and Iskandar Bēg, relatives of Ḥusain Qulī Khān, went in pursuit of Abu-l-Ma'ali, who entered the fortress of Narnoul, and, seizing the treasures of that place, distributed them amongst his own party. And after that his brother Khānzādah (whom they also called "king of libertines")[1] was captured in the confines of Narnoul by Muḥammad Çādiḳ Khan and Ismāīl Qulī Khān, who went in pursuit of him. So, being helpless, he turned from Hindūstan and went towards Kābul. And coming into the district of the Panjāb by the jungle-side, with the concurrence[2] of their attendants, he killed Iskandar Bēg and Aḥmad Bēg, who had got separated from the [illegible]s, and then wrote a petition and sent it to the Bēgum Māh Jūjak Bēgum, mother of Mīrza Muḥammad Ḥakīm. It contained professions of regard for the late Emperor, and of the sincerity of his own fidelity, and in the beginning of it the following couplet was written:—

"We are not come to this door, for the sake of pomp and grandeur,
We are come here as a refuge from the evil of circumstances."

The Bēgum wrote in answer to him:—

"Show kindness and alight, for the house is thy house."

peculiar; *var-āwardan* "to bring on" when used of *destruction* takes the prep. *az* "from" before the thing *on* which the destruction is brought. *E. g.*, in the episode of *Sohrāb* we find:—

Ba-zakhm-ī sar-ī gurz-i sindān-shikan
Bar-ārad damār az du çad anjuman.

"With a stroke of the end of his anvil-smashing mace *he brings destruction on* two hundred battalions." So too in p. 25, line 17 of our Text, see p. 18 *n.*

[1] Shāh-e lawandān.

[2] Some of those under their command had been formerly in the service of Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain, and now had bound themselves by an oath to desert Aḥmad Bēg and Sikandar Bēg whenever Abu-l-Ma'alī should be met with. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. See p. 60 of our Text.

He married the Bēgum's little daughter; and then, assuming the management of affairs, at the instigation of some conspirators, such as Shūkūn son of Qarāchah Khān and others, slew the helpless Bēgum, and martyred Ḥaidar Qāsim Kōhbar, who for some time had been Shāh Wāli Bēg's successor as [the Mīrzā's] irresponsible lieutenant. His brother Muḥammad Qāsim Kōhbar he imprisoned. 59
And when a considerable body of men bound on their girdles to avenge the Bēgum, and punish him, a savage fight took place within the fortress of Kābul, in which he drove them out. And Muḥammad Qāsim, having effected his escape, went to Badakhshān, and instigated Mīrzā Sulaimān to expel Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī; Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, also, sent some of his people to urge him to come: as will appear later on.

In this year Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain—who is of the fourth generation from his Reverence:—

"He, who is acquainted with the *Freedom* of God,
Is the Lord of the *Free*, (though) the *Servant of God*"[1]:—

after the return from Makka of his illustrious father Khwājah Mu'īn-ud-dīn (son of Khwājah Khāvind, son of Khwājah Yaḥā, son of Khwājah *Aḥrār*, God rest their souls!), and after his father's receiving all honours went from Nāgōr to Āgra the metropolis. And through the baseness of some envious persons (may their names and marks be blotted out from the page of the world!), without any apparent reason conceiving a suspicion, he went off towards Nāgōr.[2] Then the Emperor sent Çadiq Muḥammad Khān, and a body of men, together with Ḥusain Qūlī Khān[3] in pursuit of him, with instructions to try first conciliatory measures, and, if those failed, to extirpate him. Then he, handing over the empty fortress of Ajmīr to Tīr Khān Dīwānah, hastened to Nāgōr.[4] But Dīwānah deserted the fortress, and went and followed his principal. Then Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn, having met with Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ali

[1] '*Ubaid-ullāh* means 'little servant of God.' *Aḥrār* means 'the free.'

[2] Ajmīr and Nāgōr, which were his *jāgīrs*. *Akbar-nāmah*. Elliott V. 282.

[3] He had received a grant of Mīrzā Sharaf's *jāgīr*.

[4] The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* also has Nāgōr. But *Abu-l-Fazl* says *Jālōr* which, as Elliot remarks, the context shows to be correct.

at Jālōr (who, as has been related, was on his road from Mekka to the Court), they so arranged matters together, that Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī should go against the people[1] of Ḥusain Qulī Khān, who were at
60 Ḥājīpūr, and passing that way, should bring Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm from Kābul, while Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn should do what he could [to prevent rebellion] where he was. But Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī, on hearing the news of the pursuit of Çādiq Muḥammad Khān and the other Amīrs, turned aside and betook himself to Narnoul, where Mīr Gesū was governor. Him he made prisoner, but not meeting with any further success, except being able to seize some gold, since he saw the way to the Panjāb and Kābul open to him, he pursued his original design. And Aḥmad Bēg and Iskander Bēg,[2] separating from the army of Çādiq Muḥammad Khān and Ismāīl Qūlī Khān,[3] went after him without delay, and overtook him. And a body of the servants of Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain, whom these two leaders had attached to their cause and perfectly trusted,[4] sent a rascal named Zamānah Qulī to Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī in great haste, with a message to the effect that if he would remain at a certain place, they would make an end of these two leaders as soon as ever they arrived :—

"You may ascertain in one day the attainments of a man,
Up to what point on the ladder of sciences he has reached;
But be not confident as to his heart, and be not deceived,
For the wickedness of the heart may remain unknown for years."

When they drew near, Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī on the one side, and these domestic enemies on the other, sprang out of ambush, and brought both the Amīrs under the pitiless sword. And their old retainers, when they saw what had taken place, fled like frightened deer or

[1] When he went in pursuit of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, he left his wives and family at Ḥājīpūr. *Akbar-nāmah.*

[2] Relatives of Ḥusain Qūlī Khān. Elliot V, 284.

[3] Brother of Ḥusain Qūlī Khān.

[4] They had formerly served under Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn, and were in reality devoted to him. Now they were serving under Aḥmad Bēg and Sikandar Bēg, and had bound themselves by an oath to desert to Abu-l-Ma'ālī, as soon as he should be attacked. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*

wild animals. When news of this came to the Emperor, he happened to be enjoying himself hunting in the neighbourhood of Mat'hurā.[1] Nevertheless he marched at once towards Dihlī with the intention of quelling the disturbance.

And it was at that place that his Majesty's intention of connecting himself by marriage with the nobles of Dihlī was first broached, 61
and Qawwāls[2] and eunuchs were sent into the harems for the purpose of selecting daughters of the nobles, and of investigating their condition. And a great terror fell upon the city. Now it was the suggestions[3] of Shaikh Badah, and Lahrah, lords of Āgra, which set in motion this train of events. The circumstances are as follows: A widowed daughter-in-law of Shaikh Badah, Fātimah[4] by name (though unworthy of such an honourable appellation), through evil passions and pride of life, which bear the fruits of wantonness, by the intervention of her tire-women lived in adultery with Bāqī Khān, brother of Buzurg Adham Khān, whose house was near hers. And this adultery was afterwards dragged into a marriage. She used to bring with her to festive gatherings, another daughter-in law of Shaikh Badah, who had a husband living, whose name was 'Abd-ul-Wāsi. And the story of the pious cat,[5] which is told in the beginning of the Anwār-i-Sohailī, came true. Now this woman, whose husband was still living, was wonderfully beautiful, and altogether a charming wife without a peer. One day it chanced that the eyes of the Emperor fell upon her, and so he sent to the Shaikh a proposal of union, and held out hopes to the husband. For it is a law of the Moghul Emperors[6] that, if the Emperor cast his eye with desire on any woman, the husband is bound

[1] Near Āgra.

[2] A *Qawwāl* is a person sent to the father of a lady in the proposals of marriage. He praises his principal before the father of the lady.

[3] See below. The word *lahrah* seems corrupt.

[4] According to a saying of Mahomet four women attained perfection, viz., Asia the wife of Pharaoh, Mary the daughter of Imrān, Khadījah the daughter of Khowailed (the prophet's first wife), and Fatimah the prophet's daughter.

[5] See Anwāri Sohailī (Ouseley) p. 275, l. 1. It does not occur in the beginning of the book.

[6] This was an article in the Code of Changīz Khān, See Price II, p 660.

to divorce her, as is shown in the story of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd and Mīr Chobān and his son Damashq Khwājah. Then 'Abd-ul-Wāsi', reading the verse[1]: "God's earth is wide":—

"To a master of the world the world is not narrow[2]"

bound three divorces[3] in the corner of the skirt of his wife, and went to the city of Bīdar in the kingdom of the Dakkan, and so was lost sight of; and that virtuous lady entered the Imperial Ḥaram. Then Fātimah, at the instigation of her own father-in-law urged that the Emperor should become connected in marriage with other nobles
62 also of Āgra and Dihlī, that the relation of equality [between the different families] being manifested, any necessity for unreasonable preference might be avoided.

At this time, when one day the Emperor was walking and came near the Madrasah-e Bēgum, a slave named Fūlād, whom Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain, when he fled and went to Makka, had set free, shot an arrow[4] at him from the top of the balcony of the Madrasah, which happily did no more than graze his skin. When the full significance of this incident was made known to the Emperor by supernatural admonition and the miracles of the Pīrs of Dihlī, he gave up his intention.[5] The Emperor ordered the wretched man to be brought to his deserts at once, although some of the Amīrs wished him to delay a little until the affairs should be investigated, with a view to discovering what persons were implicated in the conspiracy. His Majesty went on horseback to the fortress, and there the physicians applied themselves to his cure, so that in a

[1] Al-Qor'ān IV, 99. The word used here for "wide" is the fem. of his own name *Wāsi'*.

[2] *Omne solum forti patria est.*

[3] "Ye may divorce [your wives] twice, and then either retain them with humanity, or dismiss then with kindness..... But if he divorce her [a third time], she shall not be lawful for him again, until she marry another husband. But if he [also] divorce her, it shall be no crime in them, if they return to each other" Al-Qor'ān II, 229. 230.

[4] In this, as in most other events, the native historians, while agreeing in the main facts, are wonderfully at variance with regard to details. See Briggs' *Ferishta* II, 215, and Elliot V, 285.

[5] Viz. of marrying any other ladies of Agra and Dihlī.

short time he was healed of his wound, and mounting his royal litter[1] went to Āgra.

On the 15th of the month Jumāda-s-sānī[2] of the year 970 the Emperor returned to the metropolis. In this year also took place the death of Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī in Kābul. The circumstances are as follows. After the tragic end of the Bēgum,[3] the mother of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Muḥammad Qāsim Kohbar[4] fled to Mīrzā Sulaimān in Badakhshān. Then the Mīrzā,[5] with his wife, who is known as Walī Na'mat,[6] brought a large force against Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī, who,[7] in his turn taking with him Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, kindled the flames of war on the banks of the river Ghorband. The right wing of the Kābulees was repulsed by the left wing of the Badakhshees, and Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī, leaving Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm to oppose Sulaimān Mīrzā, hastened to the support of his 63
broken line. But while he was gone Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, with the concurrence of his followers, crossed the river and went over to Mīrzā Sulaimān. Then Abu-l-Ma'ālī, having now no further power of resistance, took to flight. Near the village of Jārīkārān he fell into the hands of Sulaimān Mīrzā's men, who has gone in pursuit of him, and was made prisoner. They brought him to Sulaimān Mīrzā at Ḳābul. Sulaimān Mīrzā sent him at once bound, and with his hands tied behind his neck, to Muḥammad Ḥakīm Mīrzā, who ordered him to be strangled. This event took place on the evening of the 17th of the blessed month of Ramzān in the year nine hundred and seventy (970).

After this victory Mīrzā Sulaiman sent for his daughter from Badakhshān and gave her in marriage to Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm.

[1] The word *Singh-āsan* is Sanskrit, and Hindī. It means lit. *lion-seat*, then *throne, royal-litter.*

[2] The sixth month.

[3] Māh Chochak (Jūjak) Bēgum, widow of the late Emperor. Abu-l-Ma'ālī had stabbed her. Elliot V. 286. Mīrzā M. Ḥakīm was Akbar's brother.

[4] Mīrzā M. Ḥakīm's lieutenant (*vakīl*). He had been imprisoned by Abu-l-Ma'ālī.

[5] That is Mīrzā Sulaimān, sixth in descent from Taimūr.

[6] Comp. pp. 62, 88, 213 of Text. Her name was Khurram Bēgum.

[7] The *u* in the text seems to stand for *va-ō* 'and he' *viz.* Shāh Abu-l-Ma'alī.

And when he had appointed one Ummēd 'Alī, a trusty follower, as administrator of the Mīrzā's affairs, he returned to Badakhshān.

In this year Jamāl Khān, a follower of 'Adalī,[1] had given up the fort of Chunhār to Fattū[2] (another of 'Adalī's followers), whose fame had reached the Imperial Court. When the latter had sent a petition to Court (offering to surrender the fort), Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous (of whom Fattū was a devoted disciple), and Āçaf Khān (who is the same as Khwājah 'Abd-ul-Majīd Haravī[3]) went and took peaceful possession of the place. They committed the fort to the guardianship of Ḥasan Khān Turkmān, and sent Fattū to do homage to the Emperor, by whom he was received with all honour.

About this time took place the death of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous. While at Gujrāt he had by means of inducements and incitements brought the Emperor, at the beginning of his reign, entirely under his influence as a teacher, but when the truth of matters was fully enquired into, he was obliged to flee with all speed. And Mullā Ismā'īl 'Aṭā-ī Mu'ammā-ī, one of the Shaikh's trusty friends and disciples (Be on him what may!) found the date in these words: *Bandah-e Khudā Shud*,[4] "The Lord's servant is no more."

While the compiler of this *Muntakhab* was at Āgra occupied
64 in acquiring the usual branches of knowledge, the Shaikh came in the dress of a Faqīr. with great display and unutterable dignity, and his fame filled the universe. I wished to pay my respects to him. but when I found that he rose up to do honour to Hindūs, I felt obliged to forego the pleasure. But one day I saw him riding through the bazaar in Agra. A great crowd accompanied him, before and behind, and to return their salutations, and humble gestures, he was obliged continually to bow on every side, so that he had not a moment's leisure to sit upright in his saddle. Although he was 80 years of age a wonderful freshness, and remarkably fine colour, were observable in his complexion (God be merciful unto him!).

[1] Comp. p. 5 note.
[2] See Text, p. 34: l. 10
[3] See Text, p. 43: l. 2.
[4] 2 + 50 + 4 + 5 + 600 + 4 + 1 + 300 + 4 = 970

On the 26th of the blessed month of Ramzān of this year my most venerable maternal grandfather died at Basāwar. I received this news at Sansawān, a dependency of Sambhal. *Fāzil-i Jehān*[1] "Excellent one of the world" gives the date. Since I was indebted to him for instruction in several things, besides some of the Arab sciences, and he deserved greatly the respect of men of science, I experienced much distress and sorrow from this event, and it reopened the wound occasioned by the recent death of my valued father. This verse of Amīr Khusrū (Upon him be mercy!) occurred to my mind:—

"A sword passed on my head, my heart remained two halves,
A sea of blood flowed, a unique pearl[2] remained."

In the course of the year succeeding these events utter confusion seized my [usually] placid mind, and mundane grief, from which it was fleeing, suddenly came on me with grim mirth, and compassed my path. Then the inner meaning of the words "Cast thyself in it upon me"[3] became evident and the words of my late father, which he used often to repeat, were verified, *viz.*, "This thy clamour and confusion endures as long as I am in the bonds of life; but, when I am no more, they will see how unshackled thou wilt live, and 65 trample upon the world and all that therein is:"—

"The world is a house of mourning: what is hidden?
A sorrow-stricken one like myself: what is certain?
Mourning became two, my sorrow became double:
O help! For my mourning is become double.
It is unjust that there should be two scars on such an one as me!
One light is enough for one candle-stick,
One head cannot wear two veils,
One breast cannot bear two burdens."

In this year I'timād Khān,[4] chief eunuch of Aslīm Shāh, obtained the highest consideration in the ḥaram, and even in state matters

[1] 80 + 1 + 800 + 30 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 50 = 970.
[2] A tear of heart-felt sorrow.
[3] Compare Pss. xxii, 9, xxxvii, 5, &c. I do not know where this Arabic quotation comes from.
[4] See Blochmann's *Āīn-i Akbarī*, p. 13, *n.*

became the Sovereign's confidant. He showed an enterprise, and economy, such as was never before exhibited, and the monetary matters of the Dīvān became more settled. He was in his turn succeeded by Todarmal. And during the time of the influence of Māham[1] Ankah and Adham Khān, and the Bēgum, and I'timād Khān the chief eunuch (who was a man of sense and discretion), Mīr 'Abd-ul-Ḥayy aptly quoted the following tradition from the *Nahj-ul-balāghat*, which is attributed to Amīr[2] (may God accept him!), but others attribute it to that noble paragon the late 'Alam-ul-hada' of Baghdād, "He said (Peace be upon him!) "A time will come on men, when none will become favourites but profligates, and none be thought witty but the obscene, and none thought weak but the just: when they shall account the alms a heavy imposition, and the bond of relationship a reproach, and the service of God shall be a weariness unto them, and then the government shall be by the counsel of women,[3] and the rule of boys, and the management of eunuchs." From this event to the time of my writing this a whole age passed!

"Ah what a difference 'tis between
What now is and what has been."

In the year 971 Khwājah Muzaffar 'Alī Turbatī[4] received the title of Khān, and was made Minister of Finance, and they found *Zālim*[5] "oppressor" to give the date. Meanwhile day by day a rivalry in matters general and particular went on between the Rāja and him.
66 And a certain wit adapted the old verse:—

"A dog of a Cāshī is better than a Çifāhānī,
Although a dog is a hundred times better than a Cāshī:"

in the following manner:—

"A dog of a Rāja is better than Muzaffar Khān
Although a dog is a hundred times better than a Rāja."

1 Comp. p. 36 of Text.
2 Khusrū (?)
3 Cf. Is. iii. 4.
4 *Turbat* is the name of a tribe in Khurāsān. Blochm. 348.
5 900+1+30+40=971.

When the Amīrs complained of the Rāja to the Emperor, and requested his dismissal, he returned answer "Every one of you has a Hindū[1] to manage his private affairs. Suppose we too have a Hindū, why should harm come of it?" And a foolish fellow invented the following jewellers-posie concerning the Rāja:—

"He who of Indian affairs made a mull
Was the Rāja of Rājas Toḍarmal."

In this year Qāzī Lāl, the wittiest of all good fellows and boon-companions, was sent for from the town of Baran under some pretext or other, and delivered up to punishment. The words *Qāzī Lāl*[2] give the date.

In this year Ghāzī Khān Tannūrī,[3] one of the great Amīrs of 'Adalī, who had been for some time at the Court, once more took to flight and went to Hatiyah. In the neighbourhood of Gaḍha he brought a considerable force to bear against Āçaf Khān and gave battle. He was slain on the battle-field, and Āçaf Khān, having it now all his own way, marched against the district of Gaḍha-Katangah.[4] This district at that time contained 70,000 inhabited villages, and its metropolis was the fortress of Chourā-gaḍh[5]. But in former times the metropolis had been the fortress of Hoshang-ābād, which was built by Sultān Hoshang Ghōrī king of Mālwa. Rānī Durgāvatī by name, a lady of great loveliness and grace, and in the prime of beauty, who held the government of the place, came against him with 20,000 horse and foot, and 700 powerful elephants, and fought an obstinately contested battle. Many valiant souls on either side, after striving and struggling beyond all limit or measure, at a message from some arrow or pitiless sword, vacated their bodies. An arrow hit the queen in a mortal part, and when she was 67

1 When Bābar arrived in India the officers of revenue, merchants, and workpeople were all Hindūs. Erskine's *Bābar*, p. 232.
2 100 + 1 + 800 + 10 + 30 + 1 + 30=972, which seems to be one too many.
3 So called, also in the *'Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Bloch. p. 367. But in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* he is called *Sūr*. Elliot V, 288. A Ghāzī Khān Sūr was killed in the time of Humāyūn, Blochmann, p. 384.
4 Comp. p. 77, lines 7 and 11, of Text.
5 A place about 70 miles west of Jabalpūr. *Blochm.* 367.

on the point of death, she signed to her elephant-driver to put an end to her agony. Nevertheless the tricks of her bad luck did not deliver her from ruffians. Ah yes!—

"Every foul fetid beast
Finds his foul fetid feast:"

[and again]:

"A Christian's well may not be pure, it's true:
'Twill do to wash the carcass of a Jew!"

Āçaf Khān marched against Chourā-gaḍh, and the son of the aforesaid queen, after fighting for his life, joined[1] the queen. So much treasure fell into the hands of Āçaf Khān and his soldiery, that the Creator alone is competent to compute its amount. On the strength of this wealth Āçaf Khān set up the pretensions of a Qārūn[2] and a Shadād, until eventually he went under-ground[3]:—

"Though thy corn and wealth be ne'er so great,
All thy coffers full, thy barns be sate;
Boast not! on the Judgment-day thou'llt find,
Poisonous serpents round thy wealth entwined"

On the 12th of the month Zī-qa'dah[4] of this year, the Emperor went on an elephant-hunt towards Narwar, and after taking many elephants by means of wonderful contrivances, even in the midst of the rainy season, passing by Sārang-pūr into the country of Mandū, at the end of the month Zī-ḥijjah[5] he encamped in that district. And 'Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek, by reason of some defalcations of which he had been guilty, withdrew his family from Mandū, and took the road for Gujrāt. And, for all that Muqīm Khān (who on that march received the title of Shujā'at Khān) went to him,

[1] Or to retain the cold irony of our author, (a Moslem speaking of a Hindū), we may say that, "he rejoined the ladies."

[2] Equivalent to those of a Midas and a Crœsus.

[3] Of course with reference to the story of Corah who is called Qārūn in the Qor'ān.

[4] The eleventh month of the Muhammadan year.

[5] The twelfth month.

and offered conciliatory measures seasoned with good advice, 'Abd-ullāh Khān would not accept them:—

"If a place to *take* it thou canst find,
Thy counsel, may be, it will *take*.
But what mark, if the ear of the mind
Be dull, can eloquence then make?"

'Abd-ullāh Khān for a short time made a stand at Harāwal, but when news of the approach of the Imperial cavalcade reached 68
him, he surrendered to the force of circumstances the greater part of his followers and family and children and goods and chattels, and sending before him only what was absolutely necessary, by a hundred stratagems managed to reach Gujrāt. There he took refuge with Chingiz Khān, a dependent of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Gujrāt, who had succeeded Sulṭān Mahmūd in the government of that province, and had become possessed of great pomp and power. The Imperial army went in pursuit of him as far as the confines of Gujrāt, and threw his haram and renowned elephants into confusion,[1] and made them prisoners, and brought them to the Emperor. The remainder became a prey to their enemies, *viz.*, the countrymen and landowners.[2] Now the state of civilization in Gujrāt in the time of Chingiz Khān, they describe as such, as it had not[3] been during the reign of former kings; and the demand for men of learning and excellence was such, as to exceed all imagination; and any soldier or traveller or stranger who came and sought an interview or chose to enter his service, had no further need of anything, nor of the patronage of any one else. And they say that he used daily to give away among his people five or six dresses of honour from his private wardrobe, each single dress being never worth less than 70 or 80, or at any rate 50 *ashrafi*. And one of his Hātimisms[4] was this, that one day he went out with his courtiers, 'Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek being of the number, and on this occasion two or three vessels full of fine stuffs and precious jewels were presented

[1] Text pp. 41, 13 and 51, 5.

[2] Sanscrit *bhūpāl*.

[3] Supply *na*.

[4] Hātim Ṭāī was famous for his liberality.

to him: no sooner had he seen them, than he gave them up to 'Abdullāh Khān Uzbek. And another instance of Chingiz Khān's liberality is the following; Shāh 'Ārif Çafavī Ḥusainī (who is now at Lāhor, and renowned for the gift of dominion over *Jinns*) possessed great treasures, which he used to give away to people. Now it is said, that he had received all these treasures and hoards from Chingiz Khān, and that all the money he gave away bore the stamp of Chingiz Khān (but God knows!).

At this time Mīrān Mubārak Shāh of Burhāmpūr sent ambassa-
69 dors to the Emperor who accepted his homage. And I'timād Khān[1] the chief eunuch accompanied them, and brought the daughter of Mīrān, with suitable gifts and presents, to the Court. And Muqarrab Khān one of the Amīrs of the Dakkan came and did homage to the Emperor. And in the month Muḥarram[2] of the year nine hundred and seventy-two (972) the Emperor went from Mandū to the district of Nālchah.[3] He appointed Qarā Bahādur Khān to the Government of the district, and himself went on a hunting expedition by away of Ujain, Sārang-pūr, Barōdah, and Gwālyār, and on the 3rd of the month Rabi'ul-awwal[4] returned to his capital. Twins, Ḥasan and Ḥusain by name, were in this year born of one of his wives, and in the course of one month went to the other world.

In this year the building of the city of Nagarchīn took place. On this subject one of the nobles, at the time of the composition of the *Akbar-nāmah*, ordered me to compose some lines, which I here insert without alteration:—

"When[5] the Architect of the workshop of invention, through the promptings of original genius, suggested to the lofty thoughts of the absolute monarch, who is the builder of the metropolis of the world, and especially the artificer of the shrine of Hind, that, in accordance with [the verse]:

[1] See p. 63, *supra*.
[2] The first month.
[3] A town in the territory of Dhar in Mālwa, on the route from Mow to Mandū.
[4] The third month.
[5] Our author here gives us a specimen of his stilted style which, happily for us, he does not usually adopt. (In l. 12 read أعاز for أعاز).

"The world-upholder, the world to hold, doth know,
One place to uproot, and then another sow:"

he should make resting places for the glorious imperial cavalcade, by graciously building at every stage, and on every clod of soil, where the air of the place was temperate, its fields extensive, its water sweet, and its plains were level—and what choice was there! for cool spots, and pleasant dwellings, and fragrant resting places, and sweet waters, with a view to preservation of the gift of bodily health, and with a view to the possibility of an evenly balanced condition of the soul, all of which may possibly be conducive to the knowledge and service of God, are of the number of the six necessaries of existence; and especially at a time when some of the royal occupations such as exercise and hunting, were therein involv- 70
ed—for these reasons, in this year of happy augury, after his return from his journey to Mālwah, when the friends of the empire were victorious, and the enemies of the kingdom had been conquered, before the eyes of a genius lofty in its aims, and the decision of a mind world-adorning, it befell, that, when he had made a place called G'hrāwalī (which is one *farsang* distant from Āgra, and in respect of the excellence of its water, and the pleasantness of its air, has over a host of places a superiority and a perfect excellence) the camping-place of his imperial host, and the encampment of his ever-enduring prosperity, and when he had gained repose for his heaven-inspired mind from the annoyances incidental to city-life, he spent his felicity-marked moments, sometimes in *chougān*-playing, sometimes in racing Arabians dogs, and sometimes in flying birds of various kinds; and, accepting the building of that city of deep-foundations as an omen of the duration of the edifice of the palace of his undecaying Sultanate, and as a presage of the increase of his pomp and state, his all-penetrating firmān was so gloriously executed, that all who obtained the favour of being near to his resting-place, and were deemed worthy of the sight of his benevolence, one and all built for themselves in that happy place lofty dwellings and spacious habitations, and in a short time the plain of that pleasant valley under the ray of the favour of his Highness, the adumbration of the divinity, became the mole on the cheek of the new bride

of the world, and received the name of *Nagar-chīn*, which is the Hindūstānī for the Persian *Aman-ābād*, "Security's-abode":—

"Praise be to God! that picture, which the heart desired,
Issued forth from the invisible behind the curtain of felicity"

It is one of the traditional wonders of the world, that of that city and edifice not a trace now is left, so that its site is become a level plain—"Profit then by this example ye who are men of insight!"[1] as the author of the *Qāmūs* has said: "Of seven or eight cities, called Mançūrah, or Mançūriyyah, built by a mighty king,[2] or mon-
71 arch of pomp in their time, at this time not one is inhabited:" "Will they not journey through the land, and observe what has been the end of those who were before them.[3]"

In this year, or in the year preceding which is perhaps more correct, the Emperor sent to the town of Andarī-Karnāl for Shaikh 'Abd-ul-nabī, the traditionist, grandson of Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Qudūs of Gangōh, who is one of the greatest Shaikhs of Hind, and made him chief Çadr,[4] in order that in conjunction with Muzaffar Khān, he might pay the pensions.[5] Soon after he acquired such absolute powers, that he conferred on deserving people whole worlds of subsistance allowances, lands, and pensions, so much so that if the bounty of all the former kings of Hind were thrown into one scale, and the liberality of this age into the other, yet this would pre-

[1] "He it is who caused the unbelievers .. to quit their homes... They thought that their fortresses would protect them against God. But God came upon them .. and cast such fear into their hearts that by their own hands .. they demolished their houses. Profit then by this example ye who are men of insight!" *Al Qur'ān* LIX, 2.

[2] For *Shahr-hāī* read *Shahryāri*.

[3] Al Qur'ān XII, 109.

[4] During Akbar's reign the *Qadr* ranked as the fourth officer of the empire. He was the highest law-officer, and had the powers which Administrators-General have among us; was in charge of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes, and possessed an almost unlimited power of conferring such lands independently of the king. He was also the highest ecclesiastical law-officer, and might exercise the powers of High-Inquisitor. *Blochm.* p. 270. The four officers referred to are *Vakīl*, *Vazīr*, *Bakhshī*, and *Qadr*.

[5] Comp. p. 23.

ponderate. But gradually, little by little, it regained its former position, till eventually things became reversed, as will be related further on, (if God, He is exalted! will).

In this year Khwājah Mu'azzam, maternal uncle of the Emperor, who bore the mark of relatives, like scorpions, on the forehead of his destiny:—

"Relatives are like scorpions in the harm they do;
Therefore be not deceived by father's or mother's brother.
For verily *sorrow*[1] is increased by the *father's brother*,
And as for the *mother's brother* he is *destitute* of all good qualities."

One day, when they came to his house to counsel him, and prevent his committing some unworthy actions, which he meditated, he having learnt their intentions, through malevolence and that innate insanity, which had before manifested itself in him, killed his wife. And since he was deserving of punishment, the Emperor first had him mauled with kicks and sticks, and then gave him several duckings, and packed him off to Gwālyār. In that prison he was released from the prison of his natural temperament and went to his deserts:—

"Leave to Destiny the man who does you a wrong,
For Destiny is a servant, who will avenge you."

And in this year Mīrzā Sulaimān for the third time came to Kābul. And the reason for his coming was this: when Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī 72
was defeated, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm had married[2], just before he went away again Mīrzā [Sulaimān] gave the greater part of the district of Kābul in jāgīr to his own soldiers, and so [by this diminution of his revenue] the affairs of Mīrzā [Hakīm] and his people became embarrassed. So they on some pretext or other turned [Mīrzā Sulaimān's] Badakhshīs out of Kābul. So

[1] There is of course a play on the words. *Ghamm* means 'sorrow,' and *'amm* 'father's brother.' *Khāl* means 'mother's brother,' and *khālī* (in rhyme for *khālin*) means 'destitute.' The last half verse can scarcely be correct, since *ammā* requires *fa* after it; read, therefore, *wa'inna-l-khāla*. Moreover the *tanwīn* of *khairātin* must be dropped.

[2] See p. 63 Text.

Mīrzā Sulaimān, with a large force, came to take vengeance, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm being unable to withstand him left Bāqī Qāqshāl with a number of trusty vassals in Kābul, and himself went to Jallāl-ābād. Mīrzā Sulaimān pursued him. But when Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm reached the banks of the Nīlāb he wrote a letter to the Court, and Mīrzā Sulaimān leaving Qambar, one of his followers, with a body of men at Jallāl-ābād, went from Pashāwar to Kābul. In accordance with a command [received] all the Amīrs of the Panjāb (such as Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, and Atkah Khān, with the whole Atkah-clan[1], and Mahdī Qāsim Khān, and Kamāl Khān Gah'kar) joined Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥākim; and having given Qambar with 3000 persons (who were holding Jalāl-ābād) as prey to the sword, sent Qambar's head, together with news of the victory, to Bāqī Qāqshāl at Kābul. Mīrzā Sulaimān turned the face of flight towards Badakhshān. Mīrzā Ḥakīm came to Kābul, and Khān-i-Kalān[2] remained in office as guardian of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and the remaining Amīrs returned to their own jāgīrs. After some time Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, without the permission of the Khān-i-Kalān, gave his own sister,[3] the widow of Shāh 'Abu-l-Ma'ālī, in marriage to Khwājah Hasan Naqshbandī, one of the sons of Khwājah Naqshbandī[4] (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!). And Khwājah Ḥasan Naqshbandī, becoming absolute Prime-minister,[5] managed the affairs with absolute power, and some wits of the period used to say:—

"If our Master be Master Ḥasan,
We shall have neither sack, nor rope left."

73 The Khān-i Kalān, who had supported the authority of the deposed minister, being unable to endure the present state of affairs, without the Mīrzā's leave went to Lāhōr, and sent a true account of matters to Court.

[1] See above, p. 49.

[2] Mīr Muḥammad, elder brother of Atkah Khān.

[3] Fakhrunnisā Bēgum, daughter of the late emperor Humāyūn by Jūjak Bēgum. *Blochm.* 322.

[4] Called *Khwājah Bahā-ud-dīn* in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*. Elliot V, 294.

[5] Presuming on the importance he had acquired by his marriage. *Ibid.*

In this year Shaikh-ul-Islām Fatḥ-pūrī Chishtī, who in the year nine hundred and seventy-one (971), on his return from Mekkah and Madīnah honoured Badāūn with his presence, and wrote from that place a letter in Arabic to the Author of this history (as will be related in its proper places, if God, He is exalted! will), laid the foundation of the building of a new monastery, the like of which cannot be shown in the whole of the inhabited world. The following is a *mnemosynon* for the date:—

"Shaikh ul-Islām, the leader of mankind,
(May God exalt his sublime power!)
When he came from Madīnah to Hind,
That renowned Depository of Spiritual-direction,
From his auspicious advent Hind
Found anew a happy fortune.
Take a certain letter and subtract it
From *Shaikh-ul-Islām*,[1] to find the date."

And another like unto it:—

"Shaikh ul-Islām, the perfect saint,
That breath of Messias, that footstep of Elias,
A flash from whose forehead was a glimpse of Eternity,
A beam from whose face was the light of Eternity,
When from Madīnah he turned to Hind,
That breath of Messias, that footstep of Elias,
Reckon a letter and reckon not a letter
From *Khair-ul-maqdam*,[2] to find the date."

This monastery, having taken 8 years to complete, vaunted itself above the eight heavens.[3]

[1] 300 + 10 + 600 + 1 + 60 + 30 + 1 + 40 + 10 = 1052. If you take *lāmī*, which means 'an *l*,' and is numerically equivalent to 81, from this you get 971.

[2] 600 + 10 + 200 + 1 + 30 + 40 + 100 + 4 + 40 = 1025. Subtract *mīm* = 90, and you get 935; then add *dāl* = 35, and you get 970. But I am afraid that this is not the correct solution of the riddle.

[3] The Seven Heavens (*Bihisht*) are: (1) *Dār ul jullāl* (Mansion of Glory), composed of pearls: (2) *Dār us sulām* (The Mansion of Rest), of ruby and

And about this time the Mahall-i-Bengālī in Āgrah, and another lofty palace, were completed; and Qāsim Arsalān made this *mnemosynon*:—

"When, for his pleasure, the king of fair countenance
Ordered the building of the two palaces of auspicious mark,
The date of the one came out from *'ishrat*,[1]
Khānah-e Pādashāh[2] was the date of the other."

During the first part of the month Rajab[3] of the year nine hundred
74 and seventy-two (972)[4] the Emperor went towords Narwar and Karah with a view to elephant-hunting; and having appointed certain people of that district to secure the elephants, he went himself to Gwālyār. For some days, through the heat of the weather, he suffered from a fever; but, when he recovered, he returned to his metropolis.

In this year the project of building the fortress of Āgrah was conceived; and its citadel, which had before been of bricks, he had built of hewn-stone. And he ordered a tax of the value of three *sērs* of corn on every *jarīb* of land in the district, and appointed collectors and officers[5] from the Amīrs who held jāgīrs to collect it. In the course of five years it was completed. [The dimensions of the fortress are as follows:] breadth of wall, 10 *guz*,

garnet: (3) *Jannat ul māwā* (The Garden of Mirrors), of yellow pewter; (4) *Jannat ul Khūld* (The Garden of Eternity), of yellow coral; (5) *Jannat un Nu'īm* (The Garden of Delights), of white diamond; (6) *Jannat ul Firdūs* (The Garden of Paradise), of red gold; (7) *Dār ul qarār* (The Everlasting Abode), of pure musk. The eighth, or Crystalline Heaven, called *Kūrsī*, supposed to be the judgment seat of God; the ninth Heaven, called *'Arsh*, the Empyrean Throne of the Divine Glory and Majesty; and *Jannat ul 'adan* The Garden of Eden, or Terrestrial Paradise, are not termed *Bihisht*. *Qanoon-e-Islām*, p. 149.

[1] *'Ishrat* means "pleasure," and = 70 + 300 + 200 + 400 = 970

[2] That is 'The King's palace,' 600 + 1 + 50 + 5 + 2 + 1 + 4 + 300 + 1 + 5 = 969.

[3] The seventh month of the Muhammadan year.

[4] The Text has by mistake 982.

[5] *Tawāchī* is a Turkī word denoting *haut commissaire*. See De Courteille, Dictionary p. 219. The word recurs at p. 216, l. 8 *infra* of Text.

height 40 *guz*; with a deep trench both sides of which were built up with stone and lime, its width 20 *guz*, its depth to the surface of the water 10 *guz*, and it was filled with water from the river Jamna. And the like of that fortress can scarcely be shown in any other district. And the date of the gate[1] thereof was found by Shaikh Faizī to be *Binā-ī dar-i Bihisht*,[2] "The building of the gate of Paradise." And the cost of the building of the fortress was about three *krors*. After it was completed it became the depository and store house of all the gold of Hindūstān, and this *mnemosynon* was found for the date: *Shud binā-i qil'ah bahr zar*,[3] "The fortress was built for the sake of gold." And in truth it is not known to any how to convert that *dead* gold into *live*-stock, except to him who applies the verse: "And the Earth hath cast forth her burdens,[4]" so that it should say impromptu "God, who giveth a voice to all things, giveth us a voice[5]":—

"Gold in the hand of a worldly man,
O brother, is still in the ore.
Gold, my son, is meant to be enjoyed;
For hoarding, gold is no better than stone."

In this year the rebellion of the Khān Zamān, and Ibrāhīm Khān and Iskandar Khān Uzbek took place. And this is how it arose. After the rebellion of 'Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek,[6] suspicion of the whole Uzbek tribe found access to the Emperor's mind, and he sent Ashraf Khān the *Mīr-Munshī* from Narwar to seek Iskandar
75 Khān on propitiatory terms. This man held a jāgīr in Oudh,[7] and by means of seductive artifices he managed to carry off

[1] The date of the completion of it, cf. Joshua vi. 26, "At the price of his first-born shall he lay its foundations, and at the price of his youngest *shall he set up the gates thereof*."

[2] I can only make 974 out of this.

[3] 300 + 4 + 2 + 51 + 10 + 100 + 30 + 70 + 5 + 2 + 5 + 200 + 7 + 200 = 986.

[4] Al Qur'ān xcix. 2.

[5] Al Qur'ān xli 20.

[6] See above p. 67.

[7] Anglice Oude, Sansk, *Ayodhya*.

to his jāgīr, which was Sarharpūr,[1] Ashraf Khān, on the pretence of accompanying Ibrāhīm Khān Uzbek, who was senior to the others. Thence they went to Jounpūr to the Khān Zamān[2] with the intention of asking his advice. These came to the determination to rebel, which they proceeded to do unanimously, and most unjustifiably detained Ashraf Khān. Sikandar Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān raised the head of rebellion in Lak'hnou, and Khān Zamān, and Bahādur Khān at Kaṛah and Mānikpūr. The Amīrs of those districts, such as Shāham Khān Jalāir, Shāh Budāgh Khān and others were defeated in battle before the Khān Zamān. In that battle Muḥammad Amīn Dīvānah was made prisoner, and the Amīrs then shut themselves up in the fortress of Nīm Kahār, and Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl in Mānikpūr. Then Āçaf Khān leaving a body of men to hold the district of Garha Katangah, went himself with considerable treasure, and a fresh army, to the relief of Majnūn Khān. He unlocked his treasury and satisfied the greed of his army, and also supplied Majnūn Khān plentifully from the public treasury (which was the means of his being able to recruit his army), and then encamped opposite to the Khān Zamān. Thence they sent reports to the Court. And Sānī Khān wrote this verse in his dispatch :—

"O royal cavalier, army-decking in the day of battle,
The victory hath escaped us, place thy foot in the stirrup."

When, on his return from his journey to Mālwah, the Emperor received this news, he sent off Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānan, to cross the Ganges at the ford of Kanouj, and himself in the month Shavvāl[3] of the year nine hundred and seventy-two (972) set his royal foot in the stirrup. And to Qiyā Khān Gung (who had been one of the rebels), at the intercession of the Khān Khānān,
76 the Emperor, on his arrival, granted an audience, and graciously condoned his offences. Thence by forced marches his Imperial Highness came to Lak'hnou. Sikandar Khān did not give

[1] That is, Ibrāhīm Khān's *jāgīr*.
[2] 'Alī Qulī Khān Uzbek.
[3] The tenth month.

battle, but joining the Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān, these all ceased to confront Āçaf Khān and Majnūn Khān, and, retreating towards Jounpūr with all their people and families, crossed the river Narhan, and went down country. Then Yūsūf Muḥammad Khān, son of Atkah Khān, was appointed to go against them. The Emperor also pursued in person. and encamped outside Jounpūr. At that halting-place Āçaf Khān with 5000 veteran horse, in company with Majnūn Khān, came and paid his respects, and brought his gifts, and was graciously received. On Friday the 12th of the month Zī Ḥijjah of the aforesaid year the Emperor alighted at the fort of Jounpūr. And Āçaf Khān being made generalissimo of the army crossed the ford of Narhan and went down country to oppose the Khān Zamān. In those days the Emperor appointed Ḥājjī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī to go on an embassy to Sulaimān Karārānī.[1] Governor of Bengāl (who had a strong friendship for the Khān Zamān), in order to prevent his giving any aid or assistance to the Khān Zamān. When he arrived at the fortress of Rhotās, some Afghāns seized him, and sent him to the Khān Zamān, with whom they had a bond of union. And the Khān Zamān, on account of the time-honoured friendship which had existed between Ḥājjī Muḥammad Khān and himself, treating him with punctilious honour and respect, settled to send his own mother with him to the Court, to intercede for himself, and entreat forgiveness for his faults.

In these days, the Emperor sent Ḥasan Khān *Khazānchī*.[2] and Mahā-pātra[3] *Bād farōsh*[4] (who had been of the favoured courtiers of Shīr Shāh, and Islīm Shāh, and was without a rival in the science of music and Hindū poetry) on an embassy to the Rāja of Orissa (who was distinguished above the other Rājas for his army and military pomp), to dissuade him from reaching the hand of aid and assistance to the Khān Zamān, and to prevent his giving him refuge in his dominions, and. that, by preventing Sulaimān also from

[1] Called also *Karānī*, and *Karzuni*. He reigned in Bengāl from 971 to 981, or A. D. 1563 to 1573. *Blochm*. 171.
[2] That is 'Treasurer.'
[3] This name is Sanskrit, from *mahā* great, and *pātra* vessel.
[4] Means 'Seller of wind.'

77 helping him he might utterly frustrate the plans of the Khān Zamān. The Rāja agreed willingly enough to act on the part of the Emperor, and declared his loyalty by sending elephants and valuable gifts and presents. Then the two ambassadors returned to the Court at Āgrah.

About the same time Muzaffar Khān, and others of the courtiers, through the violence of their nature and their avarice, assailed the ear of Āçaf Khān with open and covert suggestions, hoping to get from him presents, valuables and further advantages, [but afterwards] they followed the beaten track of detraction, and suggested to some people to find out the truth about the booty of Chourā-gaḍh,[1] and broached the matter to Āçaf Khān himself. When Āçaf Khān was conducting hostilities against the Khān Zamān and was encamped at the ford of Narhan, he had been much wounded and annoyed by these matters, so that one midnight, seizing the opportunity, he together with his brother Vazīr Khān, and such troops as he had, fled towards the district of Garha Katangah,[2] and arrived at Garha. On the receipt of news of this circumstance the Emperor appointed Mun'im Khān, Khān-Khānān, in his place as generalissimo of that army, and appointed Shujā'at Khān to go in pursuit of Āçaf Khān. Shujā'at Khān embarked from Mānikpūr, and endeavoured to cross the Ganges, but Āçaf Khān (who had retreated for some distance), as soon as he heard this returned, and came to the river-bank to hinder his passage. There he fought a severe battle, and prevented the flotilla of Shujā'at Khān from crossing, so that the latter, when night came on, was obliged to return to the side from which he started. Then Āçaf Khān on the other bank of the river, with his

[1] Compare p 67, l. 6—10 of Text.

[2] In the vast territories of Hindūstān there is a country called *Gondwāna*, that is, the land inhabited by the tribe of *Gonds*..... To the *east* of this country lies *Katanpūr*, a dependency of the country of *Jhārkand*; and on the *west* it borders on *Kāīsīn*, belonging to the province of *Mālwah*. The length of this district is 150 *cosses*. On the *north* lies *Panna*, and on the *south* the *Dekkan*, and the breadth is 80 *cosses*. This country is called *Garha Katangah*. *Garha* is the name of the chief city, and *Katangah* is the name of a place [near it]. The seat of government was the fort of *Chouragarh*. *Akbarnāmah*, Elliot, vi, p. 30.

whole army went off to his own jāgīr. At this juncture Shujā'at Khān, finding the field open, proceeded by another road to Karah, and went some distance in pursuit of an enemy, the skirt of whose garments he could not reach even in thought; and, when he found that there was a great distance between them, he returned to Jounpūr and came to the Court.

Also in these days Ḥasan Khān came as ambassador, bringing fitting presents, on behalf of his brother Fatḥ Khān[1] Afghān Tibatī, governor of the fortress of Rohtās, where in the year 972 he 78
had been besieged by Sulaimān Kararānī, but, on hearing news of the approach of the Emperor, Sulaimān had raised the siege. His prayer was that he might be confirmed in his government, while he should deliver up the fortress.[2] On this account Qulīj Khān was appointed to accompany him from Jounpūr. Then Fatḥ Khān, having repented of sending his brother, and having provisioned the fortress well, wrote a letter to his brother as follows: "Convey thyself to us as quickly as possible, for our mind is at rest with regard to the stores." So Ḥasan Khān, cloaking his treachery under the garb of hypocrisy, managed to detain Qulīj Khān for some time, and outwardly made show of submission. But eventually Qulīj Khān became aware of his duplicity, and had to depart without attaining his object:—

"Dastān i Sām[3] was champion of the world,
Yet at play he was not always the winner."

This Rohtās is a fortress in the neighbourhood of Bihār, in length it is[4] 14 *cosses*, in breadth 3 *cosses*, in height 5 *cosses*.[5] Inside the fortress there is cultivated land, and such abundance of water that if one drive a nail into the ground or set a trivet at any spot water comes up. Ever since Shīr Shāh seized the fortress it had

[1] See Blochmann's *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, p. 502.

[2] To Akbar rather than to Sulaimān Kararānī.

[3] *Dastān i Sām* means 'Dastān son of Sām,' comp. the Greek ὁ τοῦ. *Dastān* is another name for *Zal* the father of *Rustam* (see notes to page 51 T.).

[4] Viz. the plateau on which it is built. *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Elliot V, 300.

[5] The *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* says 'half a cos.' *Ibid.* This seems nearer the mark.

been in the hands of the Afghāns, till the turn came to Fatḥ Khān, who would not bow the head to Sulaimān. And afterwards it came into the possession of the Emperor, as shall be related if God, (He is exalted!) will.

And when Jounpūr became the halting-place of the imperial standards and the Emperor was very busy in the arrangement of important affairs, before he sent off Mun'im Khān as leader of the army against the Khān Zaman, this latter, being encamped at the ford of Narhan, honoured Bahadūr Khān with the command, and sent him off together with Sikandar Khān towards Sardār (?),[1] with instructions to penetrate to the centre of the district, and create a disturbance, and with a considerable force to obtain any advantage they could in any direction they pleased.
79 On this account several of the great Amīrs with a great army (such as Shāh Budāgh Khān, and his son 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab Khān, and Qiyā Khān, and Sa'īd Khān, and Muḥammad Ma'çum Khān Farankhūdī,[2] and others whom it would take too long to mention) were appointed, together with Mīr Mu'azz-ul Mulk Mashhadī[3] (on the stature of whose capacity the dress of commander-in-chief sat badly and unbecomingly) to undertake to oppose and drive back Iskandar and Bahādur. These armies had not yet met, while Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānān (who had an excessively friendly regard for the Khān Zamān) for four or five months, in his old way of intimacy, kept sending soldiers with messages by letter and by word of mouth to make negotiation for peace. When Khwājah Jahān and Darbār Khān arrived at the ford of Narhan from Jounpūr, in order to examine into the matter of peace or war, and to settle whether haste or delay were preferable, on the one side the Khān Zamān with three or four people, and on the other the Khan-Khānān and Khwājah Jahān, also with three or four persons,

[1] *Sarwār* is the reading of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*. Elliot identifies the place with *Sarharpūr* (V. 301). Blochmann considers (p. 381, *n*) that the district *Sarwār* got its name from the river *Sarw*. See p. 83, l. 12 of our Text. Our editors, or printers, probably mistook *wāw* for *dāl*.

[2] Or *Faranjūdī*

[3] He belonged to the Mūsawī Sayyids of Mashhad, who trace their descent to 'Alī Mūsā Razā, the 8th Imām of the Shī'ahs.

got into the same boat, and when they had had an interview, settled peace on the following terms: That the Khan Zamān should send his mother, with his uncle Ibrāhīm Khān Uzbek, and the famous elephants he possessed, to the Court. And that after that all his transgressions had been condoned, Sikandar and Bahādur should go themselves to the Court. Then Darbār Khān brought this news to the royal ear; and the next day the Khān Khānān and Khwājah Jahān brought the mother of the Khān Zaman, and Ibrāhīm Khān, together with the elephants, to the Court, and assumed the position of intercessors for the forgiveness of the faults of the Khān Zamān. When, suddenly, news came from Sardar[1] of the flight of the general Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk. The Emperor was much enraged, and that peace was turned to rancour.

The explanation of this circumstance is briefly as follows: When the imperial army drew near to Sikandar and Bahādur, they remaining just where they were sent a message to Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk: 80
"Become thou the means of intercession, and obtain for us from the Court forgiveness of our faults, so that we may send to the Court whatever, of elephants and other things, we have taken possession of, and then when we are cleared of our transgressions, and our faults are forgiven, we may ourselves go and do homage" Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk[2] in as much as he was continually boasting: "I, and there is none beside me," showed a Pharaoh-like, and harsh Shaddād-like character, which is one of the inheritances of the Sayyids of Mashhad; and on that topic it has been said:—

"O men of Mashhad, with the exception of your Imām[3]
May the curse of God rest on each one of you!"

And another poet saith:—

"Though it is man that renders the face of the ground pleasant,
A *Mashhadī*[4] on the face of the ground is not pleasant."

So he established a character for crookedness of disposition, for which he became notorious, and said: "Your being made clean can

[1] See preceding page, note 1.

[2] He was a Shi'ah of the Shi'ahs, and therefore our author could not bear him.

[3] Imām Rizā.

[4] *Mashhadī* means both "an inhabitant of Mashhad," and "a cemetery."

only be imagined by the water[1] of the sword." Meanwhile Lashkar Khān, *Mīr Bakhshī*, and Rāja Todar Mal came from the Court to hasten the decision of the Amīrs, whether for peace or war. So that, if they thought it best, they might fight; but if not, they might hold out hopes to Sikandar and Bahādur. So Bahādur Khān came again to the outposts of the imperial camp alone, and sending for Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk and some of the Amīrs, he made proposals of peace, saying: "Since the Khān Zamān is sending his mother, and Ibrāhīm Khān to the Court, or rather by this time will have sent them, we have hopes of the forgiveness of our transgressions, and indeed this is the most probable contingency. Meanwhile we are awaiting the answer, and until the affair be settled we will not put our hand to war. Do you too, until the answer arrive, wait a few days." Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk was a very fire, and Todar Mal
81 played the part of oil of naphtha, and made that fire burn fiercer than ever, so that nothing but words of sternness passed on their tongue. So Bahādur Khān and Iskandar Khān, becoming desperate, did what they thought best for their own interests, and drew up their army:—

"In the time of necessity, when there is no escape,
The hand seizes the hilt of the sharp sword."

On the one side Mu'izz-ul-Mulk, putting Muḥammad Amīn Dīvānah in the van, himself took up his position in the centre, and kept by his side 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab Khān, and Salīm Khān, and Kākar 'Alī Khān, and Bēg Nūrīn Khān, and other tried warriors, and appointed the other Amīrs to the right and left wings. And on the other side [were] Sikandar Khān, and his relative[2] Muḥammad Yār in the van, and Bahādur Khān was in the centre.[3] Then the two armies joined battle, and like two mountains they clashed together. Much valour was displayed on either side, Muḥammad Yār was slain, and Iskandar Khān fleeing, threw himself into the River Siyāh,[4] which was in

[1] *Āb* means "water" Sanskrit *āp*, also "brightness," Sansk. *ābh*. There is, of course, a play on these two meanings of the word.

[2] He was his brother's son. *Blochm.*

[3] The word *qol* is Turkī, it recurs on p. 231, l. 1 of Text.

[4] Sai or Sye, which falls into the Gūmti near Jounpūr.

his rear. He himself got out again, but many of his men were drowned, and others came under the *āb*[1] of the sword. Then the imperial troops gave themselves up to plundering. And Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk, with a few men, was the only officer who kept his place. For to tell the truth a number of tried warriors, especially Ḥusain Khān the relative of Mahdī Khān and Bāqī Muḥammad Khān, &c., being sick of the command of Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk and of the rule of Rāja Todar Mal, in accordance with the [Arabic] saying: "There is no fidelity towards kings," did not make that resistance they should have done. At this moment Bahādur Khān, who still held his ground, seized the opportunity, and moved forward to the attack. Directly he came up, he swept Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk before him. And Shāh Budāgh Khān was thrown from his horse, but not before he had given substantial proof of his valour, and his son 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab, putting forth as much strength as he could, seized him by the hand, but in vain. Eventually the son escaped and the father 82
fell into the hands of the Uzbeks:—

"When he was free from sorrow, he reckoned him a dear friend,
When he came to grief, he deserted him"

And Raja Todar Mal, and Lashkar Khān, who at the beginning had remained inactive, began now to fight vigorously, until evening, but without success. They became separated, but the next day they rejoined one another, and came to Sher-gaḍh, and reported the state of affairs to the Court.

And now we come to the point where we left off[2] about the Khan Zamān. When the Khān Khānān brought to the Court the mother of the Khān Zamān, and Ibrāhīm Khān, together with Mīr Hādī Sadr and Nizām Aghā, who were trusty friends of the Khān Zamān, and presented the war-elephants to His Majesty, then Ibrāhīm Khān, with head bare, and a sword and a shroud[3] round his neck in the place of a cloak, delivered himself up, and said in an impromptu:—

"Wilt thou spare me, or wilt thou slay me,
The option lies with thee."

[1] See above p. 82, note 1.

[2] See p. 81.

[3] As a sign that he was ready to suffer death.

Moreover the Khān Khānan, taking up the position of intercessor, reminded the Emperor of the past services of their party, so that their offences received pardon. The Emperor commanded that they should be left in possession of their *jāgīrs* as heretofore, but that, as long as the Imperial camp remained in that place, they should not cross the river. So their representatives came to Āgrah, and the Emperor issued the necessary *farmāns*, in accordance with which they took possession. The mother of the Khān Zamān sent this good news to her sons,[1] and Bahādur Khān and Sikandar Khān sent the elephants, *Koh-pārah*, and *Çaff-shikan*,[2] who were the subjects of strife and contention, together with other presents, to the Court.

Meanwhile the report from Rāja Todar Mal and Lashkar Khān arrived, containing an account of the battle and the flight, and of the treachery[3] of the Amīrs. Then the Emperor ordered: "Since to
83 please the Khān Khānān I have overlooked the fault of the Khān Zamān and the others, let the great Amīrs come to the Court" Mu'izz-ul-Mulk and Rāja Todar Mal were reprehended, and the perpetrators of the treachery were for a time debarred from the imperial presence; and then, were rebuked, and restored to their former favour.

In these days the Emperor made an expedition to the fortress of Chunār, and, being engaged in elephant-hunting in the jungles about that fortress, took to camp-life. While the Emperor's camp was at Chunār, the Khān Zamān crossing the Ganges in haste, and breaking his word,[4] came to Muḥammadābād, which is a dependency of the town of Mou,[5] and sent agents to seize Jounpūr and Ghāzīpūr. This affair highly displeased the Emperor, who sent Ashraf Khān *Mīr-munshī* to Jounpūr, to detain the Khān Zamān's mother in the fortress, and to seize any rebels there might be there; and, leaving the camp in charge of Khwājah Jahān, and Muzaffar Khān,

[1] 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī [*Khān Zamān*], and Muhammad Sa'īd Shaibānī [*Bahādur Khān*]. Their father was Ḥaidar Sultān Uzbek i Shaibānī. Concerning their achievements, see p. 18.

[2] These names mean respectively "Piece of a Mountain," and "Rank-breaker."

[3] See above p. 83.

[4] See above.

[5] Or Mhow (properly Mahu), about lat. 26° N, long. 79° E.

himself hurried off by forced marches with the intention of extirpating the Khān Zamān, and arrived at the bank of the river Sarwār. There some boats laden with goods and effects, which were equal to one[1] of the seven treasures of Khusrou, fell into the hands of the loyal party. The imperial army occupied the bank of the river, and had traversed a considerable tract of jungle, when it became known that the Khān Zamān had retired to the skirts of the mountains of Sawālik. So they gave up the pursuit of him and returned. Meanwhile Bahādur Khān with a body of tried warriors came to Jounpūr, and throwing up a noose, climbed into the fortress, and released his mother; and, seizing Ashraf Khān, was fully determined to loot and spill, when he received intelligence of the return of the imperial standards. So he fled, and with Sikandar Khan crossed the Ganges at the ford of Narhan.

And on the 15th of the month Rajab,[2] which is the auspicious
84 birthday of the Emperor, outside the Parganna of Nazāmābād, one of the dependencies of Jounpūr, the weighing[3] of the Emperor took place; for, in accordance with established custom, he is weighed twice a year, on his solar and lunar[4] birthdays, against gold, silver, and other precious things, which are given to the Brahmins of Hind, and to others. And the poets, recited, and still do recite, heart-ravishing poems on this topic. Then his Majesty determined to remain for some time in the citadel of Jounpūr. Then the Khān Zamān on hearing of his remaining there, sent Mīrza Mīrak (who afterwards became Razawī Khān) to intercede on his behalf with the Khān Khānān. He went along with Khān Zamān's mother, and brought the message to the Court. So the Khan Khānān, in conjunction with Mīr 'Abd-ul-Laṭīf Qazwīnī, and Mulla Abd-u-llāh Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, and Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabī[5] *Ṣadr* a second time prayed for the pardon of the offences of the Khan Zamān, and was graciously accepted. And they sent Khwājah Jahān, and Mīr Murtazā Sharīfī, who is of the family of that

[1] This treasure was called *Bādāwar*, because the wind carried a vessel laden therewith to the camp of the said king.

[2] The seventh month.

[3] This is an old Hindū custom. On the whole subject see Blochmann, *Āīn*, 18

[4] This latter would be his Muhammadan birthday.

[5] He was *Shaikh-ul-Islām* of Hind.

paragon of the human race, the very eleventh[1] Intelligence, Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī (sanctified be his grave!), and Mukhdūm-ul-Mulk to bring the Khān Zamān to repent of his rebellion, and to convey the glad tidings of his pardon to the ear of his soul. The Khān Zamān came to meet them, and, as was required took an oath of allegiance, and then dismissed their Excellencies with every mark of honour and respect.

The Emperor towards the end of the year nine hundred and seventy-three (973), returned, and set his face towards the capital, and on Friday the 7th of the month Ramzān[2] of the aforesaid year he came to Āgrah and spent his time in festivities. Thence he went to his new palace Nagar-Chīn, and occupied himself in *Chougān*-playing, and dog-racing, and hawk-flying. And they contrived a fiery ball with which one could play on a dark night.

And in this year died Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān, son of Atkah Khān, through continual wine-bibbing :—

"Three things are fatal to men,
And bring the healthy to sickness :
Continual indulgence in wine and women,
And the cramming of food upon food."

85

In this year the Emperor appointed Mahdī Qāsim Khān, and some of the Amīrs such as Ḥusain Khān, his relative, and Khālid Khan and others, with 3000, or 4000 horsemen to act against Āçaf Khan in the district of Garha Katangah.[3] Then Āçaf Khān left the fortress of Chourāgarh, and sent a petition to Court asking for the pardon of his offences. But, when this was not accepted, he wrote a letter to Khān Zamān, and in concert with Wazīr Khān his own brother went to Jounpūr to the Khān Zamān. The Khān Zamān at the first meeting bore himself so haughtily towards him, that Āçaf Khān repented of having come :—

"Alas that he came out of the well,
And fell into the snare!"

[1] They count *ten* Intelligences ; this man was, as it were, *an eleventh*.

[2] The 9th month.

[3] See p. 78, note 2.

And Mahdī Qāsim Khān, having got the district of Garha into his power, gave it to the *Jāgīrdārs*, and then giving up his pursuit of Āçaf Khān went by way of Hindia towards the sacred Mekka, which he had the happiness to reach And Ḥusain Khān with his own men went after him as far as the fortress of Satwās near the kingdom of Dekkan.

Then all of a sudden Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā, sons of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā (who was descended on his father's side from Taimūr, the Fortunate,[1] and on his mother's side from Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā[2]), an old man and full of years, to whom the Emperor had given the Parganna of A'zampūr as his *jāgīr*, raised the standard of revolt in the district of Sambhal.[3] And, after the subjugation of the Khān Zamān, and the Emperor had turned towards the Panjāb against Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, they fleeing before Mun'im Khān the *Khān Khānān*, plunged into the midst of the district and came to Dihlī and eventually raised the standard of rebellion in the kingdom of Mālwah. 86
From this place two of the brothers, Shāh Mīrzā, and Muḥammad Husain Mīrzā, went and laid siege to Hindia. But Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā went towards Satwās, which was 10 *cosses* distant, and Ḥusain Khān together with one named Muqarrab Khān, a chief of the Amīrs of the Dekkan, shut himself up in Satwās. Of stores there were none in the fort, so that they were reduced to eating the flesh of horses, camels, and cows, and the matter touched the life, and the knife reached the bone, and yet no assistance came from any side ; still, however much Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain might bring forward proposals of peace, the garrison would not give in. Till, one morning, they put the head[4] of Qadam Khān (Muqarrab Khān's brother, who had been killed at Hindia), upon the point of a lance, and showed

[1] The title is *Qāḥib-i-Qirān*, *i. e.*, Lord of conjunction, *viz.*, of Jupiter and Venus, the two beneficent planets, called *Sa'dain*. He was descended from the second son of Taimūr, *'Umar Shaikh Mirzā*, father of *Mīrzā Bāiqrā*, father of *Mīrzā Mançūr*, father of *Mīrzā Bāiqrā*, father of *Wais Mīrzā*, father of *Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā*. The sons of *Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā* were (1) *Ulugh Mīrzā*, (2) *Shāh Mīrzā*, (3) *Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā*, (4) *Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā*, (5) *Ma'ūd Ḥusain Mīrzā*, (6) *'Āqil Ḥusain Mīrzā*.

[2] She was daughter of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā, *king of Khurāsān*.

[3] The *Jāgīrdārs* of the vicinity treated them as mere marauders and expelled them from Sambhal, whence they proceeded to Mālwah. Briggs' *Ferishta*, II. 226.

[4] Instead of *bar* read *sar*.

it to Muqarrab Khān, and let him know that Hindia was taken, and that his kith and kin and the inhabitants of the place were all prisoners. Moreover they brought his mother, and setting her where he could see her, said: "Since the family and dependants of Muqarrab Khān are in this condition, with what confidence do you go on fighting?" Than Muqarrab Khān, being helpless, and rather a Muqarrab-*ghulām*[1] than a Muqarrab-*Khān*, went and saw the Mīrzās. Then, having granted Ḥusain Khān quarter, and got him out under treaty, they at first tried to press him into their service, but when he did not seem to see it, they let him go unharmed. Eventually in the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974), at the time when the Emperor had gone from Lāhōr to Āgra, he went, and did homage to him, and was favourably received, and the Emperor gave him in addition to Patiyālī, which was his *jāgīr*, the Parganna of Shamsābād.

The composer of this epitome, one year before this, having had the good fortune to go from Badāūn to Patiyālī, became acquainted with the aforesaid Khān. And, since he was a teacher of polite learning, and condescending, and dervish-like, and brave, and
87 munificent, and of blameless life, and a sunnī, and a patron of science, and a friend of virtue, and easy of access, I had no desire to leave his presence, and to go and pay my respects elsewhere. Accordingly I spent the space of 10 years in his society, in these unknown corners and dark recesses, engaged with him in suitable occupations. At last Fortune played me a trick, and struck a fatal blow to this companionship. A strange matter was at the bottom of this separation, and however much I begged his pardon, and employed mediation and intercessions, and, going to Badāūn, got even my, now deceased, mother to act as my advocate, it availed nothing; so I hasted to pay my respects to the Khalīf of the age[2]:—

"The heart, which is grieved by any one,
It is difficult to make happy.
A vase,[3] that has been broken,
It is difficult to piece together again."

[1] *Khān* is a "Noble," *ghulām* a "slave"; and *Muqarrab-ghulāmī* possibly means a "confidential servant" like *Muqarrab-ul-khidmat*.
[2] That is the Emperor Akbar.
[3] Compare above p. 28 of Text.

Finally[1] the Khān Zamān appointed Āçaf Khān together with Bahādur Khān to reduce some of the districts of the Afghāns, and fearing lest Wazīr Khān should act treacherously towards himself, he kept his eye on him. The two brothers,[2] having by means of messages sent backwards and forwards between them determined on flight, and fixed a time, on the night appointed the one fled from the Khān Zamān, and the other parted company with Bahādur Khān, and went 30 *cosses* distance going in the direction of Āgra and Mānikpūr. Then Bahādur Khān pursued after Açaf Khān, and between Jounpūr and Mānikpūr a sharp fight took place between the two parties. Āçaf Khān was taken prisoner and Bahādur Khan had him put into the *houda* of an elephant, and set off. Meanwhile Wazīr Khān from Jounpūr arrived at the place whither they were taking his brother, and Bahādur Khān's men being scattered in quest of booty, he could not withstand him, so Bahādur Khan gave orders for Āçaf Khān to be put to death, as he was, in the *houda*. He received a sword-cut on his nose, and two or three of his fingers were cut off, but Wazir Khān managed to release him before he 88
had received further injury, and the two brothers made for Garha, and Bahādur Khān returned foiled. Wazīr Khān arrived at the confines of Lāhōr, just at the time that the Emperor, having gone in pursuit of Muḥammad Ḥakīm, had turned aside to enjoy a *qamurgha*-hunt,[3] and at the intercession of Muzaffar Khān he was allowed to do homage, and a *farmān* gracious in its wording was issued to Āçaf Khān.

In this year Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm came to Lahōr. The cause of it was that, when Mīrzā Sulaimān returned the third time from Kābul, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm had got possession of Kābul, and had dismissed the imperial Amīrs to Hindūstān, and Khwājah Ḥasan Naqshbandī had become absolute Prime-minister,[4] and the Khān Kalān was enraged thereat, then Mīrza Sulaimān, finding the field for the fourth time clear, in company with his wife Walī Ni'mat Bēgum, hastened to Kābul, and laid siege to it. And Mīrzā

[1] Continued from p. 85.
[2] Wazir Khān, and Āçaf Khān.
[3] Compare p. 93 note 3.
[4] See page 72, l. 18.

Muḥammad Ḥakīm entrusting Kābul to Ma'çūm Kokah (who afterwards raised rebellion, and was the mover of sedition in Hindūstān, and was a man of great courage), himself with Khwājah Ḥasan Naqshbandī went to the river Ghorband.[1] And Mīrzā Sulaimān, when he found that he could not take Kābul by force of arms, by many artifices contrived to convey Walī Ni'mat Bēgum to Qarā-bāgh (which is 10 *cosses* distant from Kābul, and in the neighbourhood of the Ghorband). There she brought forward proposals of peace, and took solemn and awful oaths:[2] and Mīrzā [Muḥammad Ḥakīm] set out to meet her with a small escort. Khwājah Ḥasan also approved of this conciliatory interview, but Bāqī Qāqshāl was not pleased with the matter and said: "This woman is a thorough deceiver, and is not fit to be trusted:"—

"Go not out of the way for any blandishments of Fortune
For this old woman
As a deceiver she sits down, and as a traitress
She moves about."

Then Mīrzā Sulaimān before Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm arrived at
89 Qarābāgh came by forced marches from Kābul with a considerable force, and lay in ambush in that neighbourhood. It happened that some of the soldiers of Mīrzā Sulaimān met with the men of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and gave him information of this. So Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm fled, and when he got to Ghorband he became bewildered and fell by mistake into the road to the Hindūkush[3] mountain. Khwājah Ḥasan wished to bring him to Pīr Muḥammad Khān Uzbek, governor of Balkh, in order to ask his assistance. But Bāqī Qāqshāl prevented this, and brought the Mīrzā in the direction of the Capital by way of Panjhar[4] to Jalālābād and thence to the bank of the river Nīlāb, till eventually he crossed the river Sind,[5] and sent a despatch to the Court. Khwājah Ḥasan with his party arrived at *Balkh*, and after some time he became lost, and his life became bitter (*Talkh*) to him:—

[1] To the north of Kābul.
[2] That she was acting in good faith.
[3] Means 'Hindu slayer,' and is so called because slaves brought thither from India die from the intensity of the cold. Lee's *Ibn Batuta*, p. 97.
[4] Panshar
[5] The Indus.

"My heart is gone, my soul is fled, my religion lost,
O Ḥasan! worse than this what can I become!"

Mīrzā Sulaimān pursued Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm as far as Kōtal-sanjad-darra, and took prisoners some stragglers of his army, and having plundered[1] his baggage, still remained on that spot.

Meanwhile during his prolonged absence Muḥammad Ma'çūm of Kābul attacked Sulaimān's camp and spoiled it, and defeated his general Qulī Shaghālī, and after this decisive victory proceeded to lay siege to Chaharbāgh. Then Mīrzā Sulaimān sent Qāzī Khān Badakshī as ambassador to incite Muḥammad Ma'çūm to terms of peace. This Muḥammad Ma'çūm at first refused, but he could not withstand the persuasions of Qāzī Khān, because he had been his tutor, and so Mīrzā [Sulaimān] received from him a small bribe, for mere form's sake, and returned to Badakhshān.

Now, before Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm's messenger could arrive at the Court, the Emperor had received news of the disturbances at Kābul, and had sent by the hand of a state-messenger Khūshkhabar Khān a saddle, a bridle adorned with jewels, and precious things of Hindūstān, and a substantial sum of money to Mīrzā,[2] together 90
with a reassuring *farmān*, promising him the assistance of the Amīrs of the Panjāb. Mīrzā [Muḥammad Ḥakīm] hastened to meet the envoy, and fully intended to come [to Court], when Farīdūn Khān, his maternal uncle whom the Emperor had sent from Nagarchīn to bring the disturbance to an end, suddenly arrived, and immediately on his arrival tried to seduce the Mīrzā into rebellion, and so changed the aspect of affairs:—

"When the medicine is the cause of the disease, what hope is there
Of the cure of the disease, or of the recovery of the sick man?"

And Ḥasan Khān, brother of Shahāb Khān, who was at Kābul and one Sulṭān 'Alī, a scribe who had fled from Hindūstān and was waiting for something to turn up, joined with Farīdūn Khān in representing to the Mīrzā that it would be very easy to capture Lahor

[1] For *tāj* read *tārāj*.
[2] Muḥammad Ḥakīm.

Then, when he agreed to their rebellious proposals, they tried to induce him to seize the person of Khūshkhabar Khān. But the Mīrzā through that generosity, which was inherent in his nature, sent privately for him, and dismissed him. But eventually this very year, when the Emperor was *qamurgha*[1] hunting in the neighbourhood of Lāhōr, Khūshkhabar Khān was drowned in the river Rāwī and a clever fellow extemporised this verse :—

"*Khūshkhabar*[2] is bad news, for never was there
In the world such an ugly fellow as he,
He died in the water, although they say :
And from the water all things live."[3]

But Mīrzā Muhammad Ḥakīm with rebellious intentions went into the neighbourhood of Behra. and set his hand (which was never ready for political affairs) to spoiling and plundering the district. Then, setting out for Lāhōr, he came by forced marches, and encamped in the garden of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, which was situate outside the city on the banks of the river Rāwī. And Fate in an impromptu said to him :—

91

"Since at this point I leave you as you are,
It hardly matters that we came so far."

And Mīr Muḥammad Khān, and all the Atkah-khāns[4] with their *posse comitatus* came into the fortress, and however much Mīrzā attacked it, they so repulsed him that they gave him no opportunity to formally invest it. Now, when the reports from the Amirs reached the Emperor, he, leaving Āgrah in charge of the Khān-khānān,[5] and Muzaffar Khān, on the 3rd of Jamādi-l-awwal[6] of the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974) marched on the Panjāb by way of Dihlī and Sirhind. And Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm on the mere hearing of this news, without effecting anything, went back to Kābul by the way by which he had come :—

[1] Compare next page, and text, pp. 354, 421.
[2] Means 'good-news.'
[3] Al Qur'ān XLI, 31 "And we made from the water every living thing"
[4] That is, to relatives of *Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Atkah.*
[5] *Mu'nīm Khān.*
[6] The fifth month of the Muḥammadan year.

"He that cannot seize the skirt of Fortune by might,
His bootless effort is like dyeing the eyebrows of the blind."

And Qutb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān, and Kamāl Khān G'hakkar were appointed to go from Lāhōr in pursuit of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. They went a certain distance and then turned back from Behra.

At this time a letter came from Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhan bin Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Isā,[1] ruler of the district of Sindh, containing assurance of his own loyalty, and complaints of the attacks of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the governor of Bakkar, on the province of Sindh and Lāhōr. Accordingly a *farmān* was sent to Sulṭān Maḥmūd touching the complaints of Muḥammad Bāqī.

During the stay at Lāhōr a letter came from the Khān Khānān saying that Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, in whose jāgīr were the parganna of Nahtnūr (?) a dependency of Sambhal, and A'zampūr, had, in conjunction with their uncles Ibrāhim Ḥusain Mīrzā and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzā,[2] with rebellious designs seized some of the government pargannas; but that, on his going in pursuit of them, they had fled to Mālwa.

92

At this time the Emperor held a *Qamurgha*-hunt[3] at about five *cosses* from Lāhōr. For a space of 40 *cosses* in every direction they drove the wild game together in a circle, and day by day they contracted the circle, till it became as narrow as the mouth of the fair :—

"The compass drew so narrow the figure of that mouth,
That the circumference of the circle coincided with the centre."

About 15,000 wild animals of various kinds were counted in that arena. The nobles, and afterwards the people generally, were permitted to join in the sport. Afterwards the whole party gave rein to their horses, and dashed into the river Rāwī to swim across, and all the courtiers, with the exception of one or two, of which number

[1] A direct descendant of Chingīz Khān. See *Blochm.* 361.
[2] See above, p. 85 T. note; and Elliot V. 315.
[3] A Turkī word denoting a great *battue;* De Courteille merely calls it *lieu de chasse.*

was Khūskhabar Khān (as has been already mentioned),[1] got safely across. Now, while the *Qamurgha*-hunt was going on, Muzaffar Khān arrived with Vazīr Khān from Āgra, and the Emperor wrote a *farmān* entrusting to Āçaf Khān and Majnūn Khān the joint guardianship of the districts of Karrah and Mānikpūr—on which subject[2] many a poem was composed.

Meanwhile news arrived that the Khān Zamān, Bahādur Khān, and Sikandar Khān had broken faith and were in open rebellion: and that they had sent persons to fetch Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and had had the audacity to read the *khutbah*, and to strike coin in his name in the district of Jounpūr. And Mulā Ghazālī, a poet of Mashhid, composed this verse:—

"In the name of the gracious and merciful God,
Muḥammad Ḥakīm is the heir of a kingdom."

On hearing this news the Emperor confided Mīrzā Mīrak Razawī the Khān Zamān's lieutenant, to the custody of Jān Bāqī Khān, 93 and entrusting the charge of the affairs of the Panjāb to Khāni Kalān, and the whole *Atgah* family,[3] on the 12th of the blessed month of Ramzān in the year 974 started for Āgra, and went to the fort of T'hānēsar,[4] which has been from time immemorial a haunt of infidels. At the lake [called] *Kurk'hēt*,[5] a host of Kurus and Pāndus,[6] (curse on them!) more than 4.000 years ago, according to the opinion of the Hindūs, to the number of seven or eight hundred millions of persons were killed in a tumult (and they went by way of water to hell-fire). And now every year there is a great assembly there, and the Hindū people, at that place of worship, give away both privately and publicly, gold and silver, and,

[1] P. 92

[2] *viz.* Akbar's clemency towards Āçaf Khān and Vazīr Khān.

[3] See p. 49, note 4.

[4] Sanscrit *Sthaneçwara*, meaning 'Lord of the place.' It is a town about 100 miles from Dihlī, where there is a temple of *Mahudeo*.

[5] Sanscrit *Kurukshetra*, *i. e.*, Kuru-battlefield.

[6] Abu-l-Fazl, according to Sir H. Elliot, V. 318 *note*, calls the sects 'Gurs and Puris.'

jewels, and linen, and valuable goods: and in accordance with that which has been said, [*viz.*]:—

"Do a good action, and cast into the water:"

they secretly cast gold coins into the water. And bodies of Jogī-s and Sannyāsī-s, who are the Hindū devotees, are in the habit of fighting there in their bigotry. On this occasion their fight made a grand show. A number of the imperial soldiers, in accordance with a command from the Emperor, having rubbed their bodies well with ashes,[1] went and fought on the side of the Sannyāsī-s (who were scarcely 300 men, while the Jogī-s were more than 500). But many were slain on either side. At last the Sannyāsī-s came off victorious.

When the imperial camp was pitched at Dihlī, Mīrza Mīrak Razawī escaping from Khān Bāqī Khān, in whose charge he was imprisoned, fled and joined his employer.[2] Then Khān Bāqī Khān went in pursuit of him for some distance, but eventually, through fear of punishment, attached himself to the insurgents:—

'As for him who became a tale,
His tale never came back again.'

While the Emperor was still at Dihlī, Shāh Fakhr-ud-dīn Mashhadī,[3] upon information received from Tātār Khān, commandant of Dihlī, and in accordance with the Emperor's orders, brought Shahāb Khān Turkomān (who held the parganna of Bhōjpūr in fief, and with whom Amīn Dīwāna,[4] having escaped from Lāhōr, had taken refuge, and, having been supplied by him with a horse and pecuniary assistance, had gone off to join the rebels) to Court, where he was 94 executed.

[1] In order to disguise themselves, and look like Sannyāsī-s.

[2] In the 10th year he came to Court to obtain pardon for Ālī Qulī Khān, Khān Zamān. When the latter rebelled again, in the 12th year, Mīrzā Mīrak Razawī was imprisoned.

[3] Son of Mir Qāsim, a Mūsawī Sayyid of Mashhad. He came in 961, with Humāyūn, to India. Blochm. 406.

[4] He had been imprisoned for attempting the life of one of the Imperial Generals Elliot, V. 319.

When the Emperor arrived at Āgra, news came that Khān Zamān was besieging Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī,[1] who had shut himself up in Shergaṛh (which is generally known by the name of Qannouj). Upon the receipt of the intelligence, leaving the Khān-khānān in charge of Āgra, the Emperor on the 26th[2] of Shavvāl,[3] in the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974), marched towards Jounpūr. And the weather was so hot that the marrow of creatures melted in their bones: -

'The air again was so hot that, even in running water,
The crab through heat laid its breast on the ground,
Even the moist river, from the mouth of which water ever flows,
Through fever became dry-lipped, like a bilious person.'

And when the town of Sakit had become the camping-place of the imperial army, news came in that Khān Zamān had raised the siege [of Shergaṛh], and fled towards Mānikpūr, where was his brother Bahādur Khān. Accordingly, from the town of Bhōjpūr the Emperor detached a body of 6,000 veteran troopers under the command of Muḥammad Qulī Khaṇ Barlās, Muzaffar Khān, Rāja Todar Mal, Shāh Budāgh Khan, and his son 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab Khan and Ḥusain Khān (who at that time had arrived from Satwās) to march towards Oudh to oppose Sikandar. At first Ḥusain Khān was appointed to lead the vanguard of this division of the imperial army; but, since he had arrived in a most deplorable and poverty-stricken state, on account of the protracted siege he had sustained in the fortress [of Satwās],[4] he went to the parganna of Shamsabād, which he had lately acquired, to obtain supplies for his army, and some little delay took place in his rejoining the army: consequently Qiyā Khān was appointed in his place.

The author was with the aforesaid Khān on this occasion. And when he passed on from Shamsābād, I remained in that town. The
95 following is one of the marvels, which took place there, to which a number of trustworthy inhabitants of that city

[1] Son of Mīr Aḥmad i Razawī. He was a great favourite with Akbar.
[2] The Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī has 'Monday the 23rd.' Elliot, V. 319.
[3] The 10th month.
[4] See above, p. 87.

bore witness. A few days before this it happened that, on a certain night, a boy of tender age, belonging to a washerman, fell asleep on a couch on the banks of the river Ganges. Suddenly he fell into the river, and the strong stream carried him as far as the town of Bhojpūr (which is 10 *cosses* distant), and landed him safely on the bank. A relative of the washerman took out the child, and recognizing it, brought it back in the morning to its mother and father:—

'He is the Absolute Omnipotent,
Who ruleth as He wills,
He is, in truth, the Judge,
Who acteth, as it pleaseth Him.'

And, when the imperial camp was pitched at the town of Rāi Barēlī, news arrived that Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān had crossed the river Ganges and fled towards Kālpī. Consequently the Emperor, directing that the camp, under Khwājah Jahān, should be moved on towards Karah, set off with all speed for Mānikpūr. Mounted upon an elephant he crossed the stream, and at that time there were not with him more than fifteen or sixteen[1] persons. And Majnūn Khān, and Āçaf Khān, who were in the vanguard, kept from time to time sending back information concerning the whereabouts of the enemy.

It so happened that Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān, over whose eyes Fate had drawn the blinding iron of negligence, in accordance with the following:—

'When Fate[2] lets down its wings from the sky,
All the prudent become blind and deaf'—

had spent the whole night at a wine-party, and in watching an exhibition of Pātar-dancing,[3] and, their cup being full, they looked on the intelligence of the enemy's advance, which the scouts kept bringing in, as merely an act of rashness on the part of Majnūn[4]

[1] The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, according to Elliot, p. 320, says 1,000 to 1,500 men.
[2] *Viz.*, The Decree of Death: *Dira Necessitas.* With these lines compare the well-known saying: *Quos deus vult perdere prius dementat.*
[3] *Pātar*, in Hindūstānī means a dancing girl.
[4] He was the fief-holder (*zamīndār*) of Mānikpūr.

Khān (for which they cared no more, than for a measure stuffed with straw); but, as for the Emperor's approach, they had no intimation of it, and indeed never dreamt of such a thing.

On this day the Emperor was mounted on an elephant named
96 *Sundar*,[1] and he placed Mīrzā Kokah, surnamed A'zam Khān in the *houda* with him. He took up his station in the centre, and placed Āçaf Khān, and all the Atkas,[2] on the right, and Majnūn Khān, and others, on the left. Now the Khān Zamān had given orders for his army to march in the morning. But sunk, as he was, in sleep and the wine, which he had drunk, he was wakened only by the Messenger of Fate. Then, by the exhibition of standards and paraphernalia of majesty, and the glory of the cavalcade, and the pompous beating of kettle-drums, he became certain that the Emperor in person was with the army. Accordingly, he ordered his troops to fall in, and began to draw up his lines. First he dispatched a body of renowned heroes, veterans in service, to oppose the advance of the vanguard of the imperial army. But Bābā Khān Qāqshāl, who was leader of the archers, with a well-directed shower of arrows repulsed them, and drove them back on the Khān Zamān. At this moment one of the horses of the fugitives rushed with terrific force against the horse of the Khān Zamān, so that through the concussion his turban became loosened from his head, and caught him round the neck like a lasso. At the sight of this occurrence [his brother] Bahādur Khān, planting firmly the foot of desperation, charged Bābā Khān with such fury, that he compelled him to retreat, and sweeping him before him, bore him back on the ranks of Majnūn Khān. Then Majnūn Khān, and Bahādur Khān, who had returned to the thick of the fray from the pursuit of fugitives, fell upon one another, and showed great courage. But an arrow struck the horse of Bahādur Khān, which reared and threw him to the ground, so that he was taken prisoner:—

'When the key of victory is not in the hand,
One cannot open the door of victory by force.'

[1] From Sanskrit *sundara*, beautiful.

[2] See above, p 92, *note* 4.

At this juncture the Emperor dismounted from his elephant, and got on horse-back, and ordered that the troop of mountain-formed elephants should charge the ranks of the Khān Zamān: and then the fortune of the day began to waver, and the signs of victory began to decide in the Emperor's favour:—

'The sword of kings doth show such marks,
The great do such deeds as beseem them,
Look at a king's sword, read not the annals of the past,
For, more sooth-saying is his sword—much!'

And an elephant, Hīrānand by name, on the side of the 97
imperial army, charged an elephant, named Oudyā, on the enemy's side, and came with such force against the head of that animal, that it felled it to the ground. And midst this hubbub and confusion, an arrow struck the horse of the Khān Zamān; and, while he was in the act of pulling it out, another arrow struck it, and it reared up and the Khān Zamān fell to the ground. At this moment an elephant-driver, riding on an elephant named Narsingh, came up; and, although the Khān Zamān kept saying to him: I am a great leader, take me alive to the king, and you will get a great reward,' the elephant-driver would not listen, but drove on his elephant, which crushed him with its trunk and feet, and ground his bones to powder, and made his body like a bag full of chess-pieces.—

'The huge-form of elephants dashed [him] crushed to the ground,
An earthquake threw [him] on the surface of the earth:
Through all these tusks, which were weighers-out of evil,
The face of the ground became a [strewed] chess-board.'

After that the turmoil of battle had subsided, Nazar Bahādur made Bahādur Khān ride behind him on the same horse, and brought him to the Imperial Presence.[1] The Emperor did not wish to put him to death, but asked him: 'Bahādur how are you.' He replied, 'Praise is due to God in all circumstances.' And when he asked for

[1] The word for 'Presence' is *Nazar*, with a play on the name Nazar Bahādur.

water, the Emperor gave him some out of his own canteen.[1] But the Amīrs did not deem it advisable to spare his life, so they brought about his execution.

And after a time the head of the Khān Zamān was also brought in. And for some time there was a dispute, as to whether it were the Khān Zamān's or no. At this juncture a petty Hindū Rāy, Khān Zamān's *wakīl*, who was of the number of the prisoners, took up the head, and, putting it upon his own, began to lament: 'Alas! alas!' And Khwājah Daulat a eunuch, who had once been in Khān Zamān's service, and had afterwards given in his adhesion to the Emperor, and has now attained the title of Daulat Khān, said: "The way to find
98 out whether the head is really that of Khān Zamān is this. He used always to chew betel-leaf on the right side [of his mouth], consequently his teeth on the right side will be black." And so they found them. These affairs took place in the twelfth year of the reign, on the Monday in the first week of the month Zī-ḥijjah[2] of the year nine hundred and seventy-four (974), in the neighbourhood of the village of Mankarwāl, one of the dependencies of Pairag[3] now known as Alāhābās. And some, who had formerly thought good to accept service under Khān Zamān, and had therefrom sucked no small advantage, found this *mnemosynon* for the date of his death: —

"When Khān Zamān from the world went to the winds,
The pillar of the sky fell down head over heels,
The date of his death I asked of Wisdom; he said:
Heaven having lost its support, raised a cry of despair."[4]

[1] This word, which is not found in our Dictionaries, recurs at p. 238, l. 8 *infra* of the Text. It may be connected with the Hindūstānī *Karū'ā* (Sanskrit *Karaka*) 'an earthen pipkin.' Or it may have been borrowed, by some means or other, from the Mahratti, in which there is a word *Karoṭī* 'a vessel made of cocoa-nut shell.'

[2] The twelfth month.

[3] *Prayāga* was a holy place on the *left* bank of the Ganges, the ruins of which are still to be seen at Jhusī. It was never a *city* until Akbar made it such, and then not on the left, but on the *right* bank, under the name *Alāhābās* or *Ābād*.

[4] The numerical values of the letters of this line are 80 + 200 + 10 + 1 + 4 + 7 + 4 + 60 + 400 + 80 + 30 + 20 + 12 + 2 + 50 + 11 + 4 = 975 which is one too many.

And some others with reference to the rebellion of that party said:—

"*The slaughter of two traitors to the salt, without religion.*"[1]

And this date falls short of the correct number by one. And Qāsim Arslān was the author of it. And another was said:—

'The slaughter of 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur.'
O my Soul! ask not me, helpless, how it came about!
I asked of the Old-man Intellect "What was the year of their death?"
He heaved a sigh from his heart, and said: "*Two became blood.*"[2]

And of the number of the captives[3] slain [after] that battle was Mīrzā Khūshḥāl Bēg, whom I myself had seen at an assembly in the army of Mālwah, in company with Adham Khān and Pīr Muḥammad Khān. And, verily, the appearance of the beauty of his person and disposition was by way of being perfection, and the impression of it will never pass away from my heart. The date of his death was found as follows:—

"Khūshḥāl, who was the eye of the men of wisdom,
Through the baneful influence of his star revolted from the King,
When he was slain in company with Khān Zamān,
The date came out: *Rose-cheeked, fair-formed.*"[4]

In this year that paragon of the age Mīr Murtazā Sharīf 99
Shīrāzī left this deceitful caravansarai.[5] And at first he was buried at Dihlī, in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Mīr Khusrou[6]

[1] This line gives 100 + 400 + 30 + 8 + 50 + 40 + 20 + 8 + 200 + 41 + 12 + 14 + 50 = 973.

[2] This gives 10 + 600 + 56 + 300 + 4 + 5 = 975, which is one too many.

[3] See Text, p. 100, and Elliot, V. 322.

[4] 20 + 30 + 200 + 600 + 7 + 10 + 3 + 104 = 974.

[5] The world.

[6] A great poet of Dihlī.

(mercy upon him!) But afterwards, when the Çadr,[1] and Qazī, and Shaikh-ul-Islām represented to His Majesty that Mīr Khusrou was a native of India, and a Sunnī, while Mīr Murtazā was a native of 'Irāq and a heretic,[2] and that consequently Mīr Khusrou would be very much annoyed by his company; for there can be no doubt, but that:-

"To the spirit the presence of the base is a fearful torment"

the Emperor gave orders, that they should take him up from that place, and bury him elsewhere. And this was a great act of injustice to both of them, as cannot be denied. And some one found out the date of the Mir to be contained in the following.—*Knowledge has deserted the knowing.* And another combined exactly the same letters into the following:—*The paragon has left the world.*

And in this year one of the friends of the Author, Shaikh Abu-l-Fath by name, brother of Shaikh Said u-llah, son of Shaikh Badah, who was one of the most powerful nobles of Bayanah, passed from the world. And his date was found to be.—

"Ab-ul-Fath, that eye of the intelligent!
For in this revolving sphere you will never see his like.
When he went from the world the date of his death
Seek in the words: *Repository of excellencies.*"[4]

And among the circumstances of this time is the following. Mirza Nizām ud-Dīn Aḥmad (mercy on him!) who was an intimate companion of the Author, and who had a boundless and extreme predilection for myself, said to me personally (and it is written, moreover, in the *Tarikhi Nizāmī*), that when, during the time of the rebellion and hostility of Khān Zamān, news-mongers, and especially drug and opium takers, used every day in Āgrah to spread gloomy reports, one

[1] Apparently *Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabi*; see p. 71, Text.

[2] That is a *Shī'ah*, or follower of 'Alī.

[3] 70 + 30 + 40 + 1 + 7 + 70 + 30 + 40 + 1 + 200 + 5 + 400 + 5 = 974.

[4] 80 + 800 + 11 + 30 + 40 + 1 + 2 + 10 = 974.

[5] That is the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. See Elliot, V. 321

day, when they were sitting three or four friends together, it came into his mind to say 'What think you, if we were with one consent to spread a report, that they are now bringing in the heads of Khān Zamān, and Bahādur Khān?' Accordingly they told this news to several persons, so that it became a common rumour. And on that very day, on which this news was spread abroad in Āgrah, Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān were actually slain, and the third day one named 'Abd-u-llāh, the father of Murād Bēg, brought their heads to Āgrah, and thence carried them to Dihlī, Lāhor, and Kābul:—

"Many an omen that's uttered in play,
When Fate so decrees comes true on that day."

And the Emperor, after this victory, would not at first trust any of those who had been led into rebellion by that fellow. He proceeded to Allāhābās, and seizing some who had fled from the Court and joined themselves to the rebellious party, he delivered them over to keepers. And Mīrzā Mīrak Razawī[1] who had fled from Dihlī, he had thrown under the feet of an elephant, but the elephant only gave him a few rubs with his trunk, so the Emperor, with a view to pleasing the Sayyids,[2] pardoned him. But some others of the inciters of rebellion he brought to execution, and '*What bloodshed took place!*'[3] was found to give the date. And to some of the people of the Khān Zamān, who had advanced far on the road to despair, he granted their lives.

After two days he went to Banāras, and thence to Jounpūr, and remained three days in that city. Then in the course of three or four days, with four or five persons accompanying him, he arrived with great expedition at the banks of the river Ganges, at the ford of Karah and Mānikpūr, where was the camp of the imperial army.[4] He crossed over the river in a boat, and alighted at the fort of Karah.

[1] The Khān Zamān's *Wakīl*, Text, p. 92.

[2] He was a Sayyid of Mashhad.

[3] 3 + 5 + 600 + 6 + 50 + 6 + 300 + 4 = 974.

[4] P. 95, Text.

And with regard to killing those of Khan Zamān's party, who had been taken prisoners, when Qāzī Ṭawāīsī (the camp-Qāzī, who was endued with the qualities of honesty, truth-speaking, and trustworthiness) represented to His Majesty that to kill these people, after the battle was over, and to confiscate their goods and chattels, would not be in accordance with the Holy Law, the Emperor was
101 displeased with him, and chose and appointed in his stead Qāzī Ya'qūb, an inhabitant of Kaṛah (who was renowned for his profound knowledge of legal matters, and was son-in-law of Qāzī Fazīlat[1] Shērshāhī, whom they used to term Qāzī Fazīḥat, and who, for all that, was never at a loss for good sayings, and jokes). He held this office for ten years, when he was superseded, and Qāzī Jalāl-ud-dīn Multānī was appointed in his stead, as will be narrated in its place, if God, (He is exalted!) will:—

"Put not thy foot into any office, lest thou
Become the butt of placing, and displacing."

Meanwhile the Khān Khānān, who before this had received a *farmān* summoning him from Āgrah, arrived at Court and did homage. The Emperor gave him all the *jāgīrs* of Bahādur Khān and Khān Zamān, from Jounpūr and Banaras as far as Ghāzīpūr and the fortress of Chunar and Zamāniyah to the ford of the river Jūsah, and having presented him with a robe of honour and a horse, dismissed him to his *jāgīrs*. In Zī-ḥijjah[2] of the aforesaid year in the midst of the rainy season the Emperor set out, and in Muḥarram[3] in the year nine hundred and seventy-five (975) his Majesty alighted at the Capital.

In this year Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, and Muzaffar Khān, and the force which had been sent against Sikandar Uzbek in Oudh, blockaded him in that fort, and every day skirmishes took place. When news of the death of Khān Zaman and Bahadur Khān came to his ears, he utterly lost heart. First he laid before the Amīrs proposals of peace, and having engaged them in negotiations, he

[1] *Fazīlat* means 'excellence,' by the change of one letter it becomes *Fazīḥat* 'infamy.'

[2] The twelfth month.

[3] The first month.

embarked in a boat and crossed over to the other side of the river Sarw. Then, still treating for peace, he requested that some of the Amīrs would put off alone from their side, and he himself with three or four persons put off from the other side in a boat, and the treaty and oath was confirmed on both sides, and it was agreed that they should bring him to the Court; but afterwards he would not 102
abide by the terms, but went off to among the Afghāns. The Amīrs pursued him as far as Gorāk'hpūr, and then wrote a statement of the case to Court: and, when they received a *farmān* ordering them to repair to the Court, they hastened thither, leaving Muḥammad Qulī Barlās in Oudh.

And in this year the intention was formed of reducing the fortress of Chiṭor. Accordingly the Emperor took away Biyāna from Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī, and gave it as *jāgīr* to Āçaf Khān; and Basāwar and Wazīrpūr Mandalgaṛh he also gave to him, on the understanding that he should proceed thither, and collect provisions and materials for the army. The Emperor set out after him, and travelling by way of Bārī and hunting in Mou-maidānah, proceeded thence towards Sūpar. The subjects of Rāī Sarjan evacuated the fort of Sūpar, and Nazar Bahādur was appointed commandant of that fort, and Shāh Muḥammad Khān Qandahārī to hold the fort of Kotah Balāyah. When the Emperor arrived at the fort of Kākarūn, having given to Shahāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān and Shāh Bidāgh Khān *jāgīrs* in the district of Mālwah, he appointed them to quell the disturbances caused by the sons of Muḥammad Sulṭān, *viz.* Mīrzā Ulugh and Shāh Mīrzā, who had fled thither from Sambhal. When the Amīrs reached Ujjain, the Mīrzās hearing the said news left that country, and went to Gujrāt to Changīz Khān a follower of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Thus Mālwah fell into the hands of the Amīrs without their striking a blow. And Rānā Udai Sing, committing the keeping of the fortress of Chiṭor to one Rāī Jaimal by name (a brave and chivalrous commander, who had been besieged by Mīrzā Sharfuddīn Ḥusain in the fortress of Mirt'hah and had cut his way out), himself took refuge in the high mountain ground and impassable jungles in the neighbourhood of Udaipūr Komalmair. Āçaf Khān marched to Rāmpūr, which is an inhabited district in that region, and took the fortress by storm, 103

and ravaged the district. And Ḥusain Qulī Khān marched towards Udaipūr, and ravaged the environs; but the Rānā left that place for some other maze-like mousehole.

The Emperor ordered *Sābāṭs*[1] and trenches to be constructed, and gradually brought close to the walls of the fortress. The width of the Sābāṭ was such that ten horsemen could easily ride abreast in it, and its height was so great that a man on an elephant with spear in hand could pass under it. Many of the men of our army were killed by musket and cannon balls, and the bodies of the dead were made use of instead of bricks and stones. After a length of time the *Sābāṭ* and trenches were brought up to the foot of the fortress, and they undermined two towers which were close together, and filled the mines with gunpowder. A party of men of well-known bravery fully armed and accoutred approached the towers, and waited till the towers should fall, and then they would enter the fortress. By accident, though the two mines were fired at one and the same moment, the fuse of one, which was shorter than the other took effect soonest, and the fuse of the latter, which was longer, hung fire, so that one of the two towers was blown up from its foundations and heaved into the air, and a great breach was made in the castle. Then the forlorn hope in their impetuosity forgetting the second mine stormed the breach at once, and soon effected a lodging. While the hand-to-hand struggle was going on, suddenly the second fuse went off and blew the other tower, which was full, both of friends and foes, from its place and lifted it into the air. The soldiers of Islām were buried under stones, some of 100, and some of 200 *man* in weight, and the stony-hearted infidels in like manner flew about like moths in that flood of fire. Those stones were blown as far as three or four *cosses*, and a cry of horror arose from the people of Islām and from the infidels:—

104 "This stream flowed to Paradise, that to Hell,
Though the blood of Guebre and of believer both flowed in one place."

[1] A Sābāt is a kind of wall which is begun at musket-shot distance from the fort, and under the shelter of its planks, strongly fastened together and covered with raw hides, a kind of way is conducted to the fortress. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*. Elliot V, 326.

And a happy day was it for the vultures and crows
(Glory to Him who multiplieth food for his creatures!)

Nearly five hundred warriors, most of them personally known to the Emperor, were slain, and drank the draught of martyrdom: and of the Hindūs who can say how many! Night by night the infidels mustering in force kept building up the wall of the fortress from the ruins of these towers.

After waiting a considerable time, six months more or less, at last on the night of Tuesday 25th of Sha'bān[1] in the aforesaid year the Imperial troops advancing from all sides, made a breach in the wall of the fortress, and stormed it. The fierce face of Jaimal became visible through the flashing of the fire of the cannon and guns, which was directed against the soldiers of Islām. At this juncture a bull t struck the forehead of Jaimal, who was distinctly recognizable, and he fell dead. It was as though a stone had fallen among a flock of sparrows, for, when the garrison of the fortress saw that their leader was dead, they fled every one to their own houses. Then they collected their families and goods together and burnt them, which is called in the language of Hind *jouhar*. Most of those that remained became food for the crocodile of the blood-drinking sword, and a few of those who remained, who escaped the sword and the fire, were caught in the noose of tribulation. The whole night long the swords of the combatants desisted not from the slaughter of the base, and returned not to the scabbard, till the time for the afternoon *siesta* arrived. Eight thousand valorous Rājpūts were slain. The following line was found to give the date:—

"My heart said: *He quickly took Chītōr.*"[2]

After midday the Emperor ordered the sacking to cease, and returned to the camp. He remained there three days, and wrote letters announcing the victory, and despatched them in all directions. Then, having appointed Āçaf Khān to the command of that district, on the morning of Tuesday 25th[3] of the aforesaid month 105

[1] The eighth month.
[2] 2+20+300+1+4+2+7+6+4+10+3+10+400+6+200=975.
[3] So too the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, but there is evidently some mistake.

the victorious standards moved towards Āgrah. And by way of performing a vow the Emperor walked the whole way on foot, and on Sunday 7th of the month Ramzān[1] he arrived at Ajmīr. There he paid a visit to the holy mausoleum of the blessed bestower of blessings the Saint Khwājah Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishtī (God sanctify his tomb!), and having occupied himself in alms, and good and pious works, after ten days he rode off towards the capital. And Mīr 'Alā'uddoulah,[2] author of the "Biography of the Poets," made this *mnemosynon* :—

"The Shāh cherishing the Faith, enthroned like Jamshīd,
The Khusrou of his age, Muḥammad Akbar,
Made, without doubt, for the conquest of Chiṭōr
A mortar brazen-bodied, dragon-faced.
For the date there came from the unseen world [the voice]:
'It was altogether *a Chiṭōr taking mortar*.[3]'"

When the Emperor arrived in the neighbourhood of Alwar[4] he took to lion-hunting. And 'Ādil Muḥammad Khān, son of Shāh Muḥammad Khān Qandahārī, who was himself as brave as a lion, went to face the animal [which was rushing upon the Emperor], and both he and the beast were killed Then the Emperor separated himself from the camp, and went to Nārnoul. There he visited Shaikh Nizām Nārnoulī (who was one of the greatest Shaikhs), and in the fulness of his faith entreated his prayers, and then continued his journey to the capital. In this year the second marriage of the Author took place at Badāōn, and in accordance with: "And verily the latter is better for thee than the former[5]" it turned out

[1] The ninth month.

[2] Qazwīnī, with the *nom de plume* Kāmī. This book contains notices of about 350 poets most of them flourishing in India during the reign of Akbar. It was begun in 973 A. H., and completed according to a Postscript in 979. But there occur much later dates in it. Sprenger, *Catalogue &c.*, I, 46. Perhaps the Author originally completed his work in 979, but continued to add to it from time to time.

[3] 5 + 10 + 20 + 3 + 10 + 400 + 6 + 200 + 20 + 301 = 975.

[4] Compare p. 6 note 5.

[5] Al Qur'ān XCIII, 4, where however the meaning is: "And verily the Future shall be better for thee than the Present."

most happily, thanks to God!, and I composed the following *mnemosynon* :—

"When to me, through the eternal bounty,
There was union with a moon-faced one,
My intellect uttered the date of the marriage,
The Moon is in conjunction with the sun."[1]

And in this year that model of men of thought, and beau ideal of the Shaikhs who practice perfection, Shaikh 'Abdul-'azīz of Dihlī (God sanctify his spirit!) departed to the other world, and the following *mnemosynon* was recited :— 106

"The glorious one of the world Shaikh 'Abdul-'azīz,
Whom all the world calls the Pole-star of Dihlī,
Turned his cheek towards the plain of eternity,
And from this narrow defile mounted the steed of his ambition.
I enquired of my heart, what was the date,
It replied, *The Pole-star of Religion is no more.*"[2]

And since the Shaikh used constantly to sign himself "The worthless atom 'Abdul-'azīz," a clever fellow discovered the *mnemosynon : Worthless atom.*[3]

In the year nine hundred and seventy-six (976) the Emperor sent for the whole Atgah clan and Kamāl Khān, G'hakkar from the Panjāb, and gave their *jāgīrs* to Ḥusain Qulī Khān and his brother Ismā'īl Qulī Khān, and appointed them to that district. Then Ḥusain Qulī Khān and his brother, having come from Nāgor, after the taking of Rintambhor obtained permission to go to the Panjāb; and the district of Sambhal and Barelī was confirmed to Khāni Kalān.[4]

[1] 40 + 1 + 5 + 10 + 100 + 200 + 10 + 50 + 40 + 5 + 200 + 10 + 300 + 4 = 975. There seems to be a play on the words *mahr*, "marriage gift," and *mihr* "Sun"

[2] 100 + 9 + 2 + 9 + 200 + 10 + 100 + 400 + 50 + 40 + 1 + 50 + 4 = 975.

[3] 700 + 200 + 5 + 50 + 1 + 3 + 10 + 7 = 976. The clever fellow was evidently "one too many for him"!

[4] Muhammad Khān Atgah.

In this year the Mīrzās, the sons of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, who had gone to Gujrāt, and taken refuge with Chingīz Khān, having behaved badly and laid hands of spoliation on the *jāgīrs*, fled from Chingīz Khān, and came to Mālwah, and besieged Muḥammad Murād Khān and Mīrzā 'Azīz-ullāh of Mashhad in the fort of Ujjain. Then Ashraf Khān, *Mīr Munshī* and Çādiq Muḥammad Khān, who with a considerable number of the Imperial army had been appointed to act against Rintambhor, when they heard this news, represented the matter at Court, and received orders to turn aside to Ujjain and undertake the repression of the revolt in conjunction with Qulij Khān, who had been sent after them to join in the reduction of Rintambhor. And at Saronj Shahāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān, and at Sārangpūr Shāh Bidagh Khan formed a junction with the aforesaid Amīrs, and so a very considerable force was gathered
107 together. Then the Mīrzās on hearing this news raised the siege of Ujjain, and went to Mandū, and the great Amīrs pursued them. When the Mīrzās had crossed the river Narbaddah, they received news that Jahjar Khān the Abyssinian had surprised Chingīz Khān when off his guard at the open space by the gate of Aḥmadābād, and had slain him, so that Gujrāt was now free to them. So the Mīrzās hastened to Gujrāt, and took the fort of Chāmpānīr at the first assault. And laying siege to the fort of Bhroj, after some time they managed by a ruse to capture Rastam Khān Rūmī, who was shut up in that fortress, and put him to death, and also took possession of the fortress. Qulij Khān, and Çadiq Muḥammad Khān, and the other great Amīrs, returned from the banks of the Narbaddah and came to Court; but the *jāgīr*-holders of Mandū remained where they were.

At the beginning of the month Rajab[1] of this year the Emperor arrived at Dihlī, and occupied himself for some days in *Qamorghah*[2] hunting in the neighbourhood of the Parganna of Pālam, and afterwards in the latter part of the month Sha'bān[3] he came by successive days marching, and invested the fort of Rintambhor. In a short

[1] The seventh month.

[2] Compare p. 93, note 3.

[3] The eighth month.

time Sābāṭs[1] were constructed and brought close up to the castle. And the *Kahārs*,[2] of whom there were some seven or eight hundred, drew fifteen pieces of ordnance, carrying balls of five to seven *man* in weight, by main force to the top of the hill Ran, which commands the fortress, and is mounted by so steep a path that even the foot of an ant would slip in climbing it. The first day they reduced the houses within the fort to ruins. Then Rāī Surjan, when he contemplated the disastrous loss of the fort of Chītōr, and the worthlessness of its garrison, foresaw his own fate, and sent his sons Dodā and Bhoj, by the intervention of some of the *zamīndārs*, to do homage to the Emperor, and himself asked for quarter. Then Ḥusain, 108
Qulī Khān *Khān Jahān*, came and gave assurances to Rāī Surjan and brought him to Court. He delivered up the key of the fortress, and on Wednesday the 3rd of Shawwāl[3] of the aforesaid year the fortress was taken. And "*Victory*"[4] repeated was found to give the date. Next day the Emperor with a small escort inspected the fortress in person. The fortress he gave in charge to Mihtar Khān Sulṭānī. Then leaving the camp under the command of Khwājah Amīnā (who is entitled *Khwājah Jahān*), and Muzaffar Khān, he gave the word to march towards Āgrah. He himself went forward alone by forced marches with the intention of performing a pilgrimage to the tomb of that dispenser of splendours Khwājah Ajmīrī.[5] On Wednesday the 24th of the month Zi-lqa'dah[6] of the year nine hundred and seventy-six (976) he alighted at the Imperial Capital. And Mīr Fārighī, brother of Shāh Fatḥullāh Shīrāzī, composed the following *mnemosynon* for the date of the taking of that fortress:—

"When the Rose of Victory blossomed in the garden of the king's conquest,
The announcer of the date said: *They took the fort quickly.*[7]"

[1] See p. 106.

[2] A *Hindūstānī* word denoting "palanquin-bearers," and so used here for "porters" in general. It is a contraction of the Sanskrit *kārmakāra* "a hired-labourer."

[3] The tenth month.

[4] *Fath* = 80 + 400 + 8 = 488. Now 488 × 2 = 976.

[5] Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī.

[6] The eleventh month.

[7] 100 + 30 + 70 + 5 + 20 + 200 + 80 + 400 + 50 + 4 + 7 + 6 + 4 = 976.

And Mūlānā Shīrī[1] composed the following:—

"When by the fortune of the king the stronghold of infidelity was taken,
Shīrī found its year to be: *The infidel-breaking king.*[2]"

And in this year the *Hatiyapūl*[3] gate, which is the name of the gate of the new fort of Āgrah, was completed, and the date of it is:—

"The pen of Shīrī wrote as the mnemosynon:—
The Elephant-gate is without compare.[4]"

Now the Emperor had had several children in succession born to him, and they had all passed away at a tender age. In this year one of the Imperial wives became with child, and he went to beg the intercession of Shaikh-ul Islām Chishtī living at Sīkrī, and he
109 left his Empress at the monastery of the Shaikh. Some time before this the Shaikh had foretold to him the happy birth of a son, and after some days he had gone to visit the Shaikh in expectation of the fulfilment of his promise. On account of this bond of union between them the Emperor built a lofty palace on the top of the hill of Sīkrī near the monastery and ancient chapel of the Shaikh. And he laid the foundation of a new chapel, and of a high and spacious mosque of stone, so large that you would say it was a part of a mountain, and the like of which can scarce be seen in the habitable world. In the space of about five years the building was finished, and he called the place Fatḥpūr, and he built a bazaar and baths and a gate, &c. And the Amīrs, one and all, built themselves towers and keeps and lofty palaces. And the Author found the date of the commencement of the whole palace, mosque, chapel, &c. to be as follows:—

This chapel is the dome of Islām,
May God exalt the glory of its builder!

[1] See Sprenger, *Cat.* p. 59.
[2] 300 + 5 + 20 + 80 + 1 + 200 + 300 + 20 + 50 = 976.
[3] Elephant-bridge.
[4] 2 + 10 + 40 + 500 + 1 + 30 + 1 + 40 + 4 + 5 + 4 + 200 + 6 + 1 + 7 + 5 + 80 + 10 + 30 = 976.

The Spirit Gabriel gave its date:
Its like is not seen in the lands[1]

Another:—

"*The heavenly Ka'bah*[2] came down from heaven."

And Ashraf Khān found this *mnemosynon*:—

"It is *second only to the Mosque at Mecca.*[3]"

And such was the disposition of that paragon of excellence, his Grace the Shaikh, that he allowed the Emperor to have the *entrée* of all his most private apartments, and however much his sons and nephews kept saying, "Our wives are becoming estranged from us," the Shaikh would answer "There is no dearth of women in the world, since I have made you Amīrs, seek other wives, what does it matter?"

"Either make no friendship with an elephant-driver,
Or make a house fit for an elephant."

And among the remarkable events of this year is the story of the death of Sayyid Mūsā of Garmsīr, son of Sayyid Mikrī, one of 110
the chief Sayyids of Kālpī in the land of India. It is concisely as follows. Sayyid Mūsā had come to do homage to the Emperor, and by chance he became infatuated with the Hindū wife of a goldsmith, named Mohinī[4], whose beauty was like gold of purest standard, and the lasso of her pure glance attracted him as her lover, and the bond of love and attachment grew strong on both sides.

"Who is the lover, that the loved one regards not his state?
O Khwājah it is not pain, or if it is there is a cure."

[1] 30 + 1 + 10 + 200 + 10 + 80 + 10 + 1 + 30 + 2 + 30 + 1 + 4 + 500 + 1 + 50 + 10 + 5 + 1 = 976.
[2] 2 + 10 + 400 + 40 + 70 + 46 + 200 + 41 + 4 + 5 + 8 + 1 + 60 + 41 + 50 = 978.
[3] 501 + 50 + 10 + 1 + 30 + 40 + 60 + 3 + 4 + 1 + 30 + 8 + 200 + 41 = 979.
[4] Meaning in Sanskrit "Infatuating."

When the expedition set out to Rintambhor, Sayyid Mūsā contrived to remain behind. He took a house within the fortress of Āgrah in the vicinity of his beloved on the banks of the river Jumna, near to Mīr Sayyid Jalāl Mutawakkil, and his affairs tended to madness. Once or twice accompanied by trusty persons of his own he had gone outside his own house, and had fallen either into the hands of the watchman, or into the hands of some goldsmiths of her caste :—

"There is an angel on the battlement of yon round cupola,
Which draws a wall before the desire of the unfortunate."

A period of two years and four months passed, during which they were content with a glance now and then from afar, till one night Sayyid Mūsā, at a hint from that fascinating lady, threw a lasso, strong as the covenant of the just, and straight as the promise of the liberal, over the roof of Mohinī's house, and climbed up like a rope-dancer, and so they spent the night together in chaste affection. A poem called *Dilfarīb*, which Sayyid Shāhī, brother of
111 Sayyid Mūsā, composed, has some verses on that subject :—

"However much the desire of the heart was boiling,
Modesty made a proclamation : Be silent!
Before his eyes the water of life,
But not for a moment the power to drink it.
Their hearts from extreme of thirstiness fevered,
But their lips were sealed through modesty.
One place of retirement, and two persons in love,
Their hearts united, their bodies apart.
They remained two heart-inflaming wounded ones,
In the game of "united yet apart" till morning.
This is true love in my opinion,
Which has driven out of the heart all thought of desire.
When the heart is once dead through desire,
How can love take up its abode therein?
There is not in this bewildered world
A place for love, save in the purest heart.
Love is the confidant of the pure in heart,
Love is the friend of the sorrowful.

In short, with a hundred caresses and blandishments
They opened a thousand volumes of mysteries.
And when they saw the dawn draw near,
They bade each other adieu."

But at the time of saying adieu it so happened, that the beloved rising from the pillow of sleep, bade farewell to house and home, and despising fair fame and reputation, went with her lover, as the moonlight with the moon, or the shadow with the substance. and said :—

"O thou true and faithful lover,
I am at one with thee, doubt not!
The covenant, that first I made with thee,
That covenant is the same as long as I live.
Rise that we may show a care for ourselves,
And may descend again from the roof.
That, while it is not yet known,
We may steal away before morning."

So they made off from that spot, borrowing swiftness from the wind, and speed from the water, and remained concealed for three days in the house of a trustworthy friend. Meanwhile the relatives of the lady surrounded the house of Sayyid Mūsā like a ring, and brought claims and litigation. And Sayyid Shāhī, the younger brother of the aforesaid Sayyid, who has a sincere friendship for 112
the writer of these pages, and put this story from beginning to end into verse, some of which verses have been quoted above, returned answer to them, and spent the time in 'Perhapses' and "Wouldthats." The lady was informed of that concourse, and her heart being alarmed for Sayyid Mūsā, lest he should come to any harm at the hands of the Governor, through stress of circumstances parted from that lover, and cheered him with the promise of meeting him again. She herself, through fear of the stain of dishonour, which might cleave to her cheek, returned to her house, and made the following excuse. She said: "On such and such a night. when sleep was firmly settled on my eyes, a person of such heart-ravishing form, that none ever sees the like of it in his dreams, took me by

the hand, and I passed from dream-land to the land of imagination, and that sleep was changed into wakefulness And I saw distinctly that glorious form, with a crown encircled with jewels upon his head, and two wings of light upon his breast. And he, reciting a charm over me like one bewitched, infatuated me with his beauty, and caught me up on his wings and pinions, and bore me to a certain city, the description of which may perchance have been heard in some fairy-tale, and took and set me down in a high and inaccessible tower full of wonders and strange things of every kind, and in every corner of it were troops of beings of Peri-birth :—

However much that heart-ravishing place
Was, by God! a place of highest joy,
And all that troop of Ḥūri-born beauties
Was standing to do me service;
Yet on account of absence from my friends
My soul could take no rest.
I was dying with longing for my mother,
I was burning with sorrow for my brother.
Every moment in this sorrow-suffering body
Separation from my father kindled fire.
When I had spent three days in that place
In melancholy weeping and soul-burning sighs,
113 They all saw that I was very much afflicted,
Much broken down through sorrow,
They became aware of my suffering,
And they took pity on my condition.
In the same way that they brought me to that place,
And having brought me gave me over to such sorrow,
So they brought me to my own house,
And delivered me from this suffering and pain."

The silly Hindūs believed this beautiful deception. But, although it would have been better to have concealed the matter, yet through spite they kept that Treasure[1] in a ring of iron serpents, and shut her up under lock and key in an upper room. Sayyid Mūsā through

[1] "Treasure" means "beautiful woman." Treasures are always represented as guarded by serpents. "Iron serpents" mean "chains."

separation was overcome by the catastrophe, and taking the title of 'Disgraced' suddenly took leave of the bride of his senses too :—

"Alas! that love has again tended to madness,
And drawn the line of insanity over the book of wisdom.
The first quill, which the beloved has drawn over the page of blandishment,
Has drawn the line of madness over the letter of her friend."

And, when this fact became as well-known as the sun at midday heat, and stories about it were told in every assembly, and a description of it was in every mouth, that heart-ravisher sent a message by her tire-woman, saying: I myself in the midst of a thousand troubles and annoyances, have altogether escaped from the hands and tongues of my traducers by means of such explanations and excuses, as women know how to make :—

"From the reproach of the people of my time I have escaped,
Free from such a trouble I have sat.
Thou hast set thy foot in the street of madness,
And my trouble thou hast thrown to the winds.
Now, if thou canst find any remedy,
I hope that thou wilt not turn thy face from it.
Act in such a way that this story
Become not notorious in this age.
Viz., thou shouldst go away from my city,
And withdraw thyself from my dwelling place.
But, with the idea of friendship,
One confidential friend thou shouldst leave;
Then, when he knows my condition,
Each day he may send thee news."

Then Sayyid Mūsā in accordance with her request, starting in the 114
morning took leave of her, in a way that all can imagine, with every demonstration of grief on both sides. He left a confidential friend there to serve him, and himself set off towards Rintambhor with the fixed purpose of paying his respects to the Emperor :—

"When I go towards thy street, I make one stage of two hundred stages,
When I go out from thence, I make a stage at every step."

But that fair one could not bear the pain of separation, so after some days she came to an understanding with that confidential friend, and said: "Do you one night in the guise of a beggar, raise a cry for alms, and I on the pretext of giving you something will come out of the house, and will go out of this city with you." So at the appointed time, under the pretext she had suggested, she left the house of her father and mother, and after her other ventures risking her modesty, which was her safeguard, she turned her face to flight:—

"As soon as grief for him became my friend.
I turned my face towards the road to non-existence.
Sweet is wandering to one,
Who has such a companion."

The preparations had been made beforehand. For three days they remained hidden in the city, and then with joyful hearts set off towards Fatḥpūr and Biyānah. As luck would have it, inasmuch as God (He is glorious!) willed it not, suddenly in the midst of the road some of the relatives of that Beauty appeared, like an unexpected misfortune, and recognizing her by her charms, which were as evident as the light of day though she herself was veiled, took hold of her firmly by the skirt:—

"Who brought news of sorrow? who gave a warning of misfortune?"

The patrols of Pahluwān Jamāl, who at that time was police-magistrate, came up, and a great hubbub ensued. The fugitive fair one was handed over to her relatives, and her companion in flight
115 was sent to prison. When he had from the close confinement suffered long in misery and hardships, he managed somehow or other to effect his escape. News of these events was brought to the camp to the hapless and wandering Sayyid. Then he, who through sickness caused by separation had become as thin as a new moon, or a ghost, on hearing this news became desperate, and turned his thoughts to death, and even made preparation for self-destruction; but he came to the conclusion that Death could not at any time be very pleasant, so rending the collar of patience he desired to go to Āgrah.

His affectionate brothers, and sincere friends kept an eye on him, whether he would or no, restraining him sometimes by good advice, sometimes by force and threats and reproaches and abuse. At last, when the Imperial camp arrived at the Capital, and Sayyid Mūsā, who had before been merely wounded, was now consumed [by love], and however much he strove was unable to catch a sight of his beloved, because they kept her guarded in a strong place, one Qāzī Jamāl by name, a Hindī poet of Sivakanpūr, one of the dependencies of Kālpī, between whom and the Sayyid there existed a bond of the closest friendship, took his case very much to heart. So one evening at the hour of prayer he extricated that sitter in a corner of the hall of chastity[1] from the dark cell, and set her beside him on a charger head-tossing like the piebald steed of Fate, and wind-footed and prancing like the racer of the inconstant World, and along the bank of the river Jumna galloped as hard as he could up stream. The relatives of the woman came after him, and the inhabitants of the city who were spectators of the scene shouted in front of him. The horse stuck fast, like an ass in the mud, in the pits and canals, which had been made for purposes of irrigation, and like a chess-man he knew not how to move in stale-mate. Then the beautiful lady fell into despair, and throwing herself out of the saddle on the ground said to Qāzī: "Save your own life by flight, and take my greeting to my lover, and say to him this impromptu:— 116

I have made every effort; but Fate says:
The business, which is another's, is out of thy power."

When Sayyid Mūsā received this message, he shut himself up in a place which he had within the fortress of Āgrah, and his spirit melted by vexation and despair, and his soul, like a heavenly bird, went forth in flight, and escaped from the four-walled prison of temperament, and was freed from the bond of friend and of enemy, while with his tongue he uttered thrice the following:—

"From the Beloved my heart has found a thousand lives,
A friend better than that it is impossible to find.

[1] That is *Mohinī*.

O God! turn this sorrow to the profit of my broken and desolate heart.

Strike the dagger on my breast,
Cast also my head far from the body.
Throw open the door of this dark house,
Throw open the window also."

When he had despatched his baggage from this temporary lodging to the permanent habitation, they carried his empty corpse with its empty hands to its resting place in order to commit it to the earth. Both men and women made great lamentation: and it so happened that they bore his bier under the very window of that fair one. She, since at this time she was kept a prisoner, with a chain like her tangled tresses on her foot, remained bewildered and stricken on the roof of the house from morning till evening, and setting the seal of silence on her ruby lip, gazed on the bier of that martyr to love. Afterwards being powerless and restless, she uttered a cry, and threw herself just as she was from the lofty roof, and the chain broke from her foot. Like a mad person, with arms and feet naked she ran direct to the resting place of that traveller, who never tasted the joy of union. Her demeanour changed from time to time, sometimes silent, at others crazy, she dropped the head of bewilderment on the collar of sadness, and symptoms of decline
117 became manifest in her:—

"Awake! with a view to the last sleep,
Like a camel at 'Id,'[1] or a butcher's bullock.
The apple of her chin became through destiny
Withered like an apple of last year."

Her father and mother seeing her in this case at once despaired of her life, and forgave her delinquencies:—

"No one takes tribute from a ruined village."

And after that a total derangement, such as takes place in the case of persons on the point of death, became apparent in her whether

[1] The festival at Mecca, at which camels were sacrificed.

in motion or at rest, every moment like one mad, and at war with herself, she would sit in a corner disconsolate, and beat her breast with a stone. Then making the pronunciation of the name of Sayyid Mūsā the practice of her lips and the amulet of her life, in the presence of the pious Mīr Sayyid Jalāl, who was the religious leader of the day, she recited the confession of Islām, and cast herself on the dust of her pure lover. and surrendered her soul to her beloved[1] as Sayyid Shāhī the author of that poem points out:—

"When the moon heard of this event,
She came suddenly towards us in her wandering:
She took upon her lips the confession of faith,
She became a Musalmān before a congregation.
When she obtained dignity from the religion of Islām.
She put on the *Iḥrām*[2] for the pilgrimage of eternity.
When love became conjoined with her beauty,
It burnt that taper as though it were a moth.
She uttered a cry through affection and love,
She took 'Mūsā' on her lips, and gave up her life.
In one moment those two princes of love
Became martyrs of the dagger of love
So that in the midst of the garden of paradise
They might be hidden from all mankind.
Those two spiritual companions
Went away from this transitory world.
From the pain and grief of separation they were freed,
Concealed from all they sat together.
O Sayyid why dost thou weep?
Why dost give up thy heart to mourning?
Forget all this misadventure,
Strive after fortitude, and be still."

Praise be to God for the gift of Doctrine, and Faith! The 118
author begs leave to observe, that although in strict accordance with his promise of conciseness, there was no room in this story for

[1] The Creator.
[2] The pilgrim-dress, see Burton's *El-Medinah and Meccah* iii. 123.

indulgence in high-flown language, still what could he do! For the language of love carried the reins of my pen irresistibly out of the grasp of my control, and prolixity has been the result. Forgive me!

"Listen O ear to the story of love,
The melody of love from the scratching of the pen.
My business is love, and my friend is love,
The sum-total of my days is love.
What can I do? this is in my temperament,
From eternity my Destiny is this.
For this purpose have they created me,
For this purpose have they drawn me forth."

My hope from the Court of the Creator, who pities his creatures, is that he will not make me a liar in this my boast; but that he will make me live in the pain of love, and in that same pain make me to die:—

"The man, who but for one day has this heart-pain,
To him and to me alike may there be good fortune!"

A somewhat similar event had taken place prior to this. It was as follows: One of the sons of a Shaikh of Gwālyār, who was related to Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous, and was renowned for his remarkable equity and purity, became enamoured of a singing girl in Āgrah:—

"In the darkling west of her tresses she mustered
A hundred caravans of moons, and of planets.
In the skirt of union and separation she bound
The ill-fated and the happy-starred alike.
In the circle of her tresses she hid
The turban of the circling sphere."

This came to the ears of the Emperor, and he gave that singing girl to Muqbil Khān, who was one of his courtiers. Then the son of the Shaikh having lost the desire of his heart, went one night to the guarded castle, whither his rival had carried his beloved and imprisoned her, and throwing the lasso of determination, climbed

up and carried her off. The Emperor commanded Shaikh Ziyā'uddīn, 119 son of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous, who now has succeeded to his father on the pathway of spiritual direction and guidance, to bring back that relative of his and that house devastating woman by means of persuasive advice and friendly counsel. When they came into his presence, the Emperor requested that they would unite them in marriage, but Shaikh Ziyā'uddīn and the others forbade. So the disconsolate lover, being unable to endure his grief, killed himself with a stroke of the dagger, and obliterated his name from the register of existence. And a great dispute arose among the learned men with respect to his interment and burial. Shaikh Ziyā'uddīn said that in accordance with the tradition: "He who loves and is chaste, and conceals his love and dies, dies a martyr," he was a martyr to love, and he ought to be committed to the dust just as he was:—

"I am a martyr to the dagger of love.
With the blood of my eyelids besmeared.
Commit me to the dust just as I am,
Full of blood, and wash me not."

But Shaikh 'Abdunnabī, the chief Çadr, and other Ulamās and Qāzis, who were controllers of the *çadr* court, said that having died unclean and stained with adultery, he was not resting in love; but God knows best! But any rate that singing girl went into mourning, and tearing the skirt of patience, clothing herself with a winding-sheet upon his grave, elected to sweep his tomb, till after some days having gone to the secret chamber of non-existence they two were perfectly united:—

"When the Fair-ones lift up the veil,
The Lovers expire at the sight of such majesty."[1]

[1] Or as Falconer has well rendered the lines of Ḥakīm Sanāī:
"Ah! when the Fair, adored through life, lifts up at length, he cried
The veil that sought from mortal eyes immortal charms to hide
'Tis thus true lovers fevered long, with that sweet mystic fire,
Exulting meet the Loved-one's gaze, and in the glance expire."

And in this year Shaikh Gadāī Kambōi of Dihlī, who was a retired financier, and through the foolish flattery of the knaves of the day had become a very idol in self-conceit and pride, departed this life. And '*You are dead you great hog*!' was found to give the date.

And in the year nine hundred and seventy-seven (977), when the news of the taking of Chītor and Rintambhor became spread abroad
120 on all sides and in all directions, and Ram Chand the ruler of Bhat'h found that his fortresses could no longer hold out, and that they were short of water, he began to consider seriously what would be the result of continued opposition, and before matters came to such a pitch that he would be obliged to capitulate, sent the key of the fortress of Kālinjar with valuable presents to Court. This fortress he had bought for a considerable sum of money from Bijlī Khan, the adopted son of Pahāṛ Khān Sarwānī. The Emperor committed this fortress to the charge of Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, who had a *jāgīr* in that neighbourhood. He also sent a conciliatory farmān to Rājah Rām Chand, and gave him the *pargan-na* of Arail (which is near to Jhosī, and Piyāg known as Ilhābās) together with its dependencies as *jāgīr*.

On the seventeenth of the month Rabī'ulawwal[2] of this year, when seven hours of the day had passed, the auspicious birth of the Imperial Prince Sultān Salīm took place at the abode of Shaikh Islīm Chishtī at Fatḥpūr:—

"You would say that a star had come to the earth,
That Joseph had come a second time to the world.
On the crown of his head through wisdom
There shone a star of eminence."

The Emperor set out with all expedition from Āgrah, and in the excess of his joy ordered all prisoners to be released, and for seven days held high festival. The poets presented him with congratulatory *qaçīdahs*. Of that number was Khwājah Ḥusain Marwī, who recited a *qaçīdah*, of which each first hemistich contains the date of the Emperor's accession, and each second hemistich the date of happy birth of the Imperial Prince, the refuge of the world. He received two *lacs* of *tankahs* in money. The Qaçīdah is as follows:—

[1] 40 + 200 + 4 + 5 + 600 + 6 + 20 + 20 + 30 + 1 + 50 = 977.
[2] The third month

Praise to God for the pomp and glory of our king!
A pure pearl from the ocean of justice is come to the shore: 121
A bird from the nest of pomp and bounty has alighted:
A star from the pinnacle of glory and beauty is manifested:
A rose of this sort they have not shown in the circle of the garden.
A tulip of this sort has not opened in the tulip-bed.
The nurse of the spring-cloud, through the tenderness of excellence,
Made the grass the companion of the rose, the pearl that of the jewel.[1]
The Sun[2] said: 'It is right that for that Piece-of-moon
It should make an ear-ring of Zohrah for the adorning of beauty: 5
The coming of a son adds to the adornment of a king, perhaps
The incomparable Lūlū[3] would add to the adornment of the royal Pearl.
All hearts were glad that again from the heaven of justice and equity
The world once more revived, through the Sun of the days of spring.
That new-moon of the mansion of power and bounty and pomp came down,
And that shoot of the desire of the soul of the king bore fruit.
The king of the realm of fidelity, the Sultan of the palace of purity,
The taper of the assembly of the heart-broken, the desire of the heart of the hopeful,
The noble the perfect Muḥammad Akbar, Lord of conjunction,
The renowned king, seeking and attaining his desire. 10
The perfectly capable sage, the most just of the kings of the world,
Noble, loftiest, a sage without a rival in the world.

[1] The Rose and the Jewel represent the Emperor, the Grass and the Pearl his wife.
[2] The Sun is the Emperor, the Piece-of-moon is his wife. Zohrah: Venus. The Empress was to be adorned by having a child, which is represented by the ear-ring.
[3] The royal Pearl is the Emperor. *Lūlū* also means Pearl, it is used figuratively for the baby.

From his speech the meaning of the ecstatic state is understood :
122 And from his perfection the building of religion and of the world is firm
Shadow of God's bounty is he, worthy of crown and seal,
A religion-protecting king is he, noble pivot of the world.
At times from onslaught of fury he takes pardon on his tongue,
At times with the tongue of the spear he says to the enemy, Flee!
Know that the fourth heaven is the censer in his assembly,
Know that Arcturus is the spearman of his cavalcade.
Whenever his victorious cavalcade passes, the whole world
Cries out "Happiness" on the right hand, "Wealth" on the left.
O the power of the pen, which like running water
Goes over black and white day and night!
O thou like the work of the Eternal, thou Sun of kingdom and religion,
Thou who glorifiest the step of eminence, Shadow of God.
O prince of the lofty standard, wise of heart, and Saturn-throned,
O prince of lofty centre, just-one of exalted family.
Lord of the wealth of the world, king of sea and land,
To thy friends thou art kind, mindful of the generous.
King of the dawn of justice and truth, moon of the evening of pomp and dignity,
Quick as lightning in decision, strong as mountain to bear burdens.
O mine of justice and bounty, fountain of grace and liberality,
Precious and bounteous, nourisher of religion, and chaste.
Protector of the religion of the Prophet, O eraser of marks of evil.
123 Prince of the lofty standard, a mine of bounty, and mountain of weight.
Illumination of the mansion of existence, pearl of the sea of bounty,
From the desire of the pinnacle of hearts a falcon hunting lives.
At thy bounty how can a single drop remain before the cloud for shame,
Compared with thy nature "Bounty" is not applicable to the spring-cloud.
O King I have brought a string of precious pearls,
A present which is become precious, seek it out and listen.

None has a present better than this, if any have one at all,
If any have any, tell him "Come," anything he has tell him "Bring"
Each verse of the poem of Marwī, it is sufficient if it be without mistake,[1]
Whichever [verse] you try you will find the purpose twice:
The first half gives the year of the king's Accession,
From the second bring out the Birth of the Light of the Eye of the world.[2]
That the reckoning of the days and months and year may last,
And that that number may be illustrious on account of the year and month and day:
Long live our king, and may our prince endure
Days without number, and years without count."

And that Shaikh of nations, Shaikh Ya'qūb Çirfī of Kashmīr composed a *qaçīdah* of the same kind. But what was the good? Another person carried off the reward. And some one else made the following *mnemosynon*: "*The royal pearl of the sea of Akbar*"[3] and another:—

"From the rising of good-fortune a prosperous king appeared."[4]

On Friday the 12th of the month Sha'bān[5] the Emperor set out to pay a vow of thanks for the rising of this star of prosperity, and 124
went on foot from Āgrah to Ajmīr, travelling six or seven *cosses* each day. After fulfilling the rites of the pilgrimage he returned, and in the blessed month of Ramzān[6] he encamped outside Dihlī.

1 They are correct, only sometimes a *wāw* or a *yē* must be struck out.

2 The ½ half of line 12 gives 8 + 20 + 30 + 40 + 7 + 13 + 50 + 39 + 40 + 70 + 50 + 10 + 40 + 60 + 400 + 80 + 5 = 963. The second half of line 6 (omitting *yē*) gives 36 + 36 + 31 + 31 + 80 + 7 + 6 + 4 + 10 + 17 + 2 + 4 + 200 + 300 + 1 + 5 + 6 + 1 + 200 = 977. *Ex uno disce omnia.*

3 4 + 200 + 300 + 6 + 7 + 200 + 30 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 20 + 2 + 200 = 978. But read *shah*, instead of *shāh*, and we get the correct date 977.

4 316 + 271 + 380 = 987. But read *rū*, instead of *rūē*, as the metre requires, and we get the correct date 977.

5 The 8th month.

6 The 9th month.

and spent some days in visiting the tombs of the saints of God, and then crossing the river Jumna he returned to the metropolis hunting as he went

In this year the Emperor had Mirzā Muqīm of Içfahān together with a certain person named Mir Ya'qūb of Kashmīr put to death on the charge of being *Shī'ahs*. The facts are as follows. This Mirza Muqīm had been several times to Lak'hnou to pay his respects to Ḥusain Khān, and the Khān (who is now deceased) had received him with kindness and favour, on account of the great respect he had for the Sayyids, and had made him administrator of his government. Afterwards the brothers and relatives of the Khān impressed upon him the idea, that this Mirzā was a violent and zealous *Shī'ah*, and utterly alienated his feelings from the Mirzā, who now went to do homage to the Emperor and was favourably received and appointed *Wakīl* at the court of Ḥusain Khān governor of Kashmīr. At that time a number of zealous *Shī'ahs* had in their bigotry wounded Qāzī Ḥabīb, who was a zealous *Sunnī*. It happened that the said Qāzī was still living when Ḥusain Khān of Kashmīr on the decision of the Muftīs ordered the assassin to be put to death. Mirzā Muqīm, on his own responsibility, handed over the Muftīs on the charge of "Why did they issue a mandate for the execution of that person, though he might be deserving of punishment?" to a certain person, who was a violent and furious bigot, and he put to death three or four of them. Now when Mirzā Muqīm and Mir Ya'qūb, the wakīl of Ḥusain Khān, brought the daughter of Ḥusain Khān to Court as a sort of present, this story was represented to the Emperor, and these two persons upon the decision of Shaikh 'Abdunnabī and other Ulamās, who were his family, were brought to the just
125 punishment of their wicked deeds in the plain of Fathpūr. And a portion of this story has been inserted in the history of Kashmīr of which the author of these pages has written an epitome.

In this year on the dismissal of Ḥusain Khan the Emperor gave the *parganna* of Lak'hnou as *jāgīr* to Mahdī Qāsim Khān, who had come back from a pilgrimage to Mekkah, and had come to the fortress of Rintambhor, and had an interview with him there. Ḥusain Khān was exceedingly indignant with Mahdī Qāsim Khān on account of this, and reciting the verse "This separation between me

and thee,[1]" began to look forward to the Day of the Resurrection.[2] And in spite of his being married to the daughter of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, and in spite of her affection for him, he married a daughter of his own uncle Ghanazfar Bēg After a time he left her in helplessness, and the daughter of Mahdī Qāsim Bēg at Khairābād with her brothers, and set off from Lak'hnou with the intention of carrying on a religious war, and of breaking the idols and destroying the idol-temples. He had heard that the bricks of these were of silver and gold, and conceiving a desire for this and all the other abundant and unlimited (cf. p. 35, 9) treasures, of which he had heard a lying report. he set out by way of Oudh to the Sawālik mountains. The mountaineers, as is their custom, immediately abandoned their positions, after a slight resistance, and took refuge in the high and dangerous mountains. When Ḥusain Khān arrived at the place where Sultān Muḥammad, nephew of Pīr Maḥmūd Khān had been martyred, and which is a burial-place of martyrs, he read the *Fatiḥah*[3] for those pure spirits, and built a *çuffah*[4] over the dilapidated tombs of those martyrs. Then he ravaged the country as far as the district of Wajrāīl, which is part of the territory of Rājah Rankā, a powerful *zamīndār*. Thence he was only two days' journey from Ajmīr, which is his capital, and is a very mine of gold and silver, and silk and musk, and all the productions of the country of Tibet, when on a sudden, as has been frequently observed in those mountains, from the effect of the neighing of the horses, the beating of the drums and the shouts of the men the clouds collected and so 126
much rain fell that neither corn nor fodder was to be procured, and famine stared the army in the face Although Ḥusain Khān, with the most undaunted intrepidity encouraged his men, and excited their cupidity by representing the wealth of the city in gold, jewels and treasure, they were too much disheartened to support him, and so, whether he would or no, he was obliged to retreat. As soon as they

[1] Al Qur'ān xviii. 77.

[2] Viz., to right him.

[3] Al Qur'ān I.

[4] A raised bench of wood, earth or stone, upon which people might recreate themselves with conversation and quoting poetry. Burton, *El-Medinah and Meccah* ii, 143.

began to retreat, the unbelievers seized the passes and showered down on them stones and arrows tipped with poisoned bones, so that most of the bravest and most experienced of his warriors drank the draught of martyrdom. And the rest, who had been wounded, five or six months later through the effect of that pernicious poison obtained their desired release from this dwelling of pleasure which leaves a bitter taste behind it. And the date of their death is given in a riddle, *viz.* :—"*Tasteless bitterness.*[1]"

Ḥusain Khān returned to Court and requested that Kānt and Golah in the skirts of the mountains might be conferred upon him as *jāgīr*, in lieu of the one he had held before. This he did with a view to taking vengeance on the mountaineers. His request was graciously acceded to. Several times he made incursions into the skirts of the hills, but he was never able to penetrate into the interior. Many fine fellows, who had escaped half dead from his first expedition, in this expedition were poisoned by the bad water of the country and departed from the world without fighting. After some years Ḥusain Khān, contrary to the advice and remonstrance of his friends, made another attempt against the hill-country, and gave the chattels of existence to the wind, as will be narrated in its proper place, if God, He is exalted, will.

About this time the author, after taking leave of Ḥusain Khān,[2] went from Lak'hnou to Badāūn, where I formed a suitable nuptial alliance for my brother, Shaikh Muḥammad, whom I loved from my very soul; nay I valued him more than my own life, for he had acquired many excellent qualities and angelic dispositions had become
127 his moral habit. Three months hardly had elapsed before that mandate of good, which includes a hundred evils. by consecutive moves of the pieces, carried off both him and the pupil of my eye 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf, who was the earliest first-fruits of the garden of my life and existence,[3] from the bed to the grave, and changed me from a very prince of happiness to a monster in my own city: "Verily we belong to God, and verily we return to Him[4]" :—

[1] *Talkh* "bitter" gives 1030, take *mazah* "taste," = 52, away from it, and you get 978.

[2] He was a great friend of his. See above.

[3] His first-born.

[4] Al Qur'ān II, 151.

"How long will Fate put the scar of grief on my heart!
Before one scar is healed It put on another.
Every wound which inclines a little to amelioration,
It leaves that wound and makes a worse wound.
If my grief puts its back under a thousand mountains,
It puts a thousand fresh mountains upon it."

What can one do? "This is not the first phial that has been broken[1] in Islām." And this poem I wrote as an elegy on him, on account of the degree to which, through the wound of his loss, my heart has been, and is, and will be burnt until my appointed day. It is as follows:—

"O Lord! this day what a day it is has fallen on me,
And what a soul-wasting calamity it is that has shown itself to me
There is no one whom the cry of my despair has not reached,
Yet no one comes to my cry of despair.
My moon at the end of life went behind the veil of invisibility,
See from this pregnant-one of darkness what a woe has been born to me.
My store of joy and hope was dashed to the ground,
After this my heart with what hope shall it be glad?
Although my foundations were firm in patience, yet
The torrent of grief came and threw me from my foundations.
That person, whom I remember a hundred times in a day, 128
Alas! that he does not remember me once in a year.
Unjust heaven how many sorrows has it given me!.
On whom shall I take vengeance, who will give me satisfaction?
I know not the state of my heart, what shall I say? what do?
The remedy for my heart-pain of whom shall I seek? what shall I do?

[1] Read *kusirat*, not *kuthirat*.

O Fate! alas that thou hast made my heart wounded and desolate!
My content of heart thou hast utterly scattered.
A Jewel, that in my hand was hidden for others,
Thou hast openly carried it out of my sight and hidden it.
My Cypress thou hast carried from the garden to the prison of the tomb,
Thou hast made the garden a prison to me sorrow-stricken.
My Yūsuf thou hast given to the paw of the wolf,
Ah! me thou hast made a recluse in the cell of care.
In the dark *clay* thou hast put my new born *rose*,[1]
Why hast thou made my day just like dark night?
In a word that person, from whom was all my scope and aim.
Thou hast carried away, and left me without scope or aim.
That brother, who came to this strange city,
Thou hast made his grave in the desert beside strangers.
The season of the rose is come, and the *place* of Muḥammad is in the dust,
It is my *place* that through vexation I should throw dust on my head.
Finally, O mine Eye! what hast thou seen that thou art gone from the world?
That with thine eye covered thou art gone from my moist eye?
29 To my dark eye there was light from thy face,
The light is gone from my heart since thou art gone from my eye.
Thou wast to my eye like the signet of a ring,
In the end thou hast dropped from the ring like a signet-stone.
My heart for no cause is glad in the world,
A pity, a thousand pities, thou art gone sorrowful from the world.
Thy pure spirit was sore vexed at this halting-place,
Thou tookest up thy baggage, and departest from this halting-place of sorrow.

[1] Playing on the words *gil* 'clay' and *gul* 'rose.

On thy heart from worldly matters there was no burden,
All at once from worldly matters joyful and glad-hearted thou departest.
From the cradle I was to thee, companion and friend, every moment,
Why to the tomb art thou gone companionless and friendless?
Thou art gone, and grief for thee will never go from this bewildered heart
Sorrow for thee will never go from my heart, as long as my life goes not for sorrow for thee,
Who is there that will tell me any news of thee?
Shall any give news of the departed soul to the body[1]?
News of the rose, that has dropped through the injury of autumn,
Who is there, in short, that will tell it to the bird of the garden?
Where is there a messenger who my sorrow and grief face to face
One by one before thee gracefully will tell?
Who shall tell to you my words with his tongue, and then
For my consolation bring back the words from your tongue?
I am strait-hearted, rosebud-like, and there is none present,
Who will repeat to me a single letter from thee, O thou 130 rosebud mouthed.
There are a hundred knots and tangles in this heart for love of thee,
Who will tell to thee of this heart full of knots and tangles.
Thou art gone afar, and there has come no one from thy country
Who should tell me anything of thy state.
I go, and on the top of thy tomb I take my station,
That I may hear an answer from thee, and salute thee.
I say, O thou unfound jewel what is thy state?
With thy body wounded and helpless, what is thy state?

[1] He calls himself 'the body,' and his deceased son 'the soul.'

Thou art in the sleep of death, and without thee a confusion[1] hath arisen,
Awake, and lift up thy head from this sleep, what is thy state?
Through separation from thee thy friends are in a very bad condition,
O thou who remainest separate from thy friends, what is thy state?
Thy friends through *distance* from thee are *near* to death.
Far from company of companions what is thy state?
Thy place was once in the Prayer-niche,[2] and now I see
The niche left empty of thee, what is thy state?
Without thee I drink the blood of my liver, ask me for once
"In this drinking of blood what is thy state?"
Over thy *clay* a hundred fresh *roses* have blossomed from my tears,
Under the *clay* O thou fresh *rose* what is thy state?
In such a woeful habitation who is nigh thee?
The solacer of thy day, and friend of thy dark night who is he?
131
O I am fallen far away from thy fair cheek,
And I am fallen through thy absence into a hundred kinds of calamity.
Thou art in the desert, while I remain in this strange city,
O God! where art thou, and I to what place have I fallen?
Thou hast not gathered thy whole weight of roses, and I know not now
Why upon thee hath fallen a hundred hillocks of thorns and briars.
I knew not the worth of thy presence, and this is the requital,
That the day of retribution hath met with thee.
I would have spent my soul in thy behalf, but what can I do?
For thy business hath fallen under God's absolute decree

[1] *Qiyāmat* means "Resurrection," also "Confusion."
[2] See Burton's *El-Medinah and Meccah*, ii, 64.

Thy date was: He said, When the cypress fell,
'That erect cypress how suddenly it fell from its place!'[1]
O Qādir wailing and crying doth not profit,
Strive after prayer, for the turn is come for prayer.
Ask of God, that his affairs be all laudable,
And that God may be satisfied equally with him and thee.
O Lord! may his passage be into thy garden of Paradise,
May the tower of the highest Paradise be his resting-place.
When into the garden of Paradise he passes unveiling his beauty,
May Houris and boys be on his right hand and his left.
In the dark night, when he purposed the journey to the other world,
May the light of Islām be the lamp of his dark night.
If there is no one who lights a lamp on his tomb,
May the light of the mercy of God be the taper on his tomb 132
Since he has taken away his bosom from the bride the old woman of Fate.
May the fresh heavenly brides be in his bosom.
Since after death no friend was with him,
May the mercy of God moment by moment be his friend.
The drops of tears, which men shed over him.
May each drop become a pure pearl, and be devoted to him.
To all eternity may his abode be the pinnacle of heaven.
This prayer from me, and may from Gabriel come: Amen!

And in this year the building of the tomb of the late Emperor, which is heart-delighting, paradise like, was completed. It is at Dihlī on the banks of the river Jumna and took Mīrak Mīrzā Ghiyās eight or nine years to build. Its magnificent proportions are such that the eye of the spectator gazing on it admits it only with wonder.

On Thursday the 3rd of the month of Muḥarram[2] in the year nine hundred and seventy-eight (978) there took place in the house of

[1] ا 1 + 60 + 15 + 60 + 200 + 6 + 3 + 5 + 50 + 1 + 20 + 1 + 5 + 7 + 2 + 1 + 1 + 80 + 400 + 1 + 4 + 5 = 978.
[2] The 1st month

Shaikh Salīm the rising of the star of prosperity and happiness, the Prince Murād. And a royal feast just like the former one was prepared. And Mūlānā Qāsim Arsalān composed a *qiṭ'ah*, of which the first hemistich of each verse gives the date of the birth of those two princes, the first that of the first, and the second that of the second :—

"*The first prince, that shining moon,*[1]
Rose like a moon from the pinnacle of glory.
That second son of king Akbar[2]
Came down like a descending revelation from heaven."

Also there is another *mnemosynon* of the same kind :—

"From the pure light, like Sulṭān Salīm there descended,
The standard of Shāh Murād bin Akbar the just."[3]

And Khwājah Ḥusain Marwī composed a *qiṭ'ah* of seven verses, in
133 which each first hemistich gives the date of the birth of the first prince, and each second hemistich the date of the birth of the second :—

"This sky gave two princes to the king,[4]
The face of both was better than the sun.[5]
The first of them was second to the king of the world,
The second of them was a heart-stealer of lofty power.
The one through good luck to the king on the throne
Brought the news of a hundred open doors.
The other was cause of peace and security,
The sun gave him from the moon a sleeping-cradle.
The news that a king is born arises from the first,
And of that the first hemistich gives the answer.
From the second hemistich of each verse
Find thou the birth of the second prince.

[1] 7 + 30 + 10 + 50 + 300 + 5 + 7 + 5 + 10 + 51 + 400 + 3 + 50 + 4 5 + 40 + 6 = 983.
[2] 51 + 10 + 40 + 80 + 200 + 57 + 5 + 20 + 202 + 7 + 300 + 6 = 978.
[3] Each of these lines gives 977.
[4] This line gives 977.
[5] This line gives 978.

May there be to that king, and to that prince,
The pomp of Alexander, and the glory of Afrāshyāb."

On the 20th of Rabi'lākhir of this year the Emperor departed from Fatḥpūr, where he had remained twelve days, and then went towards Ajmīr with the intention of paying his vows. He laid the foundations of a fortress in the environs of that pure city, and ordered a lofty palace to be built by the great Amīrs. On Friday the 4th of Jamādi'l Ākhir marching thence he came in the course of twelve days to Nāgor. And he ordered the great tank of that city to be dug out, and distributed the work among the Amīrs, and he named it *Shukr-talāo.*[1]

In this year Chandarsīn, son of Māldeo, ruler of Mārvār, came to do homage to the Emperor. And Rāi Kalyān Mal, Rājah of Bīkānīr came together with his son Rāi Singh, and brought his daughter as a gift, so that she was admitted into the Imperial Ḥaram. The Emperor gave the father leave to return to Bīkānīr, but the son he took along with him. On the journey he hunted wild asses, animals which he had never before met with, and then, with a view to visiting the tomb of that Pole-star of Shaikhs, that mine of salt, treasury of sugar, and unique one of his age, the honoured Shaikh Farīd (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!), he went towards Ajodhan, which is generally known as Pattan. There Mīrzā 'Azīz Kokah, surnamed A'zam Khān, who was the *jāgīr-*
holder of that place, made a great feast, and offered suitable gifts and presents: and indeed such profuse hospitality is recorded of but 134
few others. This is a *mnemosynon* for the date :—

"*The Shāh and the Prince are honoured guests.*"[2]

Thence he went to Lāhor, where he was the guest of Ḥusain Qulī Khān. And then reciting "Return is best" he went back by way of Ḥisār Fīrozah to the city of Ajmīr, and thence by successive marches he arrived at Fatḥpūr.

[1] 'Thanks-tank.' The Hindustani *Talāo* is a corruption of *Talāb.*
[2] 40 + 10 + 5 + 40 + 2 + 50 + 50 + 70 + 17 + 57 + 4 + 300 + 5 + 6 + 300 + 5 + 7 + 1 + 4 + 5 = 978.

Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, son of Mīr Khalīfah, who for a long time had given up military service and lived in retirement, through the intervention of his wife Nāhīd Bēgum, whose mother was wife to Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān, ruler of Tattah, was at this time graciously received: and the Emperor having presented him with a standard and kettledrum, and given him a *jāgīr* in Multān, and having written to Sa'īd Khān Moghūl, ruler of Multān, in his behalf, and having sent with him his grandson Mujāhid Khān, who was a very brave and daring soldier, appointed him to take Tattah. He entered Multān, and keeping nearly 400 horsemen in his own *jāgīr*, sent some to Sulṭān Muḥammad, governor of Bakkar, with this message: "You have often said that if I came here, I should need no other help but yours, now I have promised to take Tattah and deliver it over to the Emperor. This was represented at Court, and in full reliance on your co-operation the Emperor has appointed me to this kingdom. And now the moment for rendering assistance is come." He wrote in answer: "If you come by way of Jaisalmīr to reduce Sind, I will send you assistance; but I will not let you pass by way of Bakkar, for I have no confidence in you" Muḥibb 'Alī Khān and Mujāhid Khān set off by the other route, and Sulṭān Maḥmūd collected his army and sent it to oppose them. Muḥibb 'Alī Khān came off victorious in the engagement which ensued, and after the defeat besieged the Bakkar-ites in the fortress of Mānēlah. That
135 fortress he took on terms of capitulation and quarter. Then Sulṭān Maḥmūd sent the remnant of his army, consisting of gunners and archers, from the fortress of Bakkar to engage Muḥibb 'Alī Khān They met with the same fate as before, and then retreated to the fortress and there made a resolute stand. But, since the crowding of people within the fortress was very great, the air became fearfully contaminated, and a terrible pestilence came on, so that 1,000 persons, more or less, died every day. At last in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983) Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who was an aged decrepit and imbecile old man, himself succumbed, and the fortress fell into the hands of the Emperor. Then he sent Mīr Gesū from Fatḥpūr to examine the stores and treasures of the place.

In this year Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān, came from Jounpūr, and brought with him Iskandar Khān Uzbek, who had escaped from

the Afghāns, and obtained pardon for him. Both of them the Emperor presented with a jewelled sword-belt, and a robe of honour, and a horse with a gilded saddle, and to Iskandar Khān he gave Lak'hnou as *jāgīr*. Iskandar being appointed to help the Khān Khānān received permission to return to Jounpūr. He arrived at Lak'hnou, and after some time on the 10th of Jumadi-'lawwal[1] of the year nine hundred and eighty (980) he laid his head on the pillow of mortal sickness, and departed this life:-

"What need of joy or sorrow, for happiness or misery,
For while you wink your eye you see neither one nor the other!"

And in this year Jamāl Khān, son of Shaikh Mangan of Badāūn, who was a person of decided beauty, and one of my old bosom friends, being at Sambhal with Khān Kalān on the feast of Qurbān,[2] was attacked with bowel-complaint, and having been administered a mouthful of areca-nut by an ignorant hand fell sick and died. And this is the *mnemosynon* which was found for the date:— 136

"A hundred sighs for the youth and beauty of Jamāl Khān."[3]

And the Shaikh of nations Shaikh Yaqūb Çarfī of Kashmīr invented this *mnemosynon*:—

"He gave up life on the Feast of Qurbān."[4]

And in the year nine hundred and seventy-nine (979) the royal palace at Āgrah, and another palace in the new town of Fatḥpūr were finished. And Qāsim Arsalān composed the mnemosynon:

"Two buildings like the highest heavens have been completed
In the time of the reign of the Lord of Conjunction of the seven climes.
One is in the city of the metropolis Āgrah,
The other in the district of Sikrī abode of Shaikh Salīm.

[1] The fifth month.
[2] The 10th of Zi-l-ḥajjah. See Bueron III, p. 280 seq.
[3] Gives 928 (!).
[4] Gives 977 (!).

Heaven for the sake of the date of these two lofty palaces
Has written with its ancient pen: *Two highest paradises.*"[1]

And towards the end of the blessed month of Ramzān[2] of this year Shaikh Salīm Chishtī of Fatḥpūr (who was one of the greatest Shaikhs of Hind, and a high master of the different stages of advancement in the knowledge of God, a little of whose history will be written in the sequel to this epitome, if God, He is exalted!, will) passed from the abode of transient pride to the abode of lasting glory. And one *mnemosynon* for his death is "*Shaikh i Hindī*;"[3] and another:—

"The date of the death of Shaikh Islām [is]
The Shaikh of sages, and *the Shaikh of princes.*"[4]

In this year a dreadful event happened to the compiler of this epitome. It is briefly as follows: When Kānt and Golah became the *jāgīr* of Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, and I, in accordance with the decree of fate, remained some time in his service, and became *Çadr* of that province, and had the responsibility of ministering to the faqīrs, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to the shrine of that illustrious luminary, that Shaikh of nobles, that marvel of truth and religion, Shāh Madār (God sanctify his glorious tomb!) at Makānpūr one of the dependencies of Qannouj, I, this son of man who have imbibed my mother's crude milk, through the nature of my disposition which
137 is compounded of innate carelessness (which is the cause of wrong-doing and repentance) and of radical ignorance (which conduces to presumption and damage, and has descended to me from the father of all flesh) wilfully closed the eyes of my intellect, and gave it the name of love. So I was captured in the net of desire and lust, and the secret contained in the ancient writing of fate was revealed, and suddenly in that shrine I committed a terrible piece of impropriety. But since the chastisement as well as the mercy of

[1] 4 + 6 + 2 + 5 + 300 + 400 + 2 + 200 + 10 + 50 = 979.
[2] The ninth month.
[3] 300 + 10 + 600 + 5 + 50 + 4 + 10 = 979.
[4] Both expressions *Shaikh i ḥukamā*, and *Shaikh i ḥukkām*, contain the same letters; and in each case the sum of the numerical values of them is 979.

God (praise to Him, and glorious is His Majesty!) was upon me, I received punishment for that transgression, and chastisement for that sin even in this world, for God granted to some of the relatives of the beloved to overcome me, from whom I receive nine sword-wounds in succession on my head and hand and back. They all merely grazed the skin except one on my head which penetrated the bone of my skull, and reached the brain, exposing me as a brainless fellow, and another partially severed the sinews of the little finger of my left hand. I became unconscious and took a journey to the other world and came back again. I hope that at the Resurrection the future may also turn out well!

"Whatever calamity fortune hath inflicted,
I must say the truth, it was less than my deserts.
I never paid Him thanks for His goodness,
Until He certainly threw me into sorrow and woe."

I met with a skilful surgeon in the town of Bāngarmou, and in the course of a single week my wounds were healed. In the midst of that pain and sickness I made a vow, that if I should recover from that accident, I would perform the pilgrimage of Islām. And to this moment I am still waiting to perform this vow, if God (He is exalted!) will, and I hope that He will prosper me to attain this felicity before I pay the debt of death and a breach is made in the building of hope: "And this would not be too difficult for God.[1]"—"Some there are who have made good their promise, and others are waiting[2]":—

"In this turquoise palace of ancient foundation,
The son of man is wonderfully apt to err:
Gratitude is not his habit,
His business is only neglect of worship.
Although he passes his whole life amid mercies,
He never knows their value until they be lost."

[1] Al Qur'ān XIV 23, XXXV, 18.
[2] Al Qur'ān XXXIII, 23.

138 Thence I went to Kānt u Golah. There after performing the ablution[1] I was again thrown on a bed of sickness. And Ḥusain Khān, whom God (praise to Him! He is exalted) will ere this have brought to the eternal paradise!, treated me with the kindness of a father or a brother beyond all mortal capacity; and when through the excessive cold the wound became ulcerous, he made me a plaster of pungent wood of the tamarisk-tree,[2] and made me eat a tamarisk sweet-meat. Thence I came to Badāūn, where another surgeon re-opened the wound in my head, and I was near to death's door. One day between sleep and wakefulness:—

"It was not sleep, but it was unconsciousness."

I saw, that a number of apparitors carried me up to the heavens. And in that place there was a book and a tribunal, and the writers were busy, and a number of constables were present (as in a king's court on earth), and staff in hand kept hurrying about. And one of the writers taking a leaf in his hand looked at it, and said: "This is not he." At that moment hunger opened my eyes, and so I became conscious of my wandering, and a saying, which I used to hear from the mouths of people in the days of my youth came true: "Yea the world of possibilities is wide, but the power of the First Cause is predominant, and God is predominant over his works."

During this year a dreadful fire broke out at Badāūn, and so many Hindūs and Musalmāns perished in the flames as to exceed all computation. Carts filled with the charred remains were driven down to the river, and none could tell who was a Moslem and who an infidel. Many to escape being burnt rushed to the ramparts of the fortress, and men and women on account of the heat of the flaming fire threw themselves down from the top of the wall. Others
139 escaped with burns and scars. Water on that fire acted like oil of naphtha. All this I witnessed with my own eyes, and heard the noise of the flames with my own ears. Some it warned, others it destroyed. Before this catastrophe a half-witted fellow came from the Doāb, and I took him into my house, and associated

[1] *I. e., ghusul-i çaḥḥat*, the first bathing after sickness.
[2] *Chob i gaz.*

with him. He said to me in private: "Flee out of this city." I said: "Why?" He said: "A terrible visitation is about to happen to it." But since he was a frequenter of taverns I did not credit him:—

"Why do you ask about Badāūn and its distracted state,
For it is a revelation of the verses about '*The punishment of fire*[1]'?"

In the year nine hundred and eighty (980) the conquest of Gujrāt took place. The substance of the affair is as follows. Gujrāt had fallen into the greatest confusion, and had been broken up into different petty governments, so the Emperor issued an order for the assembling of the army and made a firm determination to reduce that country to subjection. On the 20th of Çafar[2] he set out from the Capital, and on the 15th of Rabi'lawwal[3] the city of Ajmīr became the abode of the imperial cavalcade. After visiting the sacred mausoleum of that Summary of the line of Chishtīs, the saint Mu'ınuddīn Chishtī (God sanctify his tomb, andt heir tombs!), the next day he proceeded to circumambulate the tomb of Mīr Sayyid Ḥusain Khang-sawār, and this verse was composed in his honour:—

"Thanks to God that a clear light hath shone into the heart
From Ḥusain bin 'Alī bin Ḥusain bin 'Alī."

And he went up to the top of that hill. Then he sent forward Mīr Muḥammad, Khān Kalān, with 10,000 horse as vanguard, and himself by consecutive days marching arrived on the 9th of the month Jamadi'lawwal[4] at Nāgor. During the night of Wednesday the second of this month the birth of the prosperous Prince Dāniyāl took place at Ajmīr in the house of one Shaikh Dāniyāl by name, a holy sojourner. This good news was brought to the Emperor at two days' journey from Nāgor. The Emperor named 140

[1] Al Qur'ān II, 120, &c.
[2] The second month.
[3] The third month.
[4] The fifth month

him Dāniyāl after the said Shaikh Dāniyāl. The following is the *mnemosynon* for the date :—

"One said, *May he be a keeper of the Law of the Prophet.*[1]"
And the word Sharī'at[2] "The Law" will do just as well.

When the Emperor arrived in the neighbourhood of Mīrt'ha, news came that a Rājpūt at Sarohī having come as an ambassador had struck Khāni Kalān with a *jamd'har*,[3] which is the name of a weapon well-known among the people of Hind. The weapon pierced his breast and came out at the shoulder-blade, but the wound was not mortal. The Rājpūt was sent to Hell. The wound in the course of ten or fifteen days healed over, and continued to do well. When the Emperor arrived at Sarohī a body of 150 Rājpūts, as is their hereditary custom, some in idol temples and some in the palace of the Rājah of Sarohī bound themselves to die, and went forth to fight, and were slain to a man. In this engagement Dost Muḥammad, son of the late Tātār Khān governor of Dihlī, whom they call Tātārcheh, became a martyr. While the Emperor was at this place he appointed Rāī Singh of Bīkānīr governor of Joudhpūr, in order that he might go by way of Gujrāt and prevent any harm being done to any one by Rānā Kīkā ruler of Gogandah and Kumalmair.[4] And Mān Singh, son of Rājah Bhagawan Dās he sent with a well appointed army in the direction of Idar in pursuit of the sons of Sher Khān Fūlādī,[5] who had gone in that direction with all their family and relatives. In the beginning of the month Rajab[6] the Emperor encamped outside Pattan, and gave that place as *jāgīr* to Sayyid Aḥmad Khān Bārha, brother of Sayyid Maḥmūd. Mān Singh having spoiled the remnant of the army of the Afghāns rejoined the Emperor bringing much booty.

When Sher Khān obtained news of the Emperor's approach, 141 he raised the siege of Aḥmadābād, in which he had for the

[1] 51 + 90 + 200 + 300 + 200 + 70 + 50 + 12 + 2 + 1 + 4 = 980.
[2] 300 + 200 + 10 + 70 + 400 = 980.
[3] Sanskrit *jamd'hara* "death-bearer," a large dagger with a basket hilt.
[4] See p. 102.
[5] See Briggs. *Ferishta* IV, pp. 156 and 165.
[6] The seventh month.

space of six months been engaged along with I'timād Khān, the *ghulām* and absolute *vazīr* of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī, and the army of the Afghāns became dispersed. On Sunday the 9th of the month Rajab of this year Muzaffar, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī, whom I'timād Khan had kept continually in confinement, so as to keep the power in his own hands, came and did homage to the Emperor. Eventually he was given into the charge of Shāh Mançūr *vazīr* (whose history will be narrated, if God will), and he was granted a monthly allowance of 30 rupees. After some years he escaped and regained his government. But he was taken prisoner by the Rājah of Sūrat, who, when he had thus secured him, sent him towards Chūnāgarh to A'zam Khān. But on the road he laid violent hands on himself, and killed himself with a stroke of a razor. Subsequent events will be narrated in detail.

The next day I'timād Khān and Shāh Abu Turāb, and Sayyid Ḥāmid Bokhārī, and Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk the Abyssinian, and Malik-ush-Sharq, and Wajīh-ul-mulk, and Ulugh Khān the Abyssinian, and Jajhār Khān the Abyssinian, and the other Amīrs of Gujrāt, came one and all and were granted an interview with the Emperor. And I'timād Khān brought the key of the city of Aḥmadābād. The Emperor entrusted the Abyssinians to trusty officers of his own to be employed in guarding his harem. On Friday the 14th of Rajab he pitched his tents on the banks of the river of Aḥmadābād, and the Khutbah[1] was read. On the 20th of this month Sayyid Maḥmūd Khān Bārha and Shaikh Maḥmūd Bokhārī brought the Emperor's harem into the Imperial camp.

On Monday the 2nd of Sha'bān[2] the Emperor set out from Aḥmadābād in the direction of Cambay with the intention of repulsing Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā, who had seized Bhroj and Barodah and Sūrat. Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk the Abyssinian, who was the leading man among the Amīrs of Gujrāt, seized this opportunity, and escaping from Aḥmadābād, fled to Aḥmadnagar. And, since it was impossible to put any confidence in I'timād Khān, the Emperor committed him to the charge of Shahbāz

[1] See page 1.
[2] The eighth month.

142 Khān Kambo. On the 6th of Sha'bān the Emperor arrived at the port of Cambay. On the 14th of this month he arrived at the town of Barodah, and committing the government of Guǰrāt entirely unfettered into the hands of Mīrzā 'Azīz Kokah, he dismissed him to Aḥmadābād.[1]

On the 17th of Sha'bān news arrived, that Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā had put to death Rustam Khān Rūmī in the fortress of Bhroǰ, and that he was intending to pass within eight *cosses* of the Imperial camp. On this account the Emperor left the camp, in which was the young prince Salīm, under the guardianship of Khwāǰah Jahān, and Shuǰā'at Khān and several others of the Amīrs, and having sent Shahbāz Khān to fetch Sayyid Maḥmūd Bārha, and Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥarram and the rest of the Amīrs, who had been appointed to go towards Sūrat, he took with him Malik-ush-Sharq Guǰrātī as his guide. and set off by forced marches with the intention of extirpating Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain. When the Emperor arrived at the banks of the river Mahindrī, night had come on. He crossed with 40 horse, when news was brought that Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain had alighted in the town of Sarnāl on the other side of the river. So the faithful companions of the Emperor began to arm themselves. During the night the Amīrs, who had been sent to Sūrat, were enabled to form a junction with the Emperor. Mān Singh was appointed to lead the vanguard, and with 100 men crossed the river. Then Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, who had a force of 1,000 horse, when news came to him of the rapid approach of the Emperor, evacuated the town of Sarnāl by another road, and drew up his army in the plain with the intention of making a determined stand. Mān Singh advanced in one direction by the broken ground and shallows on the banks of the river Mahindrī, and the Emperor by another road. At last a collision between the opposite parties took place. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā charged against Bābā Khān Qāqshāl and his company of archers, and made them fall back for a considerable distance, and some were killed on both sides.

143 At this moment a son of Rājah Bhagvant Dās,[2] named

[1] Capital of Guǰrāt.

[2] Son of Rājah Bihārī Mall.

Bhunpat[1] met with his death in that conflict. Then the enemy, taking courage, charged the imperial army, which was in position on uneven ground closely hemmed in on either side by a growth of prickly-pears.[2] Three of the enemy pressed forward in front of the rest. One of them attacked Rājah Bhagvant Dās, who struck him with a hand-pike from behind the prickly-pears, and compelled him to retire wounded. The other two made a rush at the Emperor, who was in front of his men; but they could not stand his blows. and had to retire, and Maqbūl Khān a *ghulām* of Sarkh Badakhshī went in pursuit of those two fellows. Then the imperial army made an attack on all sides on Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, which he was not able to withstand, and so took to flight. Many of his men were killed in this conflict, and innumerable were the slain. After he had gained the victory, as night was coming on, the Emperor ordered the pursuit to be abandoned. So Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā with a few followers managed to reach Sarohī[3] by way of Aḥmadnagar. Thence he came to Nāgor, where he again engaged the Amīrs, and being put to flight he passed by Dihlī and returned once more to the district of Sambhal. The issue of the event will be recounted in its proper place.[4] if God, He is exalted, will

On the 18th of Sha'bān[5] the Emperor returned, and rejoined the imperial camp at Barodah. Thence he set out with the object of reducing the fort of Sūrat. This fort had been built by Khudāwand Khān, Wazīr of Guǰrāt, on the bank of the river[6] to oppose the Portuguese in the year nine hundred and forty-seven (947). After the death of Chingīz Khān the Mīrzās had seized it. And when 144
Guǰrāt was conquered, the Mīrzās, having shut up their families and dependants in that place, and having entrusted the absolute government of it to one Hamzabān by name, chamberlain to

[1] Sanskrit *Bhuvan-patī* 'world-protector.' His other sons were Rājah Mān Singh, Mādhū Singh, and Pratāb Singh.

[2] *Az-zaqqūm*, a tree said in the Qur'ān (XXXVII, 60) to grow in the midst of Hell. It is the *euphorbia* of the ancients.

[3] In Rājpūtāna.

[4] Text p 149.

[5] The eighth month.

[6] Taptī is the name of the river.

the late Emperor, who had fled from the service of the present Emperor and gone over to the enemy, scattered themselves about the district and kept laying the foundation of rebellion. But, when news of the defeat of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā reached the garrison of that fort, Gulrūkh Bēgum, daughter of Kāmrān Mīrzā and wife of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā, took with her her son Muzaffar Ḥusain (who is now honoured with the dignity of being son-in-law of the Emperor), and made for the Dakkan. And Shāh Qulī Khān *Maḥram*,[1] who together with Çādiq Muḥammad Khān and others had previously been appointed to besiege the fort, went a considerable distance in pursuit of the Mīrzā's men, and then came back with part of his baggage and effects which they had succeeded in capturing. Now before the arrival of the Emperor in person, he had sent Rājah Todarmal to thoroughly reconnoitre the fort, and with instructions to submit to H. I. Majesty an accurate statement of the results of his investigation. He represented to the Emperor that the fort might be taken as easily as possible in a very short time. Accordingly on the 7th of the blessed month Ramzān[2] the Emperor encamped at one *cos* distant from the fort, and proceeded to surround it, as the halo surrounds the moon. He distributed[3] the entrenchments [among his forces] and by perpetual assaults he reduced the garrison to extremities. In the course of two months he threw up immense mounds and high batteries, and the gunners and artillerymen kept up such a fire from under cover of them, that not an individual of the garrison of the fort dared to show his head. On the other side of the fort, which was contiguous to a tank of water he built a palace, and throwing up dams in its vicinity he cut off the water-supply from the besieged. Then the inhabitants of the fort sent out one Mūlānā Nizām-ud-dīn by name, a student of
145 the art of rhetoric, to sue for quarter on the score of their weakness, defeat, and misery. Through the intervention of the Amīrs

[1] So called because the Emperor, from good-will towards him, admitted him into his female apartments (*ḥaram*). See further in Blochm., p. 306.

[2] The ninth month.

[3] *Bakhsh kardah* seems to mean "having distributed," (like *taqsīm namūdah*) but the author does not specify among whom. The reading of the Lak'hnou lithographed edition is the same.

he was admitted to an audience, and the petition of the people of the fort attained the grade of acceptance, and he was dismissed to announce to them the joyful news. The Emperor appointed Qāsim Alī Khān Bakkāl, and Khwājah Doulat Nāzīr to go and re-assure Hamzabān and all the besieged, and to bring them to an audience. And a number of honest clerks were appointed to write down the names of the men, and to make an inventory of the property, so that everything was brought before[1] His Majesty.

Out of the whole number of the people, the Emperor, after a severe reprimand and admonition, gave over to the keeper of prisoners a few others as will as Hamzabān, who during the time of the siege had let fall some rude words, and impolite expressions. All the others he freely pardoned. This victory took place on the twenty-third of the month Shawwāl[2] in the year nine hundred and eighty (980). And Ashraf Khān *Mīr Munshī* composed this *qiṭ'ah* :—

"The country-subduer Akbar Ghāzī,[3] without dispute
There is no key of the forts of the world like his sword.
He has taken by assault the fort of Sūrat,
The victory was gained only by his auspicious arm.
The date of the victory is *He has taken a wonderful fort*,[4]
But to the fortune of the Shāh of the world such things are not wonderful."

The next day the Emperor went to inspect the fort, and gave orders that its breaches and ruins should be repaired and rebuilt. During this inspection he came across some large cannon, and immense pieces of ordnance They had been brought by sea by Sulaimān Sulṭān the Emperor of Turkey, when he came with a large army intending to take possession of the ports of Gujrāt; but afterwards on account of some adverse circumstances that army retired. and those cannon from that time were left behind on the river 146

[1] For this expression compare Text, p. 275, l. 6, and 292, l. 4 *infra*.

[2] The tenth month.

[3] *Ghāzī* means one who fights against infidels, not *victorious*.

[4] 70 + 3 + 2 + 100 + 30 + 70 + 5 + 20 + 200 + 80 + 400 = 980.

bank. At the time of the building of Sūrat Khudāwand Khān Wazīr brought most[1] of them into the fort, and the remainder the Governor of Jūnāgaṛh dragged into that fortress. The Emperor commanded that they should be removed from there, where so many were of no use, and be carried to the fortress of Āgrah.

They say that the reason for Khudāwand Khān's building this fort was, that the Portuguese used to exercise all kinds of animosity and hostility against the people of Islām, and used to occupy themselves in devastating the country, and tormenting the pious. At the time of the commencement of the building they ceased not to throw the builders into confusion, firing continually at them from their ships, but they could not prevent them. The architects skilled in geometry and expert in subtleties carried the foundations of the ceinture of the fort down to the water, and also dug a moat of the same depth, and on the two sides of the fort which adjoined the land they built a wall of stone, adamant, and burnt brick. The length of the wall was thirty-five yards, and the breadth of the four walls of the fort was fifteen yards, and their height as well as the depth of the moat was twenty yards. The centres of each two stones were joined with iron clamps, and the interstices and joints were made firm with molten lead. The battlements and embrasures were so lofty and beautiful that the eye of the spectator was astonished at them. On the bastions which overlooked the sea they made a gallery, which in the opinion of the Europeans, is a speciality of Portugal and an invention of their own. The Europeans were very much opposed to the building of that *Choukandī*,[2] and endeavoured to prevent it by force of arms. But at last they resorted to peaceful measures, and agreed to pay a round sum of money, if they would leave off building the *Choukandī*. But Khudāwand Khān through
147 his love and zeal for Islām gave the reins to his high spirit, and would not consent, and in spite of the Christians soon carried out his purpose of completing the building.

The very same day the Emperor delivered over the fort to the command of the son of Qulīj Khān, and on the 14th of Zī-qa'dah he returned to Aḥmadābād.

[1] One seems compelled by the context thus to render *hama* 'all.'

[2] See Elliott V, p. 503 notes.

During the time of the siege several events took place. First of all, Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain, who had been a wanderer for ten years, and had at last fallen into the hands of Bahār-Jiv, Rājah of the district of Baglāna,[1] was bound and brought into the imperial presence. The Emperor was content with handing this ill-conditioned fellow over to the keeper of prisoners, after he had given him a severe reprimand. Next, while at the halting-place of Bahroṇch the mother of Chingīz Khān[2] came and demanded justice, and sued for retaliation against Jahjār Khān the Abyssinian, who had basely slain Chingīz Khān. After the circumstances had been investigated the murderer confessed, and the Emperor had him thrown under the feet of an elephant. Next, while the siege of Sūrat was actually in progress, Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā after his defeat went from the station of Sarnāl to the confines of Patan, and joined Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā. Here they thought of a plan for raising the siege of the fort of Sūrat. Their scheme was as follows: Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā was to go towards Hindūstān with a view to stirring up rebellion, while Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā together with Shēr Khān Fūlādī were to lay siege to Patan, so that the Emperor becoming uneasy concerning their movements should be obliged to come to Aḥmadābād. Meanwhile Sayyid Aḥmad Khān had shut himself up in Patan, and made a brave resistance. Then Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān with all the renowned Amīrs, who were the fief-holders of Mālwah and Chandērī, went to the assistance of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān. And Rastam Khān and 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab Khān, and Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī of Dihlī came to Aḥmadābād, and together with A'zam Khān went to Patan. Then Muḥammad 148
Ḥusain Mīrzā, and Shāh Mīrzā, and Shēr Khān Fūlādī raised the siege, and falling in with them at 5 *cosses* from Patan they fought so fierce a battle that the memory of it will remain on the volume of history. The right wing of A'zam Khān attacked the vanguard of the enemy, and also threw their left wing into confusion, and the Amīrs doing all that valour could require of them stood their ground firmly until the breeze of victory fanned the

[1] The Text has incorrectly *Yaklāna*. See Blochm., p. 323, and Brigg's *Ferishta* IV, p. 614.

[2] The late king of Gujrāt.

prosperous banner of the Emperor, and they dispersed the enemy like flakes of scattered clouds, and the soldiers pursued in quest of plunder. But Khān i A'zam[1] with a few men did not move from his post, when suddenly like an unexpected calamity Shēr Khān Fūlādī (who was a great opium-eater, and had been delayed for a whole watch at the latrines through constipation, which like a hand-grip, is a necessary evil with opium-eaters) arrived with 2,000 or 3,000 horsemen, more or less, on the empty field after both sides had done fighting, and attacked Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī, who was still engaged with a few of the enemy, and confusion returned and Shaikh Muḥammad became the rose of the garden of victory[2]:—

"He made a pen of his sword from the point to the hilt,
It wrote in blood the dictum: *He was not.*"

Meanwhile Khān i A'zam moved from his place, and many troops came up from all sides, so that Shēr Khān having contrived to rejoin his friends took to flight. When they asked him, "Why did you kill the son of your superior?" he replied, "We heard that of the number of the leaders of the Moghuls Shāh Budāgh Khan and one other through excessive valour would not leave the battle-field, under the impression that it was they, we attacked Shaikh Muḥammad; but certainly if we had known who it was, we should never have taken a step towards killing him." Then Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā
149 went towards the Dakkan, and Shēr Khān took refuge in the fortress of Jūnāgaṛh, of which place Amīr Khan Ghorī was governor. This victory took place on the 18th of the blessed month of Ramzān[3] in the year nine hundred and eighty (980). A'zam Khān leaving the fort of Patan in the old manner in charge of Aḥmad Khān Bārhah went to Sūrat, and paid his homage to the Emperor. And Quṭb-ud-dīn, and the other Amīrs, having managed to hunt out of the jungles and forts Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk the Abyssinian (who had escaped from those to whom he had been given in charge as prisoner, and fled to Aḥmad-ābād[4] and joined the enemy, and after

[1] Another name for A'zam Khān.
[2] Was slain.
[3] The ninth month.
[4] Another reading is *Aḥmad-nagar*. Comp. p. 164, l. 11 Text.

his flight had laid the foundation of rebellion, and seized several places), and having left stations and patrols in that district, at the time that the imperial camp came from Sūrat to Maḥmūdābād joined the Court.

Towards the end of the month Zī-qa'dah[1] of the aforementioned year Aḥmadābād became the place of the imperial residence. The Emperor stayed in that place ten days, and having conferred the government of Aḥmadābād on A'zam Khān, and having given the other cities to the other Amīrs of the Atgah-clan,[2] and having presented Muzaffar Khān with two and a half *cosses* as *jāgīr*, and having given away Sārangpūr, and Ujjain, and the whole of the district of Mālwah, on the day of the Festival of Qorbān he marched out from Aḥmadābād, and in the month Muḥarram[3] of the year nine hundred and eighty-one (981), moving from station to station, arrived at Ajmīr. At this place he received a letter from Sa'īd Khān containing news of the capture of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, and of his departure from a world full of trouble and degradation. And on the 2nd of Çafar[4] in this year the metropolis was once more glorified and adorned by the return of His Imperial Majesty.

The following is a compendium of the adventures of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā. He went first from Gujrāt to Mīrat'h with the intention of stirring up rebellion and revolt in that kingdom. He plundered a caravan which was going to Āgrah, and came to 150
Nāgōr, in which place Farrukh Khān, son of Khān-i Kalān, shut himself up The Mīrzā plundered some of the houses in the suburbs, and having stayed there one day went off to Narnoul. When he had arrived within 20 *cosses* of Narnoul is happened that Rāī Rām and Rāī Singh, who had been entrusted with guarding the road to Gujrāt, taking about 1,000 horsemen with them set off by forced marches from Jodhpūr to Nāgōr. Then Farrukh Khān set off in their company in pursuit of the Mīrzā, and alighted at K'hatoulī. The Mīrzā fled without leaving any mark or trace, and so got off. When the Musalmāns in the camp were keeping the fast, they halted

[1] The eleventh month.
[2] See above p. 49, *note* 4.
[3] The first month.
[4] The second month.

by the side of a great tank in that neighbourhood with the intention of breaking fast, then the Mīrzā, having gone some distance and returned, on the second night of the blessed month of Ramzān[1] in the year nine hundred and eighty (980) taking them quite unawares made a night-attack on them, and attacking them suddenly on both flanks rained a shower of arrows upon them. They on their side seized their shields and did not waver, but fought manfully. And he, since he could not prevail, and his men did not amount to 700, found himself in difficulties, and retreated. In that dark night many of his soldiers becoming scattered were taken prisoners in the villages and wildernesses, and were put to death on the spot where they were taken. Of this number a 100 men fell into the hands of Farrukh Khān, and became food for the sword. And others were wounded and after a hundred troubles managed to reach the Mīrzā. But through the disgracefulness of their wicked enterprise their affairs nowhere prospered. So the Mīrzā with 300 men, ravaging the country as he went, crossed the rivers Ganges and Jumna, and came to the *pargana* of A'zampūr, which had formerly been his *jāgīr*. He thought that, since Sambhal was in its rear, a fortress like Mount Kumāūn, and in front a moat like the Ganges, if he were to take refuge there and settle himself in that place, many men
151 would return to him. But this idea of his was not realized, and the imperial Amīrs hemmed him in on every side, and the meaning of the [Arabic saying] "Expectancy hinders advance"[2] became manifest.

Ḥusain Khān[3] Mahdī Qāsim Khānī at that time, before the publication of the news concerning Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā and his going towards Dihlī, went to Kānt-u-Golah, which was his *jāgīr*, with the intention of uelling the insurgents of Badāūn and Patyālī. Meanwhile Makhdūm-ul-mulk Mūlānā 'Abd-ullāh Sulṭānpūrī, and Rājah Bahār Mal, who were *wakīl* and absolute *wazīr*, wrote a letter to him from Fatḥpūr informing him, that Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā

[1] The ninth month.

[2] Such seems to me to be the meaning of *Aṭ-ṭalabu raddu-ṭ-ṭarīq*; but I am not sure.

[3] He was sister's son and also son-in-law to Mahdī Qāsim Khān. (Blochm., p. 372). For this reason he is called *Mahdi-Qāsim-Khānī*.

having suffered defeat on two occasions had arrived in the vicinity of Dihlī and that, since the Emperor was absent from the Capital, his lordship would do well to hasten thither as quickly as possible. In accordance with this request he proceeded in that direction, but when he had arrived on his march at the village of Oudh, in the *pargana* of Jalēsah,[1] news came in that Rajah Anēsar, who had continually infested the roads since the accession of the Emperor, and had kept up rebellion in the vicinity of Agrah, had now become a regular brigand. Moreover that he had already had many severe encounters, and obstinately fought skirmishes with some of the renowned Amīrs, and had slain many excellent men and was now hidden in the jungle of the village of Nourāhī in the *pargana* of Jalēsah. At midday on the 15th of the blessed month of Ramzān[2] in the aforesaid year, when the men were off their guard and marching in loose order, and most of them were fasting, suddenly the rattle of musketry and arrows burst on them, and they found themselves engaged in a hot skirmish. The Rajah with the help of the villagers[3] had erected crows'-nests in the trees, and from that vantage-ground many useful men became marks[4] for arrows and musket balls, and some were martyred, and others were wounded. At the very beginning of the battle-moil a musket-ball struck Ḥusain Khān 152
below the knee, glanced off and struck his saddle and spent itself on the head of his horse. He became faint and nearly fell from his saddle, but with great presence of mind he grasped the pommel of his saddle and kept his seat. I threw water on his face. Those who were around him and in front thought that it was perhaps weakness caused by fasting, but I seized his bridle wishing to draw him under the shelter of a tree, where he might be safe from the shower of arrows. When there he opened his eyes and contrary to his usual custom shot a glance of anger at me, and querulously made signs as much as to say, "What are you holding my reins for? You had better go down into the battle." So they left him in that state

[1] Elliot and Blochmann *Jalesar*.

[2] The ninth month.

[3] Comp. p. 10, *note* 2.

[4] The word used here seems to be the Hindī *bikhai* = *bikhai*, Sanskr. *vishaya*, object.

and went down and joined in the fray. Such confusion then raged, and so many men were killed on both sides, that imagination were too weak to number them Eventually, in accordance with [the promise] "Al-Islām shall conquer, and not be conquered," towards evening the breeze of victory blew to the side of the small handful of religious warriors, and the infidels company by company and crowd by crowd took to flight, but not before our soldiers were so tired that they could scarcely wield a sword or shoot an arrow. In that thick forest they became so commingled, that friend could not be distinguished from foe, and yet through weakness they could not make and end of one another. Some of the servants of God showed such fortitude as to merit the excellence both of waging a holy war, and also of maintaining a strict fast. But I on the contrary was so weak, that I took a single draught of water to moisten my throat, for want of which some gave up the ghost, and several excellent friends of mine became martyrs :—

"Never does Heaven regard my affair,
Nor make me happy in granting me a single wish.
It moistens not my lip with a drop of water,
Except it rain my eye-blood on my bosom."

After this victory Ḥusain Khān returned by forced marches to Kānt-u-Golah, and strengthened those places. At the same time Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā, arrived in the neighbourhood of the *pargana*
153 of Lak'hnou, which is fifteen *cosses* from Sambhal.[1]

In spite of that wound [Ḥusain Khān] riding in a litter advanced to Bāns Barēlī in order to force the Mīrzā into action, and from that place he reached Sambhal in one day by a forced march. When the Mīrzā became assured of this bold stroke of his, he did not see the advantage of fighting, but retreated by way of Amrohah, in the neighbourhood of Lak'hnou, and put a distance of seven *cosses* between us and him. But, if he had attacked Ḥusain Khān in his wounded state, God knows what would have been the issue! It was one of the mistaken pieces of policy on the part of the Mīrza, that he did not attack Ḥusain Khān when he was in this weak state.

[1] Sambhal was the paternal estate of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā. Elliot V, 505

Mu'īn-ud-dīn Khān Farankhūdī, governor of Sambhal, with a considerable force, and various other Amīrs, *jāgīr*-holders of the neighbourhood, who had taken refuge in the fortress, when they heard at midnight the roll of the drums of Ḥusain Khān, thought that the Mīrzā was upon them, and were quite overcome with fear. But, when from the extremity of the fort the cry arose that it was Ḥusain Khān coming to their assistance, they came out joyfully to meet him. The next day they came to the abode of Shaikh Fatḥ-ullāh Tarīn,[1] who was one of the renowned deputies of Shaikh-ul-islām Fatḥpūrī, and sat in council and considered it advisable that all of them together with Tolak Khān Qūchīn[2] and Bēg Nūrīn Khān and Raḥmān Qulī Khān and Kākar 'Alī Khān and the other Amīrs of the *jāgīr* of the neighbourhood of Dihlī, who were come to repulse the Mīrzā, should wait for us in the *pargana* of Āhār on the bank of the river Ganges, and that when a junction should have been effected, we should carry out whatever plans they might fix upon. Ḥusain Khān exclaimed "Good God! The Mīrzā came to this neighbourhood with a small party of horse, while you with an army four (cf. p. 368, 23) times as large as his were at the 154
fortress of Sambhal; and you twenty or thirty Amīrs, all old soldiers too, with a large force are so dismayed that you would shut yourselves up in the fortress of Āhār, which is a regular rat-hole. This will give occasion to the Mīrzā to become bold and to ravage the imperial territories. Now there are two courses open to us, one of which we must follow. Either you must cross the Ganges, and under cover of that old fortress must intercept the Mīrzā, and prevent his getting over the Ganges. I will follow up in his rear, and we shall see what will happen. Or I will hasten and cross the Ganges and head the Mīrzā, while you pursue him. This is our duty as loyal subjects." But they could not agree upon any course until Ḥusain Khān, driven by necessity, went off in haste with the horsemen he had to the Amīrs at Āhār, and inveighed loudly against their shutting themselves up in that fortress. He brought them out, and repeated the same counsel to them. "The enemy," he said, "is enclosed in the heart of the country, and is just like a

[1] Another reading is *Afghān Tarbani*, and Elliot (Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī) *Tarbatī*.
[2] See p. 54, *note* 2.

hare appearing in the midst of a camp, if you move briskly we shall be able to make a fine *coup* and take him alive, and the glory of the victory will be yours." They replied: "In accordance with the written instructions of Makhdūm-ul-mulk and Rājah Bahār Mal we have driven the Mīrzā out of the neighbourhood of Dihlī, and compelled him to make for Sambhal. Now Mu'īn-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān, commandant of that district, and the *jāgīr*-holders of that neighbourhood are responsible for the matter. But we are merely ordered to defend Dihlī, and not to wage a war against the Mīrzā, a course in which various dangers are to be dreaded.[1] Meanwhile intelligence arrived that the Mīrzā had plundered Amrohah, and having crossed the Ganges at the ford of Choubālah was marching rapidly on Lāhōr. Then Ḥusain Khān, being convinced of lack of
155 loyalty on the part of the Amīrs, hastily separated himself from them, and went by forced marches to Gadha Muktēsar in order to capture the Mīrzā :—

"Take up thine abode with the favourites of fortune,
Flee, swift as an arrow, from the unfortunate."

The only ones of the imperial Amīrs who supported him were Turk Subḥān Qulī and Farrukh Dīwānah; but while he was at this place the Amīrs of Āhār wrote him a letter, saying: "Do not be in a hurry, for we will join you. Eleven are better than nine." And they came more by compulsion than of free will, and the verse[2] of the glorious word: "Thou lookest on them as united, but their hearts are divided" exactly fits the case of those people. The Mīrzā, like the rook on a cleared chess-board, came into the heart of the country, plundering and ravaging the towns in his way. When he arrived at the village of Pāyal, the Mīrzā's men committed such atrocities on the Musalmān people and their families as cannot well be described. For instance, twelve virgins in that village were ill-treated to such a degree that they died. Other towns were treated in just

[1] They meant, doubtless, that they were not sure how far they might be pleasing the Emperor, if they proceeded to extremities with the Mīrzā, whose wife Gulrūkh Bēgum was a daughter of Kāmrān Mīrzā and consequently the Emperor's first cousin. But see the result, p. 161 Text.

[2] Al Qur'ān LIX, 14.

the same way. Ḥusain Khān advanced gradually in the track of the Mīrzā, with the Amīrs in his rear, till they came to Sarhind. At that place they turned refractory and took the opportunity of all remaining behind. But Ḥusain Khān not being content [to remain] with the force that he had, which did not number 100 men, left Sarhind by rapid marches, together with the two [Amīrs mentioned above], and arrived at Lūdiyānah. There intelligence arrived that on the Mīrzā's reaching the environs of Lāhōr, the garrison had shut the gates against him, and that the Mīrzā had passed on thence and gone to Sher Gaḍha and Jahnī.

Now Ḥusain Qulī Khān, who was besieging Nagarkōt and the fort of Kangrah, heard of the Mīrzā's doings, and having made an agreement with the Hindūs, and received from the people of 156
Nagarkōt five *man* of gold as a *douceur*, after reading the *khutbah* in the Emperor's name, set out from that place with Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān and Masnadi 'Ālī[1] Fattū, a *ghulām* of 'Adalī, Isma'īl Qulī Khān, Rājah Bīrbar, and other Amīrs, and pursued him as far as Sankrah. When Ḥusain Khān heard news of this, under the influence of that madness which so often attacks the wits of poor mortals, he swore an oath that he would not touch food until he came up with Ḥusain Qulī Khān. He crossed the river Biyāh at the ford of Talwandī, and went by forced marches to Sher Gaḍha a dependency of Jahnī. There he paid a visit to his reverence Shaikh Dā'ūd Qādirī Jahnī-wāl, the greatest Pole-star, the master and asylum of sainthood (God sanctify his tomb!). When food was served, he excused himself from eating on account of his oath. The Shaikh observed that it was easy to atone for an oath, but silly to distress one's friends. The Khān immediately called for a slave, and set him free,[2] and thus atoned for his oath. He then partook

[1] *Masnadi 'Ālī* is an Afghān title. It was given to Fattū Khān, or Fatḥ Khān He seems to be the same Fatḥ Khān whom Sulaimān Kararānī put in charge of Rohtās in Bihār (Text, p. 77). Blochm. p. 502.

[2] Al Qur'ān V, 91. "God will not punish you for an inconsiderate word in your oaths ..... the expiation of such [an oath shall be] the feeding of ten poor men with such moderate food as ye feed your families withal; or to clothe them; or *to free the neck;* but he who shall not find [wherewith to perform one of these three things] shall fast three days."

of food, and benefited by the gracious words which he heard. He remained there that night. The monastery of the Shaikh provided entertainment for all the party, and his private fields furnished grass and corn for the horses In the morning he left the place.

Three days after this I came from Lāhōr to Sher Gaḍh, and attended his reverence for four days, seeing and hearing such things as had never entered my imagination, and the mystery of the saying "When they desire the remembrance of God &c." became manifest And I extemporized some verses, which I presented, and they were accepted The verses are as follows :—

"O! the stock of thine origin is ree from water and clay,
157 Thy pure spirit like the Prophet is the mercy of the worlds.
Thy mighty name is David, through the impression of it,
Like Solomon, spirits and men come under thy signet.
"*There is the face of God,*"[1] I could not understand for years,
I saw thy face, and the pupil of the eye of truth became clear."

I requested to be allowed to renounce the work and burden of worldly affairs, and to choose for myself the office of sweeping the monastery. But he would not permit it, and said that I ought now to go to Hindūstān. So I took leave in such a desolate state of mind and distraction of heart, as may no other ever experience, and prepared to depart. At the moment of departure lamentation involuntarily burst forth from my sorrowing soul, and when this came to the ears of his reverence, although no one is properly allowed to remain in that monastery more than three days, he kept me there a fourth, and told me things, the sweetness of which still remains in my heart :—

"I go homeward from this door,
But my heart is without choice :
I lament so much that you would think
I was going to a foreign country."

And a few of my own adventures I propose (if God will) to recount in the appendix to this book.

[1] Al Qur'ān II, 109. "The East and the West is God's: therefore, whichever way we turn, *there is the face of God :* Truly God is Omnipresent, Omniscient."

One stage from Tulambah[1] Ḥusain Khān wrote a letter to Ḥusain Qulī Khān, saying : "Since I have come 400 *cosses* by forced marches, if you would let me be a participator in this victory, and postpone the battle one day, it would be only friendly." Ḥusain Qulī Khān said "All right!," and sent the courier back. But that very day, as quickly as ever he could, outside the fortress of Tulambah, which is within 40 *cosses* of Multān, he commenced the attack. The Mīrzā had gone on a hunting expedition, and was quite unaware of his approach. Some of the Mīrzā's men were preparing to march, and others were quite unprepared and dispersed about, and not 158
drawn up in any regular order of battle. Mas'ūd Ḥusain Mīrzā, younger brother of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, took the initiative, and attacked the force of Ḥusain Qulī Khān, but his horse stumbled on the uneven ground, and he fell to the ground and was taken prisoner. When Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain returned from hunting, all chance was gone, and however bravely he fought and charged repeatedly it made no difference, and so, seeing that he could do nothing, he turned his reins and fled. The day after the victory Ḥusain Khān arrived at Tulambah with eighty or ninety men, and drums beating. Ḥusain Qulī Khān showed him the battle-field and recounted to him each man's exploits. Ḥusain Khān then said "Since the enemy has escaped with his life, you ought to pursue him and take him prisoner, for the business is not yet complete." Ḥusain Qulī Khān replied : "Since I have come by forced marches from Nagarkōt, and my army has been subjected to great exertions in the mountain district, and is not in proper condition, this victory is enough for me, now let other friends have a turn." Ḥusain Khān now hoped that his turn was come, and that the hardship and forced marches of 500 *cosses* had opened a way for him, so he took his leave, and pressed forward. Some of his men, who were worn out with fatigue, he sent with the elephants and drums to Lāhōr, and taking but a few men with him he continued the pursuit of the hapless Mīrzā. There was but a short distance between him and the Mīrzā, when one night the latter with 400 horsemen halted on the banks of the Biyāh and Satlij, at the point where the two streams unite. The Jhīls, who are a low

[1] *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* has here Talwandi, Elliot V, 508. Comp. Text, p. 156, l. 6.

class of Multān peasants, assembled and made a night attack on him,
159 and poured a shower of arrows upon him. The Mīrzā with a party of men, some of them wounded, and some of them disabled and in a miserable plight, did what he could to beat off their assailants. But, in accordance with the proverb[1] :—

"A shout is enough for a conquered army,"

the Jhīls came off victorious. Suddenly during the encounter an arrow, by the decree of God, struck the Mīrzā on the back of his head and came out at his throat. Then since all was over with him he changed his dress, and his men left him and fled scattered in all directions. But wherever they went, they became marks for the arrow of fate and went to retribution. One or two old servants of the Mīrzā dressed him in the garments of a Kalandar[2] and endeavoured to get him into some place of safety. In his extreme weakness they brought him for refuge to spend the night in the abode of a hermit Dervish, Shaikh Zakariyā by name, who openly applied a mollifying ointment to the wound of the Mīrzā, but secretly sent information of his whereabouts to Sa'īd Khān at Multān :—

"Wherever an ascetic dwells,
There treachery is found."

Sa'īd Khān sent a *ghulām*, Doulat Khān by name, to bring in the Mīrzā a prisoner, and wrote a dispatch and sent it to the Court at the time that the Emperor was coming to Ajmīr on his return from Gujrāt. When Ḥusain Khān heard of the capture of the Mīrzā, he hastened to Multān, and saw Sa'īd Khān. Ḥusain Khān made some difficulty about seeing the Mīrzā and said : "If when I see him I should *salām* to him, it will be inconsistent with my loyalty to the Court; and if I do not, it will be uncourteous, and the Mīrzā will say to himself, 'This *Qulqachī*,[3] when he received quarter at the siege of Satwās, thought good to make *salāms* without number; now

[1] Roebuck I, p. 294.
[2] A wandering Musalmān ascetic.
[3] This word occurs again p. 191, l. 20 Text

that evil days are fallen upon me, he treats me cavalierly'." When
160 the Mīrzā heard of his unceremonious words, he said : "Come and see me without obeisance, for I waive that." Still he made his *salām*, when he went to see him. The Mīrzā said with sorrow : "I had no intention of rebellion and revolt, but when it became a matter of life and death, I took my own course and threw myself into a foreign country, but even there I was not left alone. Since by fate's decree this defeat was destined to come upon me, would that I had been defeated by you, who are my co-religionist, that it might have brought you into notice, and not by this Ḥusain Qulī Khān, who is an alien in religion and sect!" Ḥusain Khān then returned to Kānt-u-Golah, and there he heard that the Mīrzā after a short respite had died in prison at Multān :—

"He counted a few breaths, and became helpless,
Destiny smiled that he too was no more."

Ḥusain Khān went from Kānt-u-Golah to the Court. And Ḥusain Qulī Khān came from the Panjāb and brought with him Mas'ūd Ḥusain Mīrzā with his eyes blindfolded, and a number of other prisoners of the followers of the Mīrzā, to Fatḥpūr. They numbered nearly 300 persons, and he brought them prisoners before the Emperor, with the skins of asses, hogs, and dogs drawn over their faces. Some of them were put to death by various ingenious tortures, and the remainder were let go free. Ḥusain Khān had taken prisoners and taken with him some 100 of the followers of the Mīrzā, men of determination (who had attained the rank of Khān, and after the defeat on the way to Multān had taken refuge with Ḥusain Khān). Now, when he heard at his own house the news [of the savage treatment of the prisoners], he gave these men leave to quit his *pargana*. Ḥusain Qulī Khān mentioned this body of prisoners, when he was in attendance on the Emperor. Husain Khān sent a representation to Court that, since he had received no orders from the Emperor to put them to death, he had released that band of prisoners, and so had performed a gracious act which might be attributed to His Majesty. The Emperor forgave him, and imposed no penalty on him for the act. At
161 this time Sa'īd Khān came from Multān to pay his homage to the

Emperor, and brought with him the head of Mīrza Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, which he had had dissevered from his body after his death. And this became the foundation of his favour as a courtier :—

"Every bit of dust, which the wind blows away,
Was once a Farīdūn or a Kaiqabād.[1]
Sweet it is to practise fate's agriculture.
To sow[2] a Farīdūn, and reap a Khāqān."[3]

In the year nine hundred and eighty (980) Nagarkōt was taken by Ḥusain Qulī Khan. The following is an epitome of the history of the event. The Emperor from his youth up had shown a special predilection and inclination for the society of various religious sects, such as Brahmans, and musicians, and other kinds of Hindūs. Accordingly at the beginning of his reign a certain Brahman musician, Gadāī Brahmadās by name, from the district of Kalpī, whose whole business was perpetually to praise the Hindūs, and who was possessed of a considerable amount of capacity and genius, came to the Court. By means of conversing with the Emperor and taking advantage of the idiosyncrasies of his disposition, he crept day by day more into favour, until he attained to high rank, and was honoured with the distinction of becoming the Emperor's confidant, and it became a case of "Thy flesh is my flesh, and thy blood my blood." He first received the title of Kab Rāī,[4] meaning Prince of Poets, and afterwards that of Rājah Bīrbar[5] meaning "Renowned Warrior" When the Emperor's mind became alienated from Rājah Jai Chand, commandant of Nagarkōt, who was in attendance at the Court, he appointed that fortress as *jāgīr* to Bīrbar, and having imprisoned Jai Chand, he wrote a *farmān* to Ḥusain Qulī Khan, ruler of Lāhōr, to seize Nagarkōt and hand it

[1] Comp. Hamlet I. 5.

Imperious Cæsar, dead and turned to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away :
O, that the earth which kept the world in awe,
Should patch a wall to expell the winter's flaw !

[2] There is a play on the words *Kishtan* to sow, *Kushtan* to kill.

[3] The meaning is, to kill a hero and so gain the favour of an Emperor.

[4] Sansk. *Kabi Rāja.*

[5] Sansk. *vīra-vara* best warrior

over to Bīrbar. Ḥusain Qulī Khān, with the other Amīrs of the Panjāb such as Mīrzā Yusuf Khān, and Ja'fir Khān son of Qazāq Khān, and Tattū Masnadi 'Ālī &c., first took by assault Dahmīri, and Gwālyār, and Kotlah an exceedingly lofty fortress, and reduced that district. Then, leaving there a force to occupy the district, he passed over a very difficult pass with elephants horses, camels, and his whole suite, and large cannon, and immense mortars, and laid siege to the fortress of Kāngrah. I myself in the year nine hundred and ninety-eight, when I went to Nagarkōt, had occasion to cross that pass, and it is scarcely an hyperbole to say that the foot of the ant in those rugged places would slip through fear. Then Bidhī Chand, son of Jai Chand, thinking that his father had died in prison, shut himself up in the fort. The temple of Nagarkōt, which is outside the city, was taken at the very outset. It is a place whither *lacs*[1] and *lacs* of men, or rather *krors*[2] and *krors* of men, assemble at fixed periods, and bring ass-loads and ass-loads of gold and silver coins, and stuffs and merchandise and other precious things, store-fuls without number, as offerings. On this occasion many mountaineers became food for the flashing sword. And that golden umbrella, which was erected on the top of the cupola of the temple, they riddled with arrows, many of which may be seen hanging there to this day. And black cows,[3] to the number of 200, to which they pay boundless respect, and actually worship, and present to the temple, which they look upon as an asylum, and let loose there, were killed by the Musulmāns. And, while the arrows and bullets were continually falling like drops of rain, through their zeal and excessive hatred of idolatry they filled their shoes full of blood, and threw it on the doors and walls of the temple. So many Brahmans, sojourners in the temple, were killed, that both friends and strangers heap a thousand thousands of curses on the head of Bīrbar, who reckoned himself a saint among the Hindūs (curse on them !). So the outer city was taken. Then they threw up mounds and batteries and opened a fire of great guns on the palace of Bidhī

[1] *Lac* = 100,000.

[2] *Kror* = 10,000,000.

[3] Called *Yaks.*

Chand. In this bombardment nearly eighty persons lost their
163 lives.[1] Bidhī Chand by a hundred artifices managed to effect his escape, and got off in peace, but the fortress was within an ace of being taken. At this juncture news arrived of the disturbances caused by Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, and how that he was making for Lāhōr: moreover the army of Ḥusain Qulī Khān was suffering great hardships. For these reasons and causes he concluded a treaty with them. They paid as tribute five *man* of gold according to the weight of Akbar Shāh, which was one year's revenue of the temple, and much stuff and precious things of all kinds. And in the month Shavvāl[2] of this year he read the *Khutbah*, and stamped coin in the Emperor's name in that district, and having put all things straight he built the cupola of a lofty mosque over the gateway of Rājah Jai Chand.

Then Ḥusain Qulī Khān set off to oppose the Mīrzās. When he arrived at the village of Chamārī he received the honour of paying his respects to that paragon of pilgrims, that offspring of renowned saints Khwājah 'Abd-ush-Shahīd, grandson of Khwājah Aḥrār[3] (God sanctify his spirit!), who promised him victory, and gave the Khān his own dress as a present. The result of this prayer was, that having arrived by forced marches at Tulambah,[4] he gained the glorious victory which my historical pen has already narrated:—

"We are deeply wounded in our hearts,
It will not be without its effect,
Be sure, on all those
For whomsoever we pray in sincerity."

In this year also Sulaimān Kirarānī, ruler of Bengāl, who gave himself the title of *Ḥazrati A'lā*, and had conquered the city of Katak-u-Banāras, that mine of heathenism, and having made the stronghold of Jaganāt'h into the home of Islām, held sway from Kāmrū[5] to

[1] By one shot. Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī, Elliot V, 358.
[2] The eighth month.
[3] See p. 57.
[4] The Text has sometimes *Tulambah*, at others *Tulabnah*.
[5] That is *Kāmrūp* in Assam.

Oṛisā, attained the mercy of God. His son Bāyazīd succeeded him; but in the course of five or six months he was slain by the Afghāns, and his brother Dā'ūd bin Sulaimān attained the sovereignty.

In this year, or in the year preceding, that remnant of the saints, and essence of the pure, that illuminator of the thoughts of the heart, and examiner into the secrets of sin, that attracted pilgrim, the righteous in his acts, Shaikh Nizām-ud-dīn Ambit'hī[1]-Wālī 164 (God sanctify his spirit!) attained translation from this miserable caravanserai to the eternal habitation. A summary of the events of the life of that possessor of Perfection and Ecstasy will be inserted (if God will) in the account of the Shaikhs of the period.

In the year nine hundred and eighty-one (981) the Emperor mounted a dromedary, to go and quench the fire of rebellion in Gujrāt and to settle the affairs of those disturbances, and by forced marches went in the course of nine days from Fatḥpūr to Aḥmadābād, and fought a battle with the army which was besieging A'zam Khān in the fortress. He came off victorious, and returned to the Seat of the Khālifate.

The following is an epitome of those events. When the Emperor came the first time after giving Aḥmadābād to Khān-i A'zam, the rebels raised a general revolt in that place and followed each his own devices. Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk[2] Gujrātī taking all the Abyssinians with him seized Aḥmadnagar and that neighbourhood; and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā came from the Dak'hin and first of all endeavoured to reduce Sūrat; but Qulīj Khān shut himself up in that place and succeeded in keeping him at bay and repulsed him. So he retired on Kambhāyat[3] and took possession of that place. A'zam Khān marched himself against Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk. Several engagements took place between the two opposed forces between Aḥmadnagar and Idar, and the claim of victory was put to the arbitration of the sword. And he commissioned Nourang Khān, son of Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān together with Sayyid Ḥāmid to go toward Kambhāyat against Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā. Muḥammad Ḥusain

[1] *Ambit'hī* is a town in the confines of Lak'hnou. Vol. III, p. 15 Text.
[2] Comp. p. 152.
[3] That is *Cambay*.

Mīrzā in many fierce encounters showed time after time the greatest obstinacy and valour, but at last he suffered defeat and fled and
165 joined Ikhtiyār Khān. The sons of Shēr Khān Fūlādī, and the son of Jahjār Khān Ḥabshī also helped to swell his numbers and to turn the balance of power in his favour. Their intention was to go by forced marches by a different route, and so reach Aḥmadābād. Khān-i A'zam outstripped them and got there first. Then he sent for Quṭb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān from Bahroṇch, and not having full confidence in some of his men he shut himself up in the fortress. Then the Gujrātīs with a force of nearly 20,000 men, consisting of Moghuls, Gujrātīs, Afghāns, Abyssinians, and Rajpūts came and besieged him. Skirmishes took place every day, and Fāzil Muḥammad Khān, son of Rashīd Khān-i Kalān was slain in one of those encounters. Khān-i A'zam kept sending daily dispatches to the Court, and urging the Emperor to come to his assistance. Accordingly he issued orders to the Dīvāns to supply with necessaries those Amīrs who had not gone with him on the former expedition, and to pay ready money from the imperial treasury to those soldiers who had served in the last campaign, which had lasted a whole year, and were now without accoutrements. To Ḥusain Qulī Khān he gave the title of Khān Jahān, and appointed him, with the Amīrs of the Panjāb, to that province, and Sa'īd Khān he appointed to Multān, and sent them to their respective destinations. Shujā'at Khān he sent forward with camp equipage, and set out himself on Sunday the twenty-fourth of Rabī'us sānī[1] mounted on camels fleet of foot and swift as the wind, and passing by way of Basāwar and Todah accomplished 100 *cosses* in two days. On the 26th of that month he arrived at Ajmīr, at the blessed shrine of that Bestower of Splendour[2] (may the peace of the mighty God be on its inhabitants!), and attained the honour of paying a visit to that honoured shrine, and afterwards on the same day he continued his march. At the village of Bāliyānah he reviewed the army, and settled the distribution of the forces. He gave Mīrzā Khān,[3] son of the late Khān Khānān Bairam Khān, the

[1] The fourth month.

[2] Khwājah Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishtī.

[3] See Elphinstone, p. 513, note.

command of the centre. (He is now the Khān Khānān and has been appointed to subdue the Dak'hin.) And Sayyid Maḥmūd 166
Khān Bārha and Çādiq Muḥammad Khān and others he associated with him. The command of the right wing he gave to Nūr Muḥammad Khān-i Kalān, that of the left wing to Wazīr Khān, and that of the vanguard to Muḥammad Qulī Khān and Tarkhān Dīwānah. He kept under his own command 100 horse, all veterans and picked men out of thousands. His whole force did not consist of more than 3,000 horse.

On Tuesday the 3rd of Jamāda'l- avval they arrived at the village of Karī, 20 *cosses* from Aḥmadābād. A detachment of the enemy issued from the fortress, and drew themselves up across the line of march of the imperial force. A battle took place, and in the twinkling of an eye the enemy became food for the sword and were annihilated. Since the Empe or had given no orders for the taking of the fortress, they pressed on 5 *cosses* further, and when the imperial cavalcade came up, they halted there to rest. Then the Emperor distributed arms to the men from his private armoury, so that all might be fully armed. Āçaf Khān was sent in advance to open up communications with Khān-i A'zam. At this time the enemy were steeped in the sleep of negligence. When they heard the sound of the trumpets, they rushed in confusion to mount their horses, and Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā with two or three horsemen rode to the banks of the river to find out what it meant. It happened that Turk Subḥān Qulī had also gone down to the river from our side with two or three men. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā asked him: "My lord, what army is that?" "The imperial army" he replied. The Mīrzā said, "My scouts informed me to-day that they had left him fourteen days' ago at Fatḥpūr. If this be the imperial army, where are the elephants which always accompany it?" The other replied, "How could elephants travel a distance of 400 *cosses* by 167
forced marches in nine days!" Then Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā commenced the attack with the army in battle array, after sending Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk with 5,000 horse against Khān-i A'zam to prevent his making a sally from the fortress. The imperial army crossed the river, but Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā anticipated them, and with

1,500 devoted Moghuls (who had already attained the title of Khān, and were on the look out for further promotion and *jāgīrs*, and were men of great determination) charged the vanguard, where Muḥammad Qulī Khān and Tarkhān Dīwānah were stationed, and swept them before him. The Abyssinians and Afghāns together charged the left wing, which was under Wazīr Khān, and the warriors on both sides having come into contest a hundred lives were worth but a barley-corn :—

"Down to the fish[1] and up to the moon went
The foot of the standard and the knob of the tent.
The air became blue, and the ground black;
The river boiled at the sound of the drums.
With his finger he directed the army to the plain,
An army that knew no bounds.
The royal bow came to the string,
One said *Take*, and the other said *Give*."

The battle raged so furiously that the event will be remembered for revolutions of generations and ages. Now, when the Emperor saw that his vanguard was giving way, he raised the cry "*Yā Mu'īn!*"[2] which at that period, and on that day, was his battle-cry, and making a desperate charge broke the ranks of the enemy, and dispersed them in the direst confusion: and many heads were scattered to the wind. Saif Khān Kokah at this juncture charged the ranks of the enemy, and plunged into that whirlpool from which he never rose again. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā did all that mortal endurance is capable of in that valley of strife and gallantry, and was not even wounded. But at last his spirit exhausted itself, and his horse being wounded he fled from the field. His path happened to be intercepted by a hedge of thorns, which he endeavoured to make his horse leap, when
168 suddenly inexorable Fate seized his reins, and dragging him from the saddle threw him to the ground. One Gadāī 'Alī by name,

[1] In old Persian poetry the world is said to be supported on a *fish*; but, according to Indian notions, upon a *tortoise*.

[2] "O Helper!"

a Turkī who had been hotly pursuing him, immediately sprung upon him and took him prisoner and brought him to the Emperor. He with his usual kindness and good nature contented himself with reprimanding him, and delivered him over to the charge of Rāī Singh. Meanwhile Wazīr Khān was contending manfully with the Abyssinians and Gujrātīs, and in this hand-to-hand contest displayed his hereditary valour. When the enemy heard of the defeat of Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, they turned their backs on the field of battle, and valuing dear life more than the chance of conquering kingdoms saved their lives by fleetness of foot. At the same time Khān-i Kalān performed his part in the action by utterly defeating the sons of Shēr Khān Fūlādī. And so the field was cleared of all trace of the enemy :—

"Thy servants in the field of battle are like tailors,
Though they are not tailors, O King conqueror of realms!
By the ell of the spear they measure the stature of thine enemies,
That they may cut them up with the sword, and sew them with arrows."

After the victory was gained, the Emperor ascended a hill which skirted the field of battle, and applied himself to investigating the individual acts of prowess of the combatants, when suddenly Ikhtiyār-ul mulk, who had been employed in keeping Khān-i A'zam from joining the Emperor, when he heard the news of the defeat of the Mīrzās, left off blockading the city and made his appearance on the open plain with 5,000 horsemen. Great commotion was observable among his men, and a great hubbub arose, so the Emperor ordered a body of men to discharge arrows at them. They raised a terrific shout of "*Yā Mu'īn!*" and stretched on the dust of death the band which was marching in advance of Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk. Now Ḥusain Khān was of the number of the very foremost in the conflict, so that the Emperor presented him with his own crescent cimeter which was the most renowned of cimeters. And Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk having broken his bridle fled with one rein, 169

till his horse fell into a bed of prickly-plants, like an ass into clay, and the swift-footed steed of his life also lost its footing, and became the spoil of the Turk of Avenging Death. Sohrāb Bēg Turkmān, who was pursuing him, came up and seized him. At this juncture Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk said: "Young man you seem to be a Turkmān, now Turkmāns are followers of the blessed 'Alī and of his friends.[1] I am a Sayyid of Bukhāra, spare me." Sohrāb Bēg replied: "How can I spare you? You are Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk. I recognized you and have been pursuing you headlong." With that he alighted from his horse and struck his head from his body. Meanwhile some one else went off with his horse, so he tucked up the head in his skirt and walked off with it to the Emperor, and obtained favourable notice. Nearly 1000 heads fell on that battle-field and the Emperor ordered them to make a minâret out of those heads,[2] that it might serve as a warning to rebels. At the very time that the turmoil of battle with Ikhtiyar-ul-mulk ceased, the servants of Rāī Singh made Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā descend from the elephant, and dispatching him with a blow with a hand-spear sent him to the world of non-existence. And they sent his head and that of Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk to Āgrah:—

"Why dost thou tell the story of eloquence?
Hear a tale from Death,
That he may tell to the careless, deaf, and blind:
To whom I have given, from whom taken strength;
How I have bound the hands of kings;
In what fashion I have laid low palaces.
That he may tell thee how I break heroes,
Head and body and neck.
That when thou hast heard, through pride of power
Thou mayest not set thy heart on this faithless life."

At this time Khān-i A'zam came out of the fortress and paid his homage to the Emperor, who embraced him, and treated him with the greatest attention, and enquired with kindness after his welfare

[1] That is, are *Shī'ahs*, not *Sunnīs*.
[2] Comp. p. 10.

and that of the other Amirs. The Emperor remained five days 170
at the dwelling of I'timād Khān. He sent Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān, with his son Nourang Khān towards Baḥroṇch and Chānpānīr to exterminate Shāh Mīrzā; and Khān-i Kalān he appointed to the government of Patan, and Wazīr Khān to Dūlaqah and Dandūqah. And Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥarram, and Rājah Bhagwān Dās, and Lashkar Khān Bakhshī he sent off by way of Idar towards Āgrah and Fatḥpūr, to reduce the district of Rānā Udai Singh; and the town of Badnagar[1] was taken by them. On the 16th of Jamāda'l avval[2] he himself marched from Aḥmadābād and encamped at Maḥmūdābād one of the dwelling places of Sultan Maḥmūd of Gujrāt. And from Dūlaqah he gave Khan-i A'zam and the other Amīrs permission to leave that quarter. Mīrzā Ghiyās-ud-dīn 'Alī Qazwīnī received the title of *Āçaf Khān*, and was appointed *Dīwān* and *Bakhshī* of Gujrāt. On the 3rd of Jamāda's-sānī[3] the Emperor arrived at Ajmīr, and while staying at Sangānīr he appointed Rājah Todarmal (who had remained at Āgrah with a view to fitting out 1000 vessels and boats) to go and examine into the state of the revenues of Gujrāt. On the 7th of Jamāda's-sanī the imperial cavalcade arrived at the metropolis. The whole time of his going and coming did not occupy one month and a half.

On the 25th of this month the rite of circumcision was performed on their imperial highnesses the Emperor's sons. And on the 22nd of the month Rajab[4] the prince Sulṭān Salīm received the tablet of instruction from the hand of the God-fearing Mulānā Mīr Kalan,[5] the traditionalist of Herāt (who was an angel in human form, and had been instructed by his reverence the paragon of traditionalists Mīrak Shah bin Mīr Jamāl-ud-dīn), and learnt the lesson "In the name of the gracious and merciful God. The Merciful-One taught the Qur'ān."[6]

[1] *Barnagar*, Elliot V, 369.
[2] The fifth month.
[3] The sixth month.
[4] The seventh month.
[5] See Vol. iii, p. 151 Text.
[6] Al Qur'ān LV. 1.

171 In this year the Emperor recalled Muzaffar Khān, who had been appointed governor of Sārangpūr, and appointed him prime minister, and gave him in addition to his other titles that of Jumlat-ul-mulk. And the Emperor ordered the debts of Shaikh Muḥammad of Bokhāra, who was killed in the battle of Patan, and of Saif Khān, who fell in the last battle of Aḥmadābād, to be paid out of the public treasury. They amounted to a *lac* of rupees.

And in this year the Emperor presented a sword to Rājah Todarmal, when he brought with him a clear balance-sheet of the accounts of Gujrāt. Then he sent him in conjunction with Lashkar Khān *Bakhshī* (whom most of the people of Hind call Shēr Khān) to attempt the conquest of Bengāl in the service of Mun'im Khān, the Khān Khānān. To Shahr-ullāh Kambūī of Lāhōr he gave the title of Shahbāz Khān, and appointed him *Mīr-bakhshī*, and this rhyme was sealed with his name :—

> " By the blessing of the favours of the Lord of Conjunction
> I have reached *Shahbāz Khān*-hood from servitude."

At this time Mīr Muḥassan Razwī returned from an embassy to the Dak'hin, and brought suitable presents from the rulers of that country. On the 16th of Shavvāl of this year the Emperor determined on a pilgrimage to Ajmīr intending to pray for assistance in the conquest of Bengāl. At the village of Dāīr, which is four *cosses* from Fatḥpūr, his reverence the refuge of direction, and possessor of saintship, Khwājah 'Abd-ush-shahīd,[1] grandson of Khwājah Aḥrār (may God sanctify his tomb!), made intercession for the release of Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain, but was refused. Although the Emperor did not neglect any marks of due honour and respect, and publicly even read the *Fatiḥah*,[2] still his reverence felt much grief at the refusal, and went away much saddened. At 7 *cosses* from Ajmīr the Emperor
172 alighted, and on the 12th of Zī-qa'dah[3] he was honoured with the privilege of paying a visit to the blessed burial-place.

[1] See Vol. iii, p. 40 Text.
[2] Al Qur'ān I. See Sale *in loco*.
[3] The eleventh month.

On the 17th of this month took place the entrance of the earth-illumining sun, which is the greatest heavenly body and the light-giver of the world, into the constellation of Aries[1] :—

> " The body of the Sun, when it comes from the Fish to the Ram.
> The white horse of day makes the black horse of night white
> of one foot."

And because of the dignity of this day, which he observed every year and passed in joy and gladness, he held a high feast in the ancient fashion, and distributed the sum of a *lac* of rupees to every class of person present at the assembly. On the 23rd of the month Zī-qa'dah the Emperor marched out of Ajmīr (which in grandeur may vie with Constantinople itself), and arriving at his capital he set on foot preparations for an expedition to Bengāl, and gave orders for the building of boats. Of that number one boat was lion-prowed, and another crocodile-prowed. And verily only sea-going vessels have such beam and draught.

Towards the end of the month Zī-ḥajjah of this year the Author by reason of destiny, which is a chain round the foot of decision, having parted with Ḥusain Khān, and come from Badāūn to Āgrah, was introduced at Court by Jamāl Khān Qurchī, and the late Galen-like physician 'Ayn-ul-mulk.[2] And since in those days the chattels of learning had considerable currency, I was dignified with the honour of a conversation the moment I came, and was enrolled in the number of the attendants at his assemblies. The Emperor made me dispute with sages, who boast of their depth of science, and who admit no uninitiated into their presence, and was himself the arbiter. By the grace of God, and the strength of my natural talent, and the sharpness of my intellect, and the courage, which is inherent in youth, I overcame most of them. When at the time of presentation they described me as follows: " This worthy of Badāūn has 173
broken the head of Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Sirhindī," the Emperor desired

[1] The vernal equinox, the *nourōzi jalālī*, the beginning of the 19th year of the *Dāhī*, or era of Akbar.
[2] See Vol. iii; p. 164 Text.

that I should be presented at once, and his commands were issued to that effect. Shaikh Abd-un-Nabī, the *Chief Çadr*,[1] was very much offended with me because I had not made use of him to obtain my introduction. He used to take the opposite side to myself in disputation, but the proverb came true "He that is bitten by a snake takes opium," so that enmity by degrees turned into friendship.

About this time Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, son and heir of Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgōr, the star of whose knowledge and understanding was brilliant, came to Court, and received many marks of distinction.

In this year a lofty college and high and spacious palaces were built on the road to Ajmīr. And the cause of this was as follows: His Majesty's extreme devotion induced him every year to go on a pilgrimage to that city, and so he ordered a palace to be built at every stage between Āgrah and that place, and a pillar to be erected and a well sunk at every *coss*. Ever so many hundreds of thousands of stags' horns, which the Emperor had killed during the course of his life were placed on these pillars as a memorial to the world. And *Mīl-shākh*[2] "Mile-horn" gives the date. Would that instead of these he had ordered gardens and caravansarais to be made!

In this year at the instigation of Shahbāz Khān Kambū the custom of branding[3] the government horses came into practice. And with one stroke of the pen he commanded the appointment of tax-gatherers throughout the whole empire, and that lands should be held directly from the Crown, as shall be narrated, if God (He is exalted!) will.

In the latter part of the month Çafar[4] of the year nine hundred and eighty-two (982) the Emperor embarked on board the crocodile-prowed vessel with the intention of conquering Bengal. The reason for this journey was as follows: When Sulaimān Afghān Kararānī died, who from the time of Islīm Shāh had held the district of Bengāl and become quite independent, his son Bāyazīd succeeded him for a time, but on account of his bad conduct after a short

[1] He held the office from 971 to 986.
[2] 40 + 10 + 30 + 300 + 1 + 600 = 981.
[3] See Blochmann *Āīn* 55, p. 139.
[4] The second month.

space of time he was murdered by the contrivance of his brother-in-law 174
Hansū and other Amīrs. Then Dāūd the younger son of Sulaimān who was his heir, took upon himself the title of king, and omitted the custom observed by Sulaimān of sending messages to inform the Emperor of his accession to power, and to assure him of his loyalty. News of the death of Sulaimān reached the Emperor at the fortress of Sūrat, and he immediately issued a *farmān* to the Khān Khānān, Mun'im Khān, who was at that time at Jounpūr, to chastise Dāūd and conquer the kingdom of Bihār. The Khān Khānān levied a large army, and having seized two *lacs* of rupees and other goods and precious things as tribute settled the matter peaceably, and returned. Dāūd, who was then at Ḥājīpūr, at the instigation of Katlū Khān, governor of Jagannāth, by cunning management in exciting his cupidity for an elephant, got his Amīr-ul-Umarā Lodī into his power and imprisoned him. He had been governor of Orissa, but had since taken a hostile course and had assumed independent and absolute authority in the Fortress of Rohtās. They tell the story that one day Dāūd went out hunting with a small escort, and that Lodī with 10000 horsemen of Sulaimān's formed the design of putting down Dāūd. But Daūd went back to the city, assembled his forces, and scattered Lodī's followers. By his crafty management he got Lodī into his power, and appropriated all that he possessed. Lodī, knowing his death to be certain, did not withhold his advice from Dāūd. He said: "Although I know that you will be very sorry after my death, and that you will derive no benefit from it, still I give you one piece of advice, which if you act upon, you will prove victorious. And that is, that you place no reliance upon that 175
peace which I effected not long ago by means of two *lacs* of rupees. The Moghuls will never let you alone for this trifling sum. Be beforehand with them, and make war on them immediately, for there is nothing like the first blow." Dāūd thought that he had an evil design in what he said, and proud of the hollow peace which he had made with the Khān Khānān, but which was no better than a mirage, he put the devoted Lodī to death. Thus he struck his own foot with the axe, and at the same time uprooted the plant of his prosperity with the spade of calamity. When the Khān Khanān

heard this news, his loaf fell into the butter[1] and he turned towards Patnah and Ḥājīpūr. Then Dāūd began to recognize the worth of Lodī, and repented of having put him to death; but what was the good of it!

"The horse of your fortune was under your thigh,
If you did not make haste, what could one do!
The dice of life were to your wishes,
But you played badly, what could one do!"

Having repaired the wreck and ruin of the fortress of Patnah, without even drawing his sword, or a single arrow being fitted to the bow, he shut himself up in the fortress. But on account of his drunkenness and injustice his people deserted from him, until the Emperor at the aforementioned date appointed Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān to the command of the army and sent him forward by land, and left Shahāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān in charge of Āgrah, and himself set off by river. The following *rubā'ī* was composed on the occasion:—

The justice-distributing and religion-protecting Emperor
The world-conquering Jamshīd Muḥammad Akbar,
Sat on the back of the sea; like Sikandar[2]
Both sea and land became subject to him.

The Emperor took his eldest son with him. The face of the water
176 was hidden by the number of boats and vessels. And through the congratulations of the *Khārwāhā*, who are a sort of sailors used to the river, and through their shouts and cries in the language peculiar to them, the birds of the air and the fish of the water were well nigh made to dance. And such a spectacle presented itself as no words can possibly describe. Every day the Emperor used to disembark and occupy himself in hunting, and at night he would cast anchor, and would spend it in searching into science and poetry, and in recitals and repetitions.

[1] Roebuck's Proverbs, p. 54. The proverb means "He was in luck."

[2] Alexander the Great is said to have sailed down to the ocean, and to have launched a boat on it—referring to his going down the Hydaspes. See Arrian VI, 3 and Thirlwall's Hist. Vol. VII, p. 34, Chap LIV near the beginning.

On the 23rd of the month Çafar mentioned above the Emperor encamped at Payāg, which is commonly called Ilāhābās, where the waters of the Ganges and Jumna unite. The infidels consider this a holy place, and with a desire to obtain the rewards which are promised in their creed, of which transmigration is one of the most prominent features, they submit themselves to all kinds of tortures. Some place their brainless heads under saws, others split their deceitful tongues in two, others enter Hell by casting themselves down into the deep river from the top of a high tree:—

"Although he committed the crime for the sake of reward,
He went to Hell all the same by that road of water."

He laid the foundations of a great building, and left the name of that city *Ilāhābād*. From Banāras he sent Shēr Bēg Tawāchī in a very swift vessel to the Khān Khānān. And on the second of the month Rabi'-us-sānī[1] from a place called Yaḥyāpūr, one of the environs of Jounpūr, which is the meeting-place of the waters of the Ganges and the Gowadī,[2] he had the boats of the Prince, with the ladies of the harem, and the judges and justices, towed against the stream of the Gowadī and sent to Jounpūr. He himself went up the river two or three days' journey, and then returning in accordance with a request of the Khān Khānān in the greatest haste towards the Ganges, he gave rein to his river-drinking crocodiles. At this halting-place news arrived of the death of Sultān Mahmūd of Bakkar, and of Muḥib Alī Khān's having taken possession of that kingdom. On the 6th of the aforesaid month the army arrived by land at the environs of the city of Ghāzīpūr, and at this halting-place I'timād Khān, *Khwājah Sarāi*, came to the Emperor from the Khān 177
Khānān and related at length the state of the army of the Khān Khānān, and pressed him to make as much haste as possible. On the seventh of this month Sayyid Mīrak Ispahānī a man learned in charms, who after the defeat of Khān Zaman[3] had lived at Jounpūr, at the instigation of Naqīb Khān studied a great book of

[1] The fourth month.

[2] Often called *Gumtī*; but the name is properly *Gumatī*, *i.e.*, "having-cows."

[3] See p. 99.

sortilege, and when he had selected the letters and arranged and compounded them, the following verse came out as the omen :—

" With quickness Akbar through royal fortune
Will take the kingdom out of the hand of Dāūd."

And it so happened that it turned out just in that way. And on his return, when he was encamped at Jounpūr, the afore-mentioned Sayyid hastened to do homage to the Emperor, and offered him another omen. And this verse also came true :—

" The news of the victory suddenly comes,
The head of Dāūd comes to the Court."

The compiler of this epitome was at that time a friend of his, and I asked leave of him to study that lore, and he consented. But he said that this lore was a special privilege of the Sayyids, and that there was a certain condition attached to the matter, which was fundamental, and the observance of which was indispensable. At last I found out that this indispensable condition was the embracing of the doctrines of the foolish Shī'ah-s! This sort of omen like all omens is a forgery and an invention, for any one who has a little thinking power can invent the like of it, as came to my own experience and was seen by me. And in those days, without the favour of the instruction of the Sayyid, I practised it myself. The wiser Jāmī tells us :—

" The augur of the time, drunk and a stranger,
Sets forth his books in this way :
Not fearing the things of the next world,
And not asking about the things of salvation,
Having written some letters, by their side
And below them written some numbers,
Having conceived in himself an empty imagination
Entirely devoid of the ornament of wisdom,
178 A trouble to man, and a plague to men of science,
What is their *jafar*,[1] O *Ja'fari* Çādiq, ?

[1] *Jafar* means " charm," " sortilege." *Ja'fari Qādiq* is one of the Imāms, see p. 36, *note* 2. There is here a play on the two words of similar sound.

Ja'fari Çādiq is angry with you,
To the Çādiq-s there is a reproach from the liars.
It is better that the people of dignity and pomp,
Who have not their equals in the world,
Although [these augurs] are for wisdom the talk of the world,
Should not buy this tinsel of those asses.
Those jewels which the excellent have strung,
Those sciences which the learned have sung,
In the ear of their mind are but wind,
Their nature is pleased by avoiding such,
They call them all old and shrivelled [and say],
How in a dried up thing can there be any *fresh* taste ?'
I know not what you mean by this '*fresh*'—
Who calls the taste of new wine '*fresh*' ?
The pretender who boasts of '*freshness*'
Let him spin his warp and woof '*afresh*.'
The old he has lost, and has not got the new,
The old he has dropped, and has not reaped the new."

On the 20th of the month Rabi'-us-sānī[1] the Emperor encamped at Jousā, and there news arrived from the Khān Khānān, that 'Īsā Khān Niyāzī, one of the great Amīrs of the Afghāns, who is generally known as Shujā'at, had made a sortie from the Fortress of Patnah with war-elephants and a considerable force, and had joined battle, and been slain by the hand of a *ghulām* of Lashkar Khān's. And at this time Muḥammad Ma'çūm, son of Hāshim Khān the brother of Shahāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān (who was himself in the army of the Khān Khānān, and his son with the Emperor in the fleet) used every day to bring news from that army, and bring information from his father to the Emperor. By this means he rose to high favour, and the Emperor gave him the title of Khān—till at length what insurrections and rebellions did he not raise, what sword did he not draw, and what fruit did he not reap ! as shall be related in its place, if God (He is exalted !) will.

On the 10th of this month the Emperor encamped at the town of

[1] The fourth month.

Romnī,[1] one of the dependencies of Bhojpūr, an old halting-place. From this place he sent Qāsim 'Alī Khān Baqqāl to the Khān Khānān with a view to asking him what he advised to be done.
179 He quickly returned, and brought news from thence. When the Emperor asked him about Ḥusain Khān, and his brother Kūchak Muḥammad Khān (who had been appointed to help the Khān Khānān), he, on account of his badness of heart and malevolence of disposition, and among other things on account of a grudge which he had against him at Badāūn caused by the contiguity of their *jāgīrs*, said: "The brother of Ḥusain Khān, Kūchak Khān, remains in the service, but Ḥusain Khān himself has gone from Kānt-u Golah to the neighbourhood of Lak'nou and Oudh, and is hovering round and harrying the Banjār-s.[2]" The Emperor was very much vexed at this bad assistance on the part of Ḥusain Khān, and the effect of his displeasure soon became evident. For, on his return, the Emperor would not admit him to Court, and took away his *jāgīr*. At last he took his own course, and went to the Mountains of the North, where he made war with the infidels, and was wounded. Disabled by this wound he came to Āgrah, where he gave up his soul to the Beloved, as shall be afterwards narrated, if the glorious God will.

On the 16th of this month the Emperor encamped at the halting-place of the Khān Khānān near to Panjpahārī, two or three *cosses* distant from Patnah, where are five high towers close together, which the Indian infidels of former times had raised of baked bricks. The Khān Khānān scattered as *nisār* several caskets full of pearls, and brought as presents precious things and valuable silks, which were beyond all computation. From this place the Emperor dispatched with Khān-i 'Ālam into the midst of the raging stream 3000 fully equipped horsemen in boats with such ornamentation and display, that at the sight of it the eye was rejoiced, and filled with all stores and munitions necessary for taking the fortress of Ḥājīpūr, from which place aid used to come to the men of Patnah. And Rājah Kachhīī,[3] whose army and

[1] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Elliot V, 376) has Domnī.

[2] A tribe whose business it is to be carriers of grain. They are usually left unmolested by belligerents.

[3] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Elliot V, 377) has *Gajpati*.

strength was such, that for the space of two years he had kept the Khān Zamān uselessly employed in jungle-cutting and fighting, —and even yet that jungle is not as clear as it ought to be— 180 was appointed to go to the assistance of Khān-i 'Ālam with a following numerous as ants or locusts, and a multitude of horses and mares. Then they joined battle having surrounded Ḥājīpūr both by land and by water. The Emperor stationed himself on a high eminence by the waterside to view the battle. But, when on account of the distance and the thick smoke it became no longer visible, he placed some experienced soldiers in a boat, and in the afternoon sent them towards Ḥājīpūr to obtain definite news. Then the garrison of the fortress set in motion against them 18 boats full of warriors. After a severe struggle this handful of men came off victorious against that great host, and joined Khān-i 'Ālam. On the other side Fatḥ Khān Bārha with a strong body of Afghāns was maintaining an obstinate resistance. But he fell, and the fortress was taken by assault. The heads of the chiefs, together with the heads of others, were put into a boat and sent to the Emperor, and these he sent into the fort for Dāūd to see, that they might prove to him a warning and a scare. And this *mnemosynon* was composed and presented to his Majesty:—

"The umbrella of the King of religion for the conquest of Patnah,
When it threw its shadow over the district of Patnah,
On the spur of the moment the Munshī of thought
Wrote for its date: *Fatḥ-i bilād-i Patnah*."[1]

The next day the Emperor mounted the Panj-pahārī to get a comprehensive view of the fortress of Patnah, and he reconnoitred it on all sides. And the Afghāns, making a last stand determined to fight to the death, kept firing great gun shots, which from a distance of 3 *cosses* fell into the camp (!). And one shot passed over the head of the author, who was in the tent of Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān Jokān Bēgī, governor of Biyānah and Bajūnah, and God (He is exalted!) protected me, and gave me some days respite; but I do not know how long this respite will last:—

[1] "The taking of the town of Patnah." 80 + 400 + 8 + 2 + 30 + 1 + 4 + 2 + 400 + 50 + 5 = 982.

181 "However much I have wandered about the world of form,
Adam was sorrowful, and his descendants helpless,
Every one in his own degree is a victim to sorrow,
To none is given a passport [of exemption]."

After the fall of Ḥājīpūr, Dāūd, although he had 20,000 horsemen and fierce war-elephants without number, and powerful artillery, fled shaking with terror, and on the night of the 21st of this month he got into a boat, and making a free choice of flight set the road to Gour as the goal of his cowardice. And Sarhor[1] Hindī Bengālī, who had been the instigator of the death of Lodī, and had received the title of Bikramajīt,[2] placed his treasures in a boat, and followed him. And Gūjar Khān Kararānī (who had the title of *Rakn-ud-doulah*) sent the elephants forward, and himself made precipitately for the plain. Great numbers through fear cast themselves into the river, and were drowned in the deluge of death. Another body, like madmen, threw themselves to the ground from the tower and walls of the fortress, and filled up the deep moat with their corpses. Another section were crushed under foot by the elephants in the narrow parts of the streets. When the fugitives arrived at the river Panpan, Gūjar Khān sent the elephants over by the bridge which they had constructed over it, and proceeded on his way. But through the crush of people the bridge broke down, and many renowned leaders of the Afghāns throwing away their baggage and arms cast themselves naked into the river, and never lifted again their heads from the whirlpool of death. Later on in the evening the Emperor heard of the flight of Dāūd, and entered the city of Patnah, and took 56 elephants in the city as spoil. The following hemistich gives the date :—

"The kingdom of Sulaimān passed from Dāūd,"[3]

He left the Khān Khānān in charge of the place, and himself went off in pursuit of Gūjar Khān, who had all the elephants of Dāūd

[1] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Elliot V, 378) has *Srīdhar*.
[2] Sanak. *Vikrama-ditya*
[3] 40 + 30 + 20 + 60 + 30 + 10 + 40 + 1 + 50 + 7 + 4 + 1 + 6 + 4 + 200 + 80 + 400 = 983.

with him. He swam over the river Panpan on horseback, and arrived at Daryāpūr on the bank of the Ganges distant 26 *cosses* from Patnah. He hastened on by forced marches, and about 400 elephants 182
fell into his hands, but Gūjar Khān escaped. Shahbāz Khān *Mīr Bakhshī*, and Majnūn Khān, who had followed him, went 7 *cosses* beyond Daryāpūr, and brought word that Gūjar Khān had crossed a small river called Balbhūnd, and that many of his men had been drowned.

On the 21st of the afore-mentioned month the Khān Khānān came by water to Daryāpūr, and brought all the shipping with him. The Emperor remained 6 days at this place. He gave him 10,000 horsemen as an additional reinforcement from the Amīrs who were with him, and all the boats which had come with him from Āgrah, and having increased the allowance of the army in the proportion of 10 : 30 or 10 : 40, and committed the whole management of the province of Bengāl to him, the Emperor left that place and returned to Ghiyāspūr, which is on the banks of the Ganges.

On the second of the month Jamāda'l-avval[1] of the afore-mentioned year the Emperor appointed Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān to the command of the world-traversing camp, and sent Muzaffar Khan with Farḥat Khān to reduce the fort of Rohtās, with orders that after he had taken it, he should leave the post of guarding it to Farḥat Khān, and himself return to the Court.

On the 3rd of this month the Emperor came to Patnah, and arranged the affairs of the place, and took a general view of the buildings of Dāūd. And one of the remarkable things is, that in that kingdom there are some houses called *chappar-band*, fetching 30,000 or 40,000 rupees each, although they are only covered with wood. And on the 6th of this month he went to Jounpūr, where he remained one month. He placed that place and Banāras directly under the royal exchequer, and gave the management of them to Mīrzā Mīrak Razwī, and Shaikh Ibrāhīm Sīkrī Wāl. On the 9th of Jamāda's-sānī[2] he set out for Dihlī the capital. He encamped at Khānpūr, 183
and while staying there Qāzī Nizām Badakhshī (who was the wisest of the wise of Badakhshān and Transoxiana, and had attained a thorough

[1] The fifth month.
[2] The sixth month.

acquaintance with the world of purity and the path of Çūfīism, and has left behind him a description of a portion of it, by the intervention of Fīrūzah Kābūlī (who was one of those born in the house of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and has great experience as a student of all kinds of knowledge, and writing, and musical intervals, and whose mental stature is wanting in nothing) came and did homage. And "*The learned Badakhshī*"[1] gives the date. Qāzī Nizām was presented with a jewelled sword-belt, and 5,000 rupees in ready money. And on account of his lofty understanding and readiness of wit he by degrees attained the title of Qāzī Khān, and afterwards that of Ghāzī Khān; and then he rose to the command of 3,000 men, while Fīrūzah, who was originally in more honour than himself, and was a jewel by birth, having beat a disgraceful retreat declined from what he was, and his business became reversed.

While encamped at this place a message came from the Khān Khānān to the effect, that when Dāūd fled from Patnah he went to Garhī, and having strengthened that fortress and committed it to honoured persons devoted to himself, hastened towards Tāndah. Immediately on the arrival of the Imperial army fear overcame the garrison, and without striking a blow, they evacuated it and fled.

In the month Jamadà'l-ākhir, while the camp was at Shērgaṛh (otherwise called Qannouj) a book called *Singh-āsan Battīsi*, which is a series of thirty-two tales about Rājah Bikramājīt king of Mālwa, and resembles the *Ṭuṭī-nāmah*, was placed in my hands; and I received his Majesty's instructions to make a translation of it in prose and verse. I was to begin the work at once, and present a leaf of my work on that very day. A learned Brāhman was appointed to interpret the book for me. On the first day I completed a leaf
184 containing the beginning of the first story, and when I presented it, His Majesty expressed his approbation. When the translation was finished, I called it *Nāmah-i Khirad-afzā*,[2] a name which contains the date of its composition. It was graciously accepted, and placed in the Library.

[1] 4 + 1 + 50 + 1 + 10 + 2 + 4 + 600 + 300 + 10 = 982.

[2] 50 + 1 + 40 + 5 + 600 + 200 + 4 + 1 + 80 + 7 + 1 = 989. The title means "The book of mental recreation."

At this time while at Karāūlī his reverence Khwājah 'Abd-ul-shahīd (God sanctify his spirit!) arrived on his way to Samarqand with a view to taking leave. He said:[1] "I wish to carry this handful of bones to that spot." He bound a sword round the Emperor's waist, and again[2] prayed for the release of Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain, but was refused. He was very much vexed and said: "What more can I say! He has lost his *Justice* and *Mercy*, I pray God that he may lose also the gift of *Faith*."[3] As soon as he arrived at Samarqand he was gathered, as he said he should be, to his honoured father (God sanctify their souls!)

On the 20th of Jamāda's-sānī[4] while halting at the town of Iskandarpūr news was brought, that Dāūd having left Tāndah (which is situate on the other side of the river Ganges opposite to Gour), without striking a single blow had gone towards the extreme desert and had arrived at Orissa, and that the Khān Khānān had taken possession of Tāndah. When the Emperor was 3 *cosses* distant from Āgrah he turned towards Dihlī the Metropolis, and at the beginning of the month Rajab * that mighty city having become the tent of his prosperity, he spent some days in visiting the blessed shrines. At this time Ḥusain Khān, who had come near to Patyālī and Bhongoun with the express purpose of paying homage, was not admitted to the presence, and his Majesty ordered Shahbāz Khān, *Mīr Bakhshī*, not to allow him to come within the rope which was stretched round the Emperor's tent. So he determined to become a Kalandar, and gave away to students and worthy people, and those who waited at the shrine of the late Emperor, and the people of the monasteries and schools, whatever he possessed in the way of elephants and camels and horses and other military stores. And "Alif[1] what hast thou?"[5] came true in his case:—

"For all this magnificence of the created world[6] 185
Is as nothing in the opinion of religious enthusiasts."

[1] See Vol. iii, p. 40 Text

[2] Compare p. 174.

[3] The three words are *Aman*, *Amān*, and *Imān*.

[4] The sixth month. * The seventh month

[5] To be stripped as bare as the letter *alif* is proverbial.

[6] Lit. of "be! and it was." Somewhat similarly the Creator is often called in post-biblical Hebrew "He who spake and the world was."

When this matter was reported to the Emperor, he becoming anxious to show him respect, sent him a present of a shawl from his own wardrobe, and an arrow from his own quiver, and gave orders, that he should keep for one season more the pargannas of Kānt o Golah, Patyālī &c., (which was a *jāgīr* worth 1 *kror*, 20 *lacs* of rupees), and that the tax-gatherers should not interfere with him, and that after he had put his troop on the footing required by the *dāgh omaḥallah*, he should receive a suitable *jāgīr*. So he, who through his extreme liberality and boundless extravagance, far beyond his power and resources, was not able to muster 10 horsemen, procrastinating through force of circumstances, at length arrived at his *jāgīr*, and kept trying to conquer (cf. p. 130) the northern mountains, and so left the Court, that his return is still *in nubibus* :—

"Give gold to a soldier, and he dies for you;
Withhold your gold, and he will go forth into the world."

In the beginning of Sha'bān[1] the Emperor left Dihlī for Ajmīr. While staying at Nārnoul Ḥasan Qulī Khān, Khān Jahān, waited upon him. Also Khān-i A'zam arrived by forced marches from Aḥmadābād. At the beginning of the blessed month of Ramazān he arrived within 7 *cossés* of Ajmīr, and dismounting in his accustomed manner made a pilgrimage to the shrine, and presented a pair of kettle-drums of Dāūd's, which he had vowed to the music gallery of his reverence the Khwājah Mu'īn (God sanctify his glorious tomb!). And daily according to his custom held in that sacred shrine by night intercourse with holy, learned, and sincere men, and *seances* for dancing and çūfiism took place. And the musicians and singers, each one of whom was a paragon without rival, striking their nails into the veins of the heart used to rend the soul with their mournful cries. And *dirhams* and *dīnars* were showered down like rain-drops.

At this time the Emperor appointed Ṭayib Khān, son of Muḥam-
186 mad Ṭāhir Khān *Mīr-farāghat* the commandant of Dihlī, with a body of tried warriors to go against Chandar Sen, son of Māldeo,

[1] The eighth month.

who was oppressing the faithful in the neighbourhood of Joudpūr and Sīwānah. On the arrival of this army he withdrew into the jungles, which were full of many trees, and fled.

In the middle of the blessed month of Ramazān the Emperor, dismissed Khāni A'zam to Gujrāt, and arrived by continued forced marches at Faṭhpūr at the end of this month.

In this year he sent Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥarram, and Jalāl Khān Qūrchī, and several others of the Amīrs to reduce the fortress of Sīwānah,[1] which was held by the grandsons of Māldeo. Jalāl Khān, who was one of the confidential friends, was the most complete master of mirth and wit, and it was not easy for any one else to acquire such a hold on the Emperor's disposition by force of companionship, as this man did. He fought manfully, and attained the grade of martyrdom. And in his case the saying came true: "He enjoyed this world, and won the next." When Shahbāz Khān Kambū came there, he in a very short time got possession of the fortress.

In this year the Emperor sent Mīr Gesū Bakāwal [Begī] to examine into the affairs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Bakkar, and to guard the fortress of Bakkar.

In this year there was in Gujrat both a general pestilence and also a dearness of grain, to such an extent that one *man* of *jawārī* sold for 120 *tankas*, and numberless people died.

And in this year Khwājah Amīna, the absolute Wazīr, surnamed Khwājah-i Jahān, answered the summons of God at Lakhnou at the time of the return of the army from Patnah. And Çabūḥī a poet in the height of his pomp and greatness composed this *rubā'ī* :—

"Thy door is Alexander's wall to people of merit,
Why do they say 'O Gog!' when thy army it is.
In thy generation all the signs of the Day of Judgment 187
are manifest,
Thou art Antichrist, and Khwājah Amīna is thy ass."[2]

Although he was a very by-word for stinginess to such an extent

[1] In Rajputana about 60 miles N. W. of Joudpūr.

[2] *Al-masīḥ-ul-dajjāl*, the false Christ, is according to Musalmān tradition the same whom the Jews call *Ham-Māshīaḥ ben Dāvid*. He is to appear first between Irāq and Syria, and to be riding upon an ass. See Sale's *Prelim. Disc.* Sec. IV.

that he used to eat up the remains of his evening meal, still in the line of getting things done for those who made petitions to the Emperor, whether they were strangers or friends, his equal was not to be found in the world. Whenever he wished to accomplish an affair for any one of the courtiers, he used to settle it for a bribe of gold, at the same time he caused to be given to himself by the Emperor a pāshā-tail, a kettle-drum, and the titles of Khān and Sultān, and whatever *jāgīr* he asked for he got it as a gift. And whatever man of learning or excellence came from Transoxiana, or Khorasān, or 'Irāq, or Hindūstān, he caused him to be endowed with a heavy sum of gold from the imperial treasury. Through his exertions also the Amīrs were able to afford a great expenditure, and even to the other courtiers he allowed pecuniary assistance to each in proportion to his state. For instance, for Ḥāfiz Tashkandī, who was one of the disciples of Rashīd Mulā 'Içām-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm Asfarāyanī (?) (who was without equal in the line of Arabic erudition, and who wrote a commentary on the Surah-i Muhammad[1] (peace be upon him!) from which his Çūfī ecstasy may clearly be recognized) he obtained from the Emperor and the Amīrs about 30,000 or 40,000 rupees. Eventually he went to Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān, with perfect appointments, and thence he started well supplied with gold to go to the sacred Makka in the year nine hundred and seventy-seven. When he returned home he died.

Among the witty sayings is the following. Ḥājī Ibrāhīm of Sarmind, who was proud and rude, and quarrelsome and contentious in argument, at one of the Emperor's select assemblies at the time of the presentation of the *Tafsīri Ḥāfiz* by Mīrzā Muflis, who was a master of religious philosophy,[2] asked "How is *Mūsā*[3] de-
188 clined?" and "what is the root of the word?" It so happened that the Mīrzā could not manage to answer as he ought to have done, and so to the people, brute-beasts as they are, the superiority of Ḥājī Ibrāhīm became an acknowledged fact. And this is but one of the many injustices of the time:—

[1] Al Qur'ān XLVII.
[2] See Blochmann, p. 541, *note*
[3] Moses.

"On account of their love of quarrelling some people
Have lost themselves in the street of hopelessness.
Every science, they have learnt in the college,
Will ruin and not profit them in the grave."

And when the Emperor asked the Qāzī's son Shukr, whom he had made Qāzī of Mat'hura, "Why do not you join in the discussion?" he answered: "If Ḥājī Ibrāhīm were to ask how to decline *'Īsā*,'[1] what answer should I give?" His Majesty very much applauded this speech. A matter of ten years has passed, from that time to this, and all that assembly of arguers and disputants, whether honest enquirers or shams, consisting of more than[2] a hundred people, not one of them now sees[3] [the light of the sun], but all their faces are under the veil of "Every soul tasteth death"[4]:—

"The grass is grown on the site of their dwelling,
It is as though they were gone to a *rendezvous*.
Of the tribe of dreg-drinkers none but us remain,
Bring the wine, for we are the only survivors—that's something!"

And now, when in conformity with [the Arabic saying] "A favour, when thou hast lost it, thou recognizest," I call to mind these my companions, a blood-stream of sorrow flows from my woe-begone eyes, and one laments and wails and says: "In this abode of sorrow would that they had remained a few days longer, for in any case they were an advantage! But now all personal intercourse with them is precluded":—

"To be in a prison in the company of friends
Is better than to be in a garden with strangers."

But as for me this crushed gnat, this copied picture, what cure have I, save the wound of disappointment and secret wail, may God forgive the past, and have mercy on the future:—

[1] Jesus.
[2] Comp. Text p. 226, l. 1, and 234, l. 1.
[3] Comp. *οἱ βλέποντες*.
[4] Al Qur'ān iii, 182; xxi, 36; xxix, 57.

189 "Lo! some we loved, the loveliest and best
That Time and Fate of all their Vintage prest,
Have drunk their Cup a Round or two before,
And one by one crept silently to Rest."[1]

In this year a new idea came into his mind for improving the cultivation of the country, and for bettering the condition of the *raiyats*. All the *pargannas* of the country, whether dry or irrigated, whether in towns or hills, in deserts and jungles, by rivers, reservoirs, or wells, were all to be measured, and every such piece of land as, upon cultivation would produce one *kror* of *tankas*, was to be divided off, and placed under the charge of an officer to be called *Krorī*, who was to be selected for his trustworthiness, whether known or unknown to the revenue clerks and treasurers, so that in the course of three years all the uncultivated land might be brought into cultivation, and the public treasury might be replenished. Security was taken from each one of these officers. The measurement was begun in the neighbourhood of Fatḥpūr. One *kror* was named Ādāmpūr, another Shethpūr, another Ayyūbpūr, and so on. according to the names of the various prophets. Officers were appointed, but eventually they did not carry out the regulations as they ought to have done. A great portion of the country was laid waste through the rapacity of the *Krorīs*, the wives and children of the *raiyats* were sold and scattered abroad and everything was thrown into confusion. But the *krorīs* were brought to account by Rājah Todar Mal, and many good men died from the severe beatings which were administered, and from the tortures of the rack and pincers. So many died from protracted confinement in the prisons of the revenue authorities, that there was no need of the executioner or swordsman, and no one cared to find them graves or grave-clothes. Their condition was like that of the devout Hindūs in the country of Kāmrūp, who having dedicat-
190 ed themselves to their idol, live for one year in the height of

[1] Omar Khayyām, transl. Fitzgerald, p. 5. The recension quoted by our Author gives the following:—

"Alas! for my friends are all gone from hand,
One by one they are become low at the foot of death.
They became weak-headed in the wine-party of life,
And became drunk one moment before us."

luxury, enjoying everything that comes to their hands; but at the end of the period, one by one they go and assemble at the idol temple, and cast themselves under the wheels of its car, or offer up their heads to the idol. The whole country, with the exception of those lands held immediately from the Crown (*Khāliçah*-lands), were held by the Amīrs as *jāgīr*: and as they were wicked and rebellious, and spent large sums on their stores and workshops, and amassed wealth, they had no leisure to look after the troops, or to take an interest in the people. In cases of emergency they came themselves with some of their slaves and Moghul attendants to the scene of the war; but of really useful soldiers there were none. Shahbāz Khān,[1] the *Mīr Bakhshī*, introduced the custom and rule of *dāgh u maḥall*, which had been the rule of Sulṭān 'Ala-ud-dīn Khiljī, and afterwards the law under Shēr Shāh. It was settled that every Amīr should commence as commander of twenty (*Bīstī*), and be ready with his followers to mount guard, carry messages, &c., as had been ordered; and when according to the rule he had brought the horses of his twenty troopers to be branded, he was then to be made a commander of 100 (*Çadī*), or of more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and camels in proportion to their command (*mançab*), according to the same rule. When they had brought to the muster their new contingent complete, they were to be promoted according to their merits and circumstances to the post of commander of 1000 (*Hazārī*), or 2000 (*Dūhazārī*), or even of 5000 (*Panjhazārī*), which is the highest command; but if they did not do well at the musters they were to be degraded. But notwithstanding this new regulation the condition of the soldiers grew worse, because the Amīrs did as they pleased. For they put most of their own servants and mounted attendants into soldiers' clothes, brought them to the musters, and performed everything according to their duties. But when they got their *jāgīrs* they gave leave to their mounted attendants, and when a new emergency arose, they mustered as many 'borrowed' soldiers as were required, and sent them away again, when they had served their purpose. Hence while the income and expenditure of the *mançabdār* 191 remained *in statu quo*, 'dust fell into the platter of the helpless

[1] On the text of this passage see Blochmann, p. 242, *note* 2.

soldier,' so much so, that he was no longer fit for anything. But from all sides there came a lot of low tradespeople, weavers and cotton-cleaners, carpenters, and green-grocers, both Hindū and Musalmān, and brought borrowed horses, got them branded, and were appointed to a command, or were made *Krorīs*, or *Aḥadīs*, or *Dākhilīs*[1] to some one; and when a few days afterwards no trace was to be found of the imaginary horse and the visionary saddle, they had to perform their duties on foot. Many times it happened at the musters, before the Emperor himself in his special audience hall that they were weighed in their clothes with their hands and feet tied when they were found to weigh from 2½ to 3 *man* more or less; and after inquiry it was found that they were all hired, and that their very clothes and saddles were borrowed articles. His Majesty then used to say, "With my eyes thus open I must give these men pay, that they may have something to live on." After some time had passed away His Majesty divided the Aḥadīs into *duaspah*,[2] *yakaspah*, and *nīmaspah*, in which latter case two troopers kept one horse together, and shared the stipulated salary, which amounted to six rupees:—

"Lo! see all this in my day, but ask no questions."

And this bazaar became much frequented, but the shop of real military-service[3] was deserted. But notwithstanding all this His Majesty's good luck overcame all enemies, so that large numbers of soldiers were not very necessary, and the Amīrs had no longer to suffer from the inconvenient reluctance of their followers.[4]

In this year Mun im Khān, Khān Khānān, sent Rājah Todar Mal with orders to go in pursuit of Dāūd towards Orissa, and Majnūn
192 Khān Qāqshāl to go towards G'horāg'hāt, and went himself to Katak Banāras, in which strong fortress Dāūd, after his flight from Tāndah, was endeavouring to shut himself up, and commenced operations against him. Majnūn Khān at G'horāg'hāt fought first of all against Sulaimān

[1] On these two terms see Blochm., p. 231.

[2] That is, having respectively one horse, two horses, and a half share in a horse.

[3] *Kash* = *Kamar* "girdle." Thus *Kashbandī* = *Kamarbandī* "military service."

[4] Turkī قشچي means a servant, but not a royal one.

Manklī the *jāgīr-dār* of that district, who was distinguished for the number of his forces, the greatness of his pomp, and his excessive valour. Him he cast into the dust of death; and the Qāqshāl party took so many of the enemy that they were unable to carry them off; and the wives and families of the Afghāns fell into their hands. Then Majnūn Khān asked the daughter of Sulaimān Manklī in marriage for his son, who at the present time in the service of the Emperor ranks among the Amīrs Next making war in the neighbourhood of G'horāg'hāt with the sons of Jalāl-ud-dīn Sūr (who once on a time had had the *khutbah* read, and coin struck in that district) they with the assistance of the *zamīndārs* of that district defeated him, and pursuing him to Tāndah took possession of the fortress of Gaur. Mu'in-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān Farankhūdī and Majnūn Khān kept guard over Tāndah, and awaited the news of the Khān Khānān's victory, until after the defeat of Dāūd, [and] the publication of the news of the Khān Khānān's return, the Afghāns retired into the jungles and effectually hid themselves.

Rājah Todar Mal, who had been sent in pursuit of Dāūd, in conjunction with Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlas, and Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqyāī,[1] and Muzaffar Moghūl reached Gwālyār[2] a dependency of Bengāl by continuous marches from Madāran. Dāūd went 10 *cosses* forward from that place and gathered a large force together [at] a place called Darīnkasārī,[3] and fortified Rohīrpūr.[4] Meanwhile Junaid, uncle's son of Dāūd (who was renowned for valour and bravery, 193
and had formerly served under the Emperor, but had fled from Āgrah to Gujrāt, and from Gujrāt came to Bengāl), arrived at the confines of Rīnkasārī[5] and wished to form a junction with Dāūd.

[1] Perhaps this ought to be *Toqbāī* which is the name of a Chagtāī tribe.

[2] It should probably be *Gwālpārah* (note by Editor). Elliot, p. 385 has *Gowālpāra*.

[3] Probably a corruption of *dar Rīnkasārī*, "in Rinkasarī." Elliot, V, p. 385, has *Dīnkasārī*. The confusion between ر *R*, د *D* and ز *V*, as also between other letters which resemble one another is frequent in MSS., and printed editions, especially in the case of proper names.

[4] This ought to be Harpūr, see Blochm., p. 375.

[5] Here the word seems to be spelt correctly.

Rājah Todar Mal sent Mīrzā Abu-l Qāsim, who is surnamed Tamkīn,[1] together with Nazar Bahādur to attack him. But these two were defeated by him and returned with broken reins to the Rājah. Then the Rājah went in person to oppose him, and he being unable to withstand him took refuge in the jungle. Thence the Rājah went to Medinīpūr, where he remained some days. At that place Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās fell sick, and passed to the world of eternity. His loss was a great cause of weakness to the Imperial forces. Then he returned from Medinīpūr to Madāran.[2] At this place Qiyā Khān Gang, being offended with the Amīrs without any just cause, retired to the jungle. Rājah Todar Mal wrote an account of his doings to the Khān Khānān. and remained at Madāran. The Khān Khānān sent Shāhim Khān Jalāīr, and Lashkar Khān, *Bakhshī* (who was once called 'Askar Khān and afterwards Astar Khān), with others to the assistance of the Rājah. They joined the Rājah at Bardwān. Then he went off alone, and pacified Qiyā Khān, and brought him back. Afterwards he marched by way of Madāran and came to Bajhōrah.[3] While at Borchīn news arrived that Dāūd had left his wives and family at Katak Banāras, and was busy making preparations for war. The Khān Khānān came in haste to oppose him, and formed a junction with the Rājah. The Afghāns surrounded their camps with a moat, and fortified it.

194 On the 20th of Zī-l qa'dah of the year nine hundred and eighty-two (982) the armies were drawn up in the neighbourhood of Bajhōrah, and Mangalūsī[4] elephants were arranged on both sides. Such a tremendous battle took place, that the tongue of the pen is unable to do justice to the description of it. When the elephants of Dāūd (all of which were fed on good grass and were madder than can be imagined) were put into motion, the Khān Khānān ordered the swivel guns, and cannon which were mounted on carriages in front

[1] Another reading is *Ghamgīn*. Elliot, V, p. 385 has *Namakī*. Blochm., p. 470 gives *Namakīn*.

[2] In Jahānābad, a parganna of the Hūglī district, between Bardwān and Medinīpūr, Blochm., p. 375.

[3] See Blochm., p. 375. Elliot, V, p. 386 has *Jitūra*.

[4] The elephants of Mangalūs were famous for their great size, and their white colour. See Vüller's Dictionary.

of the line, to open fire upon them. Upon this some of the renowned elephants, which were advancing, turned tail, and some of the veteran leaders of the Afghāns were mown down by the cannonade. At this juncture Gūjar Khan, who was leader of the advance guard of Dāūd, made a sharp attack on Khān-i-'Ālam, and Khwājah 'Abd-ullāh, and Kanjak[1] Khwājah, and Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Chogān Bēgī, and Mīrzā 'Alī 'Ālam Shāhī, who composed the vanguard, and in the first charge put them to flight and drove them in on the *Altamsh*[2]-corps, of which Qiyā Khān Gang was the leader. Khān-i-'Ālam, leader of the vanguard bravely held his ground, and was killed. The *Altamsh*-corps was thrown into confusion, and driven back on the main-body,[3] where the Khān Khānān with the other mountain-like Amīrs had stationed himself, and the main-body was thrown into utter confusion and rout. However much the Khān Khānān exerted himself to stay the panic, and restore order, it was all in vain. At this moment Gūjar Khān came up, and showered blow upon blow on the Khān Khānān, who being without a sword was obliged to parry the cuts of Gūjar Khān's sword with his whip, till at last the horse of the Khān Khānān being frightened by the 195
elephants became unmanageable and bolted with him, and his rider, losing all command, struck the foot of his dignity against a stone and got a fall. He went at full speed for 3 or 4 *cosses* on the pretext of collecting the fugitives, and the Afghāns pursued him part of the way. Then Qiyā Khān Gang and some others of the archers[4] surrounded the Afghāns on every side, and pouring showers of arrows upon them, riddled their ranks like a sieve. The affair had reached such a pitch that neither friends nor foes had any longer strength left in them to move, when suddenly from the bow of destiny an arrow reached a mortal part of Gūjar Khān, who was riding at full speed, and brought him to the ground. His soldiery seeing themselves without a leader fell into utter confusion, and turned their backs on the field, and many of them were slain. At this moment the standard-bearer

[1] Another reading is *Kajak Khān Khwājah*. Perhaps the name is *Kījak*.

[2] A Turkī word meaning "sixty." It is applied to a force placed at the head of an army between the advanced guard and the ganeral, De Courteille, *Dict. Turk.-Orient.* p. 31.

[3] *Ghūl*, a Hindī word.

[4] This word اوقچي is Turkī.

of Khān-i-'Ālam[1] brought his standard to the Khān Khānān. Soon after this event news of the death of Gūjar Khān reached Mun'im Khān,[2] and he turning his horse rallied some of his men and poured a shower of arrows on the enemy, whose souls like moths began to flit from their emptied bodies. Rājah Todar Mal, and Lashkar Khān, and the other Amīrs, who had taken their stand on the right of the Imperial army attacked the left of the enemy, of which Ismā'īl Khān Ābdār, surnamed Khān Khānān, was leader. At the same time Shāhim Khān Jalāīr, and Pāyandah Muḥammad Khān Moghūl and other leaders of the Imperial left attacked the right wing of the Afghāns, where Khan Jahān, commandant of Orissa, was stationed. On both wings they drove the enemy back on the main-body, where Dāūd was stationed with the other chief Amīrs of the Afghāns. His elephants were so irritated by the arrows that they turned round on his own ranks and threw the whole line into confusion. At this moment the standard of the Khān
196 Khānān shone from afar as a sign of victory, and news of the death of Gūjar Khān reached Dāūd, and his resolution was shaken, so that :—

"To save what he could he gave his body to flight,
He was content to receive his soul as spoil."[3]

and most of the mountain-like elephants moving like clouds he gave to the wind, and that proverb became true "*one soldier* flees, and it is all over with the *soldiery*."

The Khān Khānān remained some days at this place to heal his own wounds, and those of his men. And Lashkar Khān, who had been mortally wounded, joined the host (*lashkar*) of the Father of all flesh.[4] Meanwhile Dāūd in his flight had reached Katak Banāras[5] so the Khān Khānān sent Rājah Todar Mal, with Shāhim Khān Jalāīr, and Qiyā Khān, and Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān, and

[1] He had just been killed. See above.

[2] The Khān Khānān.

[3] This expression is common in Persian for "escaping with one's life." Comp. the Hebrew expression Jer. xxi, 9, &c.

[4] *I. e.*, died.

[5] In the centre of Orissa. *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbari*. It is commonly known as *Cuttack*.

Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqyāī, and Sa'īd Khān Badakhshī in pursuit of him, and promised to follow them himself as soon as his wounds were healed. This army marched as far as Kalkal-g'hāṭī. Dāūd and the rest of the Afghāns held Katak Banāras, and finding the wide field of honour to be contracted around them, determined to fight to the death, and made energetic preparations to withstand the siege. When the Khān Khānān heard news of this, he set off in person for Katak Banāras and alighted on the banks of the Mahānadi.[1] and brought forward proposals of peace. After considerable opposition and difficulty it was settled with the Amīrs that Dāūd should come and have an interview with the Khān Khānān. Peace was renewed on a firm basis and it was decided that a reasonable portion of the wide kingdom of Bengāl, in conformity with the advice and consent of the Amīrs, should be assigned to him. On the day appointed a royal feast in the style of Jamshīd and Āfrīdūn was arranged, and the Amīrs took their proper places in accordance with their ranks, and the troops were drawn up in splendid array at the door of the audience-pavilion. On the other side the officers of Bengāl with a pomp and grandeur like Solomon's came out from Katak Banāras with the chieftains 197
of the Afghāns, and entering the camp of the Khān Khānān proceeded towards the audience-pavilion. The Khān Khānān with the greatest humility and respect practised all the ceremonies of reverence, and even advanced half way down the pavilion to meet them. When they met, Dāūd loosed his sword, and laying it before the Khān Khānān said, "Since it brings wounds and pain on such worthy men as you, I am sick of war." The Khān Khānān gave the sword to one of his body-guard, and taking Dāūd's hand led him to a cushion and made him sit down by his side, and made the most kind and fatherly inquiries. All kinds of food and drinks and sweetmeats were served, and the Khān Khānān pressed him to partake of the dainties, and entertained him with great good humour and graciousness. After the removal of the dishes they proceeded to business, and drew up a treaty. Then the Khān Khānān sent for a sword with a jewelled belt out of his

[1] On which Cuttack stands. The word means "great river." The name in the printed text is a blunder.

own stores, and binding it on Daūd's waist said, "Since you have chosen the path of loyalty, accept this sword on the part of the Emperor. As for the district of Bengal, a *farmān* will be forwarded to you, in accordance with the request which I shall make." Then showing him every courtesy, and making him a great variety of precious gifts, he dismissed him. Thus the meeting passed off in all friendliness and good-will. On the 10th of the month Çafar in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983) the Khān Khānān arrived at Tāndah the capital, whence he wrote a despatch to the Emperor containing an account of all that had happened. The Emperor sent him in return a *farmān* worded in accordance with his request, together with a present of gorgeous robes of honour, and a jewelled sword-belt, and an Arab horse and a saddle and bridle, and committing once more the affair of Bengāl to his sole charge he entrusted the reins of independent power to the hand of his capacity.

198 On the 16th of the month Jamāda'-s-sānā (l-awwal) of this year his reverence the pole-star of pole-stars, the depository of spiritual guidance, and refuge of saintships (successor to that godlike *Ghaus*,[1] that divine pole-star, Shaikh Muḥi-ud-dīn 'Abd-ul-qādir Jīlānī) Miyān Shaikh Dāūd Jahnī Wal[2] passed from this transitory world to the garden of Eden, and "*O Shaikh Dāūd Walī*[3]" was found to give the date. And the author found the following *mnemosynon*: "*Perfection of wisdom.*[4]"

After the Emperor's return from his journey to Ajmīr in the month Zī-ul-qa'dah of the year nine hundred and eighty-two (982) the building of the *'Ibādat-khānah*, consisting of four halls, near the new palace in Fatḥpūr, took place. An account of the details thereof, since it would not be devoid of prolixity, will, if the glorious God will permit be written on a suitable occasion.

It was during these days that Abu-l-Fazl, son of Shaikh Mubārik of Nāgor, came the second time to Court. He is now styled

[1] Any one of the seven *Abdāl*, spirits which circle round the world, and are the servants of the seven Imāms, is called a *Ghaus*.

[2] See Vol. iii. p. 28 of the text.

[3] 11 + 300 + 10 + 600 + 4 + 1 + 6 + 4 + 6 + 30 + 10 = 982.

[4] 20 + 40 + 1 + 30 + 1 + 400 + 4 + 60 + 400 + 20 + 1 + 5 = 982

'Allāmī. He is the man that set the world in flames. He lighted up the lamp of the *Cabāḥīs*, illustrating thereby the story of the man who, because he did not know what to do, took up a lamp in broad daylight,[1] and representing himself as opposed to all sects, tied the girdle of infallibility round his waist, according to the saying: "He who continually takes the offensive, does not commit himself as to his true opinions." He laid before the Emperor a Commentary on the *Āyat-ul-Kursī*,[2] which contained a good many of the subtleties of the Qur'ān; and though people said it was written by his father, Abu-l-Fazl was much praised. The numerical value of the letters in the words *Tafsīr-i-Akbarī*,[3] gives the date of the composition. But the Emperor praised it, chiefly because he expected to find in Abu-l-Fazl a man capable of teaching the Mullās a lesson (whose pride certainly resembles that of Pharaoh), though this expectation was opposed to the confidence which his Majesty had placed in the author of these pages.

The reason of Abu-l-Fazl's opinionativeness and pretensions to infallibility was this. At the time when it was customary to get hold of, and kill such as tried to introduce innovations in religious matters (as had been the case with Mīr Ḥabshī and others), Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabī and Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, and other learned men at Court, unanimously represented to the Emperor that Shaikh Mubārik also, in as far as he pretended to be *Mahdī*,[4] belonged to the 199
class of innovators, and was not only himself damned, but led others into damnation. Having obtained a sort of permission to remove him, they despatched police officers to bring him before the Emperor. But, when they found that the Shaikh with his two sons had concealed himself, they demolished the pulpit in his prayer-room. The Shaikh at first took refuge with Salīm Chishtī at Fatḥpūr, who was then in the height of his glory, and requested

[1] Our writer means that he preferred the lamp-light of human reason to the sunlight of Revelation.

[2] Al Qur'an II. 256.

[3] "Commentary of Akbar's time." 400 + 80 + 60 + 10 + 200 + 1 + 20 + 2 + 200 + 10 = 983.

[4] The *Imām Mahdī*, who, like *Elijah the Tishbite* of the Jews, is to be the forerunner of the Messiah.

him to intercede for him. Shaikh Salīm, however, sent him money by some of his disciples, and told him it would be better for him to go away to Gujrāt. Seeing Salīm took no interest in him, Shaikh Mubārik applied to Mīrzā 'Azīz Kokah,[1] who took occasion to praise to the Emperor the Shaikh's learning and voluntary poverty, and the superior talents of his two sons, adding that Mubārik was a most trustworthy man, that he had never received lands as a present, and that he himself could really not see why the Shaikh was so much persecuted. The Emperor at last gave up all thoughts of killing the Shaikh. In a short time matters took a still more favourable turn: and Abu-l-Fazl, when once in favour with the Emperor (officious as he was, and time-serving, openly faithless, continually studying the Emperor's whims, a flatterer beyond all bounds), took every opportunity of reviling in the most shameful way that sect whose labours and motives have been so little appreciated, and became the cause not only of the extirpation of these experienced people, but also of the ruin of all the servants of God, especially of Shaikhs, and pious men, of the helpless and orphans, whose livings and grants he cut down. He used continually to say:—

"O Lord, sent down a Proof[2] for the people of the world!
Send these Nimrods[3] a gnat as big as an elephant!
These Pharaoh-like fellows have lifted up the hand,
Send them a Moses with a staff, and a Nile!"

And when in consequence of his harsh proceedings miseries and misfortunes broke in upon the *Ulamā*, (who had persecuted him and his father), he applied the following *Rubā'ī* to them:—

"I have set fire to my barn with my own hands,
200. As I am the incendiary, how can I complain of my enemy!
No one is my enemy but myself,
Woe is me! I have torn my garment with my own hands."

And when during disputations people quoted against him the edict

[1] Akbar's foster-brother.

[2] That is one capable of giving the *Ulamā* a lesson, meaning himself.

[3] Nimrod and Pharaoh are proverbial for their pride. Nimrod was killed by a gnat, which crept through the nose to his brain.

of any *Mujtahid*,[1] he used to say: "O don't bring me the arguments of this sweetmeat-seller, or that cobbler, or that tanner!" He thought himself capable of giving the lie to all Shaikhs and Ulamā.

In the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983) the buildings of the *'Ibadāt khānah* were completed. The cause was this. For many years previously the Emperor had gained in succession remarkable and decisive victories. The empire had grown in extent from day to day; everything turned out well, and no opponent was left in the whole world. His Majesty had thus leisure to come into nearer contact with ascetics and the disciples of his reverence [the late] Mu'īn,[2] and passed much of his time in discussing the Word of God[3] and the word of the Prophet.[4] Questions of Çūfi-ism, scientific discussions, enquiries into Philosophy and Law, were the order of the day. His Majesty spent whole nights in praising God; he continually occupied himself in pronouncing *Yā huwa*,[5] and *Yā hādī*,[6] in which he was well-versed. His heart was full of reverence for Him, who is the true Giver, and from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lonely spot, with his head bent over his chest, gathering the bliss of the early hours of dawn. When then he heard that Sulaimān Kararānī, governor of Bengāl, used every night to offer up the prayers in the company of some 150 persons consisting of renowned Shaikhs and Ulamā, and used to remain in their society till morning listening to commentaries and exhortations, and then, 201
after offering up the morning prayers, would occupy himself in State-business, and the affairs of the army, and of his subjects; and that he had his appointed time for everything and never broke

[1] A man of infallible authority in his explanations of the Musalmān law. Like most of the great Jewish Rabbis, there were among the oldest many who plied a trade at the same time.

[2] Shaikh Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishtī Sigizī of Ajmīr.

[3] The Qur'an

[4] Traditional sayings of Muhammad's.

[5] "O He (God)!"

[6] "O Guide"

through his good rule; and when also news arrived from Badakhshān of the coming of Mīrzā Sulaimān, who was a prince of Çūfī tendencies, and had become a *Çāhib-i-ḥāl*,[1] and a *Murīd*; for these urgent reasons he had the very cell of Shaikh 'Abd-ullāh Niyazī Sarhindī (who had formerly been a disciple of Shaikh Islām Chishtī, but had afterwards joined the circle of Mahdeva)[2] repaired, and built a spacious hall on all four sides of it. He also finished the construction of the tank called *Anūptalāo*.[3] He named that cell the *'Ibādat-khānah*, which became by degrees *'Iyādat-khānah*,[4] and Mullā Sherī composed a *qaçīdah* on the subject, of which the following is a verse :—

"In these days I have seen, united with the wealth of Qārūn,
The ritual of Pharūn, and the buildings of Shaddād."

On Fridays after prayers he would go from the new chapel of the Shaikh-ul-Islām, and hold a meeting in this building. Shaikhs, Ulamā, and pious men, and a few of his own companions and attendants were the only people who were invited. Discussions were carried on upon all kinds of instructive and useful topics. One day Jalāl Khān Qūrchi, who was my patron, and the means of introducing me to Court,[5] in the course of conversation and disputation made the following statement to the Emperor: "When I went to Āgrah to see Shaikh Ziyā-ullāh, son of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous, I found that poverty had taken such a hold on his household, that one day at a meeting he asked for some *sers* of pulse. Part of it he
202 used for his own food, part he gave to me, and the other part he sent to his household." The Emperor was much impressed on hearing this, and sent for Shaikh Ziyā-ullāh with a view to showing him kindness. He assembled a party in his honour at the *'Ibādat-khānah*, and every Thursday evening he invited Sayyids, Shaikhs, Ulamā, and Amīrs. But ill-feeling arose in the company

[1] One who attains the state of ecstasy and close union with God.

[2] Śiva. That is he had Hindū-ized.

[3] Hindūstānī *Anūp* = Sanskrit *Anupama* "incomparable"; and *talāo* corruption of *talāb*, from Sanskrit *taḍāga* "pond."

[4] Another reading is *'Ibārat*. The meaning is obscure.

[5] See p. 175.

about the seats and order of precedence, so His Majesty ordered that the Amīrs should sit on the east side, the Sayyids on the west, the Ulamā on the south, and the Shaikhs on the north. His Majesty would go from time to time to these various parties, and converse with them, and discuss philosophical subjects. Quantities of perfume were used, and large sums of money were distributed as rewards of merit and ability among the worthy people who obtained an entry through the favour of the Emperor's courtiers. Many fine books which had belonged to 'Itimād Khān Gujrātī, and had been acquired in the conquest of Gujrat, were placed in the imperial library, but were subsequently brought out, and distributed by the Emperor among learned and pious men. Among the rest he gave me a book called *Anwār-ul-mashkut*, in amplification of one section of the *Mashkūt-ul-anwār*; and, which was a very good thing, he gave to the Amīrs by way of pay some things which they called *Irmās*,[1] *i. e.*, "destruction of enemies." All at once one night the vein of the neck of the Ulamā of the age swelled up, and a horrid noise and confusion ensued. His Majesty got very angry at their rude behaviour, and said to me, "In future report any of the Ulamā who talk nonsense and cannot behave themselves, and I shall make him leave the hall." I said gently to Āçaf Khān, "If I carried out this order, most of the Ulamā would have to leave," when His Majesty suddenly asked what I had said. On hearing my answer he was highly pleased, and mentioned my remark to those sitting near him. He used to summon Makhdūm-ul-Mulk Moulānā 'Abd ullāh Sulṭānpūrī to that assembly, in order to annoy him; and would 203
set up to argue against him Ḥājī Ibrāhīm, and Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, then a new arrival, but now the prime leader of the New Religion and Faith, or rather the infallible guide and expositor together with several other new-comers. His Majesty used to interrupt the Moulānā at every statement, and at a hint from him his companions also would interfere with interjections and observations, and would tell queer stories about the Moulānā, and exemplified in his person the verse[2] of the Qur'ān, "And some of you shall have life prolonged to

[1] See Blochm. p. 258, and 250. Surely in the latter place (*n.* 5) he is wrong in reading *ṭalab* with *izāfat*.

[2] xvi. 72.

a miserable age." Among other stories Khān Jalān said that he had heard that Makhdūm-ul-Mulk had given a *fatwā*, that the ordinance of pilgrimage was no longer binding, but even hurtful. When people had asked him the reason of his extraordinary *fatwā*, he had said that the two roads to Makkah, through Persia and over Gujrāt, were impracticable, because people in going by land[1] had to suffer injuries at the hands of the *Qizilbāshīs*,[2] and in going by sea they had to put up with indignities from the Portuguese, whose pass ports had pictures of Mary and Jesus (peace be upon Him!) stamped on them. To make use, therefore, of the latter alternative would mean to countenance idolatry; hence both roads were closed. Another tale was that of Makhdūm-ul-Mulk's device for avoiding payment of the legal alms due upon his wealth. Towards the end of each year he used to make over all his property to his wife, but before the year had run out he took it back again.[3] It is said that he practised some other tricks of which even the Israelites would have been ashamed. Stories were told one after another about his meanness and shabbiness, and baseness and worldliness, and oppression, all which vices were exhibited towards holy and deserving men, especially those of the Panjāb, and which one by one came to light, verifying the saying: "There is a day when secrets shall be disclosed."[4] They told also other stories founded upon his villainy, sordid disposition, and contemptible conduct, and they ended by de-
204 ciding that he ought to be shipped off *nolens volens* to Makkah. When he was asked if he thought that pilgrimage was a duty for a man in his circumstances he said "*No!*"[5] At this time Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabī was rising into power, while the star of the Moulānā was fast sinking. The Emperor on account of his great

[1] *I. e.*, by Persia.

[2] The Shi'ahs of Persia. So named from their *red caps*, see Fraser's novel *Kazul-bāsh*.

[3] Alms are due on every surplus stock or store which a Sunnī possesses at the end of a year, provided that surplus have been in his possession *for a whole year*. Blochm., 173, *note* 1.

[4] Al Qur'ān LXXXVI, 9.

[5] He meant to say he was poor, and thus refuted the charges brought against him. Blochm., p. 173.

reverence and respect for the Shaikh used to go from time to time to his house to hear lectures on the Traditions[1] of the Prophet, and once or twice he even stood before him without his shoes and made the eldest Prince attend his school to learn the [collection of] 40 *aḥādīs* by the renowned master Maulānā 'Abd-ur-Raḥmān Jāmī (God sanctify his glorious tomb!). And one of his follies was this, that although he boasted of being learned in Tradition, and claimed to be a Ḥāfiz, and an Imām in this glorious science, yet he taught the Tradition "The prudent course (*ḥazam*) is to hold an evil opinion of others," with a dotted *khē*, and an undotted *rē* (*kharam*), when every child knows that it is spelt with an undotted *ḥē*, and a dotted *z* (*ḥazam*). Years passed in this way until, when the Emperor's heart became alienated from him, and troops of Mullās were being turned away, Mīrzā 'Azīz Kokah[2] reminded him of this fact: "His proficiency in the science of *ḥadīs*, of which he boasted, reached such a pitch, and the result was that you raised him to such a rank, and now at this juncture counterfeit morals, as well as counterfeit dogmas have shown themselves in him, God preserve us from want after plenty!"

About this time His Majesty entrusted the work of translating the book *Ḥaiwat-ul-ḥaiwān* to Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, a book which Naqīb Khān often used to read before the Emperor, and used to interest him in its subject-matter. And Shaikh Mubārik[3] translated it into Persian.

In this year His Majesty gave orders that the *Aimahs*[4] of the whole empire should not be let off by the *krorīs*[5] of each *parganna*, unless they brought the *farmān* in which their grants, subsistence allowances, and pensions were described, to the Çadr for inspection and verification. For this reason a large number of worthy people from the extreme east of India as far west as Bakkar [on the Indus] came to Court. If any of them had a powerful protector in one of the Amīrs, or near friends of His Majesty, he 205

[1] Called *ḥadīs*, pl. *aḥādīs*.

[2] He bore the title of *Khān-i 'Ālam*.

[3] Father of Abu-l-Fazl.

[4] Al-Badāonī uses the word *Aimah* in the sense of *Aimah-dārān*, 'holders of grant-lands.'

[5] Revenue officers, so called because each was put over a *kror* of *dāms*. Blochm., p. 13.

could manage to get his affair settled; but such as were destitute of such recommendations had to bribe Sayyid 'Abd-ur-rasūl, the Shaikh's head-man, or make presents to his chamberlains, door-keepers, and sweepers, in order to get their blanket out of the mire. Unless, however, they had either strong recommendations, or had recourse to bribery, they were utterly ruined. Many of the *Aimahs*, without obtaining their object, died from the heat caused by the crowding of the multitudes. Though a report of this came to the ears of His Majesty, no one dared to take these unfortunate people before the Emperor. And when the Shaikh, in all his pride and haughtiness, took his place upon his official seat, and influential Amīrs introduced to him in his audience-hall scientific or pious men, the Shaikh used to receive them in his infamous manner, coming forward and paying respect to none. And after much asking, begging and exaggerating he allowed, for example, a teacher of the *Hidāyah*[1] and other college books, 100 *Bīgahs* more or less; and though such a man might have been a long time in possession of more extensive lands, the Shaikh took them away. But to men of no renown, to low fellows, even to Hindūs, he granted lands for the first time. Thus learning and learned men fell from day to day into lower estimation. Even in the very audience-hall, when after midday prayers he sat down on his throne of pride, and washed his hands and feet, he took care to spirt the water, which he had used, on the head and face and garments of the great Amīrs, and courtiers of high degree who were near, and made no exception. And they with a view to helping the poor suppliants bore all this, and condescended to fawn on him, and flatter and toady him to his heart's content, so that eventually they got back all that he had received from them :—

"When a rustic becomes a judge,[2]
He wills such decrees, that they will kill him."

Never in the time of any Emperor had such absolute power been
206 given into the hand of any Çadr.

[1] A book on Law. The word means "Guidance."
[2] Jack in office.

About this time the Emperor appointed me as an Imām, and directed me also to undertake the office of marking the imperial horses with the brand. He gave me no very considerable travelling-expenses and ordered me from the first to act as *mançabdār* commanding twenty in bringing horses to the brand. Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl was treated in the same way, so that we were, as Shablī said with respect to Junaid,[1] (God bless their spirits!) "both baked in one kiln." Yet he, at once making a successful beginning, worked so strenuously at the *dāgh-u-mahallī* business, that he managed by his intelligence and time-serving qualities to raise himself to a *mançab* of two thousand, and the dignity of *Wazīr*. While I, from my inexperience and simplicity, could not manage to continue in the service; and this piece of satirical poetry, which one of the Sayyids of Ānjū composed in reference to his own circumstances, came to my mind :—

"Thou hast made me a courtier and commander of twenty,
Let not my mother know of my nothingness."

I reflected that there were still hopes of securing contentment (that best of possessions!) by means of a *madad-i-ma'āsh*, which would enable me to retire from the world, and apply myself to study and devotion, while free from the cares of the world :—

"Seek not worldly pomp, let go transitory happiness,
The pomp of Religion is enough, and the happiness of Islām for thee;"

but this was not easy. In the month of Shawwāl in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983), on my applying for leave of absence, it was refused, but the Emperor excused my inspections of the horses. Still through the unfriendly disposition of the Çadr, and the unpropitiousness of the times he only allotted to me a tenure to the amount of 1000 *bīgahs* of land, which in that iron age appeared to be equivalent to the fief of a commander of twenty. It was styled also in the *farmān* a *madad-i-ma'āsh*. I represented that with this small tenure I could not afford to be always in attendance on the Court, to which the Emperor replied that he would also give me subsidies and presents during the marches. And Shaikh 'Abd-un-

[1] Two of the principal saints of Islām.

207 Nabī said that no person of my quality had received from him so large a grant of land. As for the presents which I was promised, though twenty-two years have elapsed since my hopes were raised, I have received them but once or twice, and the rest have been concealed behind the veil of fate and have fallen like leaves to the ground. These fine promises were nothing better than a baseless mirage. I have performed services without rewards, and undergone useless restraints, from which I can now be relieved only by the good-humour of destiny :—

"Either faithfulness, or news of union with thee, or the death of the rival,
The playfulness of fate will do one of these three things."

'We are content with the decree of God, are patient under His trials, and thankful for His favours' :—

"In any case I must give thanks,
If I may never be in worse plight than now !"

And this *qiṭ'ah* of Fazūlī of Baghdād, who composed it in reference to Ḥairatī of Samarqand, when he was in the favour of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, is expressive of the vain hopes of your humble servant :—

"I am from the dust of Arabia, and Ḥairatī from the kingdom of Persia;
Both of us have sought our desire in uttering our words.
We have found from two benefactors the desire of our hearts,
He a glance from the king of Persia, I from the king of Arabia."[1]

Since the world, and what is in it, is known to me, my hopes are fixed on the Creator, who helps his servants, that at the last all may be well, and that the seal of the matter may be in the felicity of Religion :—"What is with you will pass away, what is with God is eternal"[2] :—

"This is our hope from the mercy of our Creator,
That Thou wilt not make hopeless those who hope."[3]

[1] *I. e.* God.
[2] Al Qur'ān xvi, 98.
[3] Comp. Ps. cxix, 49.

The first of the questions which the Emperor asked in these days was this : 'How many freeborn women may a man legally marry by *nikaḥ* ?' The lawyers answered that four was the limit fixed by the Prophet. The Emperor thereupon remarked that in early youth he had not regarded the question and had married what number of women he pleased, both freeborn and slaves, he now wanted to know what remedy the law provided for his case. Most expressed their opinions, then the Emperor remarked that Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabī had once told him that one of the *Mujtahids*[1] had allowed as many as nine wives. Some of the Ulamā present replied that the *Mujtahid* alluded to was Ibn Abī Lailā, and that some had even allowed eighteen from a too literal translation of the verse of the Qur'ān :[2] "Marry whatever women you like, two and two, and three and three, and four and four ;"[3] but this interpretation is rejected. His Majesty then sent a message to Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabī who replied that he had merely wished to point out to the Emperor that a difference of opinion existed on this point among lawyers, but that he had not given a *fatwā*, in order to legalize irregular marriage proceedings. This annoyed His Majesty very much. "The Shaikh," said he, "told me at that time a very different thing to what he tells me now." He never forgot this. 208

After much discussion on this point the Ulamā, having collected every Tradition on the subject, decreed, *first* that by *mut'ah* [not by *nikāḥ*] a man might marry any number of wives he pleased : and *secondly*, that such *mut'ah* marriages were allowed as legal by Imām Mālik. The Shī'ahs, as was well-known, loved children born in *mut'ah* wedlock more than those born of *nikaḥ* wives, contrary to the Sunnīs or Ahl-i-Jamā'at. On the latter point also the discussion became rather lively, and I would refer the reader to my work

[1] See p. 203, *note* 1.
[2] IV. 3.
[3] 2 + 2 + 3 + 3 + 4 + 4 = 18. The Mujtahid who took nine, interpreted it 2 + 3 + 4 = 9. The usual interpretation is "two or three or four."

entitled *Najāt-ur-rashīd*,[1] in which the subject is briefly discussed. But to make things worse, Naqīb Khān fetched a copy of the *Muwaṭṭā* of Imām Mālik, and pointed to a Tradition in the book, which the Imām had cited as a proof against the legality of *Mut'ah* marriages.

Another night Qāzī Ya'qūb, Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, Ḥājī Ibrāhīm, and a few other Ulamā were invited to meet His Majesty at the house near the *Anuptalāo* tank. Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl had been selected as the opponent, and laid before the Emperor several Traditions regarding *Mut'ah* marriages, which his father had collected, and the discussion commenced. At this juncture the Emperor sent
209 for me also, and asked me what my opinion was on this subject. I said: "The conclusion to be drawn from so many contradictory Traditions and sectarian customs is in a word this:—Imām Mālik and the Shīahs are unanimous in looking upon *Mut'ah* marriages as legal; Imām Shāfi'ī and the great Imām[2] (the mercy of God be on them both!) look upon *Mut'ah* marriages as illegal. But should at any time a Qāzī of the Mālikī sect decide that a *Mut'ah* is legal, it is legal according to the common belief, even for Shāfi'īs and Ḥanafīs. Every other opinion on the subject is idle talk." This pleased His Majesty very much. Qāzī Ya'qūb said something unintelligible. I reminded him that, when a matter is doubtful, it is generally in the power of the Qāzī to decide. "So what do you say about it?" And in reference to this appeal of mine I brought forward the question of reading the *Fātiḥah* according to the martyred Imām, and I adduced many other confirmations, and as briefly as possible the story of the going of Shaikh Bihā-ud-dīn Zakaryāī of Multān to Baghdād to visit the Shaikh of Shaikhs Shihāb-ud-dīn Saharūrdī (God bless the spirits of them both!); and of that great man's beginning to read the *Fātiḥah* according to the Shāfi'ī school, and of the suspicions of the ordinary Ulamā against them, and of the bringing forward of Traditions which allowed it, and of the matter being eventually decided by the Qāzīs of Dihlī. So I maintained that it is allowable. Then Qāzī Ya'qūb helplessly

[1] A copy of this work is to be found among the Persian MSS. of the As. Soc., Bengal. *Blochm.*, p. 104, note 2

[2] *Ḥanifah.*

said after me: "What shall we say? God be praised it is allowed." The Emperor then said, "I herewith appoint Qāzī Ḥusain 'Arab Mālikī as Qāzī before whom I lay this case concerning my wives, and you Ya'qūb are from this day suspended." This was immediately obeyed, and Qāzī Ḥusain on the spot gave the decree which made *Mut'ah* marriages legal. The veteran lawyers such as Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, Qāzī Ya'qūb, and others, were the losers by this affair, and from this moment their power began to wane. The result was that a few days later Maulānā Jalāl-ud-dīn of Multān, who was a profound and learned man, whose grant had been transferred, was 210
ordered from Āgrah,[1] and appointed Qāzī of the realm. Qāzī Ya'qūb was sent to Gaur as district Qāzī. From this day forward the road of opposition and difference in opinion lay open, and remained so until His Majesty was appointed *Mujtahid* of the Empire: and so on, and on, and on, until he reached any degree of exaltation!

At this time Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabī and Makhdūm-ul-Mulk were ordered to examine into the matter, and to decide the amount of tax to be levied on Hindūs, and *farmāns* were issued in all directions; but this order quickly disappeared like a reflection on the water.

In these days His Majesty once asked how people would like it, if he ordered the words *Allāh Akbar* to be cut on the Imperial seal, and the dies of his coins. Most said that the people would like it very much, but Ḥājī Ibrāhīm objected, and said, that the phrase had an ambiguous meaning,[2] and that the Emperor might substitute the verse of the Qur'ān *Lazikrullāhi Akbaru*,[3] because it involved no ambiguity. But the Emperor was much displeased, and said it was surely sufficient, that no man who felt his weakness would claim Divinity; he merely looked to the propriety of the words,—how could it be reasonable that his meaning should be so distorted?

[1] To Fathpūr Sīkrī.

[2] 'God is great,' or 'Akbar is God.'

[3] To commemorate God is the greatest thing.

In this year, before the decision about *Mut'ah* marriages, the Emperor appointed Sayyid Muḥammad, *Mīr 'Adl*, for whom he entertained the highest respect, to go to Bakkar, and presented him with one of his own swords, and a horse, and a dress. Some time after arriving there he died (the mercy of God be upon him!). After his death a dress came into vogue, which to this day has never looked well on any one's figure, one would say that it was as *bizarre* as the age! Some people mentioned that Ḥājī Ibrāhīm of Sarhind had given a *fatwā*, by which he made it legal to wear red and yellow cloths,[1] quoting at the same time a Tradition as
211 his proof. On hearing this the *Mīr 'Adl* in the imperial presence called him an accursed wretch, abused him, and lifted up his stick to strike him, when the Ḥājī by some subterfuges managed to get rid of him.

During this year there arrived at Court Hakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ, Hakīm Humāyūn (who subsequently changed his name to Humāyūn Qulī, and lastly to Hakīm Humān), and Nūr-ud-dīn, who as poet is known under the name of Qarārī. They were brothers, and came from Gīlān, near the Caspian Sea. The eldest brother, whose manners and address were exceedingly winning, obtained in a short time great ascendancy over the Emperor. He flattered him openly, adapted himself to every change in the religious ideas of His Majesty, or even went in advance of them, and thus became in a short time a most intimate friend of the Emperor.

Soon after there came from Persia Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd, who got the name of Yazīdī, and attaching himself to the Emperor commenced openly to revile the *Çaḥabah*,[2] told queer stories about them, and tried hard to make him a Shī'ah. But he was soon left behind by Bīr Baṛ—that bastard!—and by Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, and Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ, who successfully turned the Emperor from Islām, and led him to reject inspiration, prophetship, the miracles of the Prophet and of the saints, and even the whole law, so that I could no longer bear their company. Their eventual fates shall be told, each in its proper place, if God (He is exalted!) will.

[1] Such as women may use. *Blochm.*

[2] Companions of Mahomet.

At the same time His Majesty ordered Qāzī Jalāl-ud-dīn, and several Ulamā, to write a commentary on the Qur'ān; but this led to great dissentions among them.

Deb Chand Rājah Manjholah—that fool!—once set the whole Court in laughter by saying that Allāh after all had great respect for cows,[1] else the cow would not have been mentioned in the first chapter of the Qur'ān.[2]

His Majesty had also the early history of Islām read out to him, and soon began to think less of the *Çaḥabah*. Soon after, the observance of the five prayers, and the fasts, and the belief in everything connected with the Prophet, were put down as vain superstitions, and man's reason, not tradition, was acknowledged as the only basis of religion. Portuguese priests also came frequently; and His 212 Majesty enquired into the articles of their belief, which are based upon reason:—

> "Whatever imagination their intellect invents,
> God laughts at the intellect of people of that creed."

And in this year the Emperor sent for Shaikh Badr-ud-dīn to come to the *'Ibādat-khānah*. He was the son of Shaikh Islām Chishtī. He was much given to prayer, and having given up all attendance on princes, had become his father's successor, and had found favour with God, and become a recluse, and occupied himself only in fasting, zeal, repeating God's name, exercising poverty, and reading the Qur'ān. Since the old customs of respect in sitting, rising, and speaking were no longer observed by him, he committed many breaches of etiquette, and other misfortunes coming in succession, after three or four years, without saying anything to any one, he left the Court in sheer disappointment and despair, and went to Ajmīr, and thence to Gujrāt, where he took ship alone to make a pilgrimage to Makkah. There he fasted, till he obtained spiritual union with

[1] He meant to imply that the Qur'ān agrees with the Vedas in reverence for the cow.

[2] *Sūrat-ul-baqarah*, the "Sura of the heifer." It is really the 2nd Sura, but the 1st is only an introduction (*Fātiḥah*). Similarly Ps. ii is quoted as "the first Psalm." Acts, xiii, 33 (Codex D).

God, and in the hot air with naked feet performed the circuits, so that he attained the honour of reaching the heavenly Ka'bah, and enjoyed union with the Lord of Glory[1] (O God make me a partaker thereof!) :—

O Kamāl thou art gone
From the Ka'bah to the Door of the Friend.
A thousand times *Āfrīn!*[2]
Thou art gone like a man.

In this year a learned Brāhman, Shaikh B'hāwan, had come from the Dak'hin and turned Musalmān, when His Majesty gave me the order to translate the *At'harban*. Several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of Islām. As in translating I found many difficult passages, which Shaikh B'hāwan could not interpret either, I reported the same to His Majesty, who ordered Shaikh Faizī, and then Ḥājī Ibrāhīm, to translate it. The latter,
213 though willing, did not write anything. Among the precepts of the *At'harban* there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he reads a certain passage. This passage contains many times the letter *l*, and resembles very much our *Lā illāh illa' llāh*. Besides I found that a Hindū under certain circumstances may eat cow-flesh; and also that Hindūs *bury* their dead, but do not burn them. With such passages the Shaikh used to defeat other Brāhmans in argument, and they had in fact led him to embrace Islām (God be thanked for this!).

In the month Sha'bān[3] of this year Gulbadan Bēgum, daughter of Bābar Pādshāh and paternal aunt to the Emperor, who had, in the year nine hundred and eighty-two (982) in company with Salīmah Sulṭān Bēgum daughter of Nūr-ud-dīn Muḥammad Mīrza (who was formerly wife of Bairām Khān, *Khān Khānān*, and afterwards entered the Ḥaram of the Emperor), left Āgrah for Ḥijāz and tarried one year in Gujrāt, and attained that felicity,[4] and thus per-

[1] *I. e.*, he died at Makkah.
[2] Bravo!
[3] The eighth month.
[4] That is, reached Makkah.

formed the four pilgrimages.[1] On her return, she remained another whole year at 'Aden through shipwreck, and arrived in Hindūstān in the year nine hundred and ninety (990). And from that time it became an established practice for five or six years that one of the nobles of the Court was made Leader of the pilgrims, and a general permission was given to the people, so that at great public expense, with gold and goods and rich presents, the Emperor sent them on a pilgrimage to Makkah. But this was afterwards abandoned.

In this year Mīrzā Sulaimān, who from the time of the reign of Bābar had held absolute rule over Badakhshān—after that his promising son Ibrāhīm Mīrzā had been slain in war with Pīr Muḥammad Khān Uzbek in Balkh, and the decease[2] of Walī Ni'mat Bēgum, and after that various acts of a perverse and rebellious nature had taken place on the part of Shāh Rukh Mīrzā, son of Ibrāhim Mīrzā, who had gone into rebellion with a view to usurping the whole government of Badakhshān—first of all came to Kābul
214 hoping to obtain help from Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm.[3] When his hope failed to be realized, he requested that an escort might be given him to conduct him through the dangerous districts as far as the Indus. The Mīrzā met his request with the greatest urbanity and politeness, and appointed him an escort, which deserted him at the first stage and returned to Kābul, and in accordance with :—

"May it not be that thou remain long in this world!
For old age is humiliation, and nonentity,"

taking his daughter with him in full confidence in God he travelled into Hind, alone and unattended. At several places the Afghāns opposed his progress by force of arms; but the Mīrzā, showing the most intrepid bravery, and wounded with an arrow, after a hundred troubles arrived at the river Indus. Thence he sent two or three horsemen, men born in his house, with a petition to the Court. Then the Emperor sent 50.000 rupees and abundant other necessar-

[1] Kerbela, Kūm, Mashhad, and Makkah.
[2] For *fauj* read *faut*,
[3] Brother of Akbar, and Commandant of Kābul.

ies, and a team of horses of pure 'Irāqī breed by the hand of Aghā Khān the treasurer to give the Mīrzā an honourable reception. And before this Rājah Bhagwān Dās, governor of Lāhōr, in accordance with a *farmān* had gone to the Indus to meet him, and was showing him day by day suitable hospitality. The Amīrs and governors also of every *parganna* and town on the way, in accordance with the recognised laws of hospitality promoted his wish to go forward. In this manner they brought the Mīrzā [to the Court].

Meanwhile A'zam Khān[1] (who is also called Khān-*i* A'zam) was sent for from Gujrāt to appear at the Court, with which command he hastened to comply, and did homage at Fatḥpūr on the 4th of Rajab[2] in the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983). One day he broached the subject of the new regulations about branding horses, and the management of tax-collecting, and of contracting for the army, and of the distressed condition of agriculturists and other acts of oppression. Everything that he knew about these things he mentioned with unqualified disapprobation. For some time the Emperor, from old habit, could not endure this unpleasant plain-
215 speaking, and ordered that for some time he should be forbidden the royal presence, and appointed officers to prevent any of the nobles from visiting him. After some days he sent him to Āgrah, that, closing the door of egress and ingress in the face of mankind, he might practise the retirement of a monastic solitude in his own garden. Now Mīrzā Sulaimān having arrived at Mattra[3] by continued journeys from Lāhōr, Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān, and Qāzī Nizām Badakhshī (to whom the Mīrzā had given the title of Qāzī-Khān, and who had obtained from the Court the title of Ghāzī-Khān) came from the great Amīrs to meet him. On the 15th of Rajab Mīrzā Sulaimān reached the neighbourhood of Fatḥpūr; and first of all the nobles, and magnates of the Court, and the pillars of the State, and afterwards the Emperor himself, with the assembled Amīrs

[1] *Viz.*, Mīrzā 'Azīz Kokah, son of Atgah Khān. His mother was Akbar's wetnurse, so that, however much Azīz might offend he was seldom punished. Akbar used to say, "Between me and Azīz is a river of milk which I cannot cross." Blochm., pp. 321, 325. He was appointed governor of Gujrāt in 979.

[2] The seventh month.

[3] N. W. of Āgrah.

went out five *cosses* to meet him. And on that day 5,000 elephants, some with housings of European velvet, and some with Turkish cloth of gold, and some with chains of gold and of silver, and with black and white fringes hung on their heads and necks, were drawn up in line on both sides: also Arabian and Persian horses with golden saddles of like splendour. And between each pair of elephants they placed a car of cheetahs with golden collars, and coverings of velvet and fine linen, and an oxen-car with fillets of embroidered gold. And the whole face of the wilderness, in this manner, became like a vision of Spring, and the desert and hill-country like the reflection of a tulip-bed. And when he saw the Emperor afar off, he alighted without hesitation from his horse, and ran forward to meet him with *salāms*. The Emperor with politeness quickly descended from his saddle to the ground, and would not permit him to pay any of the formal acts of politeness, and customary humiliations. After embracing him he remounted, and ordered that he should ride with him, and occupied himself in making the kindest enquiries after his welfare. In the palace [called] Anūptalāo[1] (the door, walls, and interior of which they had furnished with figured canopies of gold cloth, and splendid carpets, and golden 216
vessels and all other kinds of furniture in abundance) he gave him a place by his side on the throne of Sultanate, and also summoned the Prince, his son, and introduced him to him. After they had finished their repast he granted his request for assistance, and promised him aid with such money and troops, as might enable him to reduce Badakhshān, and had apartments prepared for the Mīrzā in the tower of the Hatyāpūl,[2] where was the *Naqārah-khānah*.[3] Of an evening he used often to go to the *ibādat-khānah*, and hold converse with the Shaikhs and sages and cultivate ecstacy, and sometimes loud shouts were heard proceeding from him: and prayer with the congregation was never neglected by him. One day, after leading in all the other prayers, I considered that I had said sufficient prayers when the Mīrzā objected to me that I had not recited the *Fātiḥah*.

[1] See p. 204.

[2] The 'Elephant Gate,' compare Blochmann's *Āīn-i Akbarī*, 505.

[3] A sort of gallery generally above the gate-way, where the kettle drums are beaten at certain hours.

I said: "In the time of the Prophet (God bless him, and give him peace!) the reciting of the Fātiḥah after the prayers was not customary; and some of the traditions have pronounced it to be of questionable authority." He said: "Do you mean to say then that those who read it are not in the region of knowledge, nor wise men?" I replied: "We have to do with the Written Law, not with [possible] forgeries." The Emperor after this commanded that I should recite it. I complied, although I showed him the Tradition which pronounced it as questionable.[1]

At this time [the Emperor] revived an old Chaghatāī custom. For some days, in order to exhibit it to Mīrzā Sulaimān, they spread royal tables in the Audience-hall. And the officers of high grade[2] gathered the soldiers together, and took to themselves the trouble of arranging the customary food. But when the Mīrzā departed, all these [revived customs] departed too.

Khān Jahān, commandant of the Panjāb, was ordered to take with him 5,000 warlike mounted archers, and putting himself at the service of the Mīrzā to go to Badakhshān, and deliver the country from Mīrzā Shāh-Rūkh and hand it over to Mīrzā Sulaimān and then return to Lahōr. But as a matter of fact the aspect of affairs took a somewhat different complexion.

For meanwhile news came that Mun'im Khān, *Khān Khānān*, after making peace with Dāūd in the midst of the rainy-season, under the guidance of Fate, passed over the Ganges from Tāndah (the
217 climate of which is temperate), and made the inhabitants migrate to Gaur, and ordered that that town (which was formerly the Capital of Bengāl, and the climate of which is debilitating and foul) should be inhabited: and all that the Amīrs could say against it availed nothing:—

"O wonder! that ye had no misgivings of heart, no sadness of soul,
On account of this foul air, these noxious waters."

Various diseases, the names of which it would be difficult to know, attacked their constitutions; and every day hosts upon hosts of

[1] See above p. 212.
[2] *Tawāchī* see p. 74, *note* 5.

people, having played out their existence, bade farewell to one another; and how many thousands soever were told off for that country, it cannot be stated that a hundred ever returned to their homes:—

"What a fatal thing, O God, may a place become!"

Things came to such a pass that the living were unable to bury the dead, and threw them into the river. Every hour, and every minute, news came to the ear of the Khan Khānan of the death of Amīrs, and yet, for all that, he did not himself become infected. And, on account of the arrogance of his disposition, no one had the power to remove the cotton wool of ignorance from his ears, and make him leave the place:—

"If I give advice to my heart in love, it is taken ill.
I will leave it in her street to hit its head against the wall."

After a time the constitution of the Khān Khānan, Mun'im Khān, began to deviate from its usual course of equilibrium, and, at over eighty years of age, after completing the first ten days of the month Rajab[1] of the year nine hundred and eighty-three (983) he rendered his account to the Guardian of Paradise, or to the Guardian of Hell (God knows!); and all that rank and glory, and that grandeur and perfection became a mere dream and fantasy:—

"Since thou canst not place any confidence in thy life.
What matters it whether it be one, or one hundred years?
Since there is no perpetuity in life,
What matters power,[2] or servitude?"
218

Since he had no heirs, the officials seized all that wealth and gain (which had taken so many years to accumulate) for the imperial treasury, 'Announce to the wealth of a miser reverse of fortune, or an heir:—

"How well has a clever speaker said,
Gold attracts gold, and treasure treasure!"

[1] The seventh month.
[2] Instead of *Bamān* and *Fāmāl* we must read *Farmān* and *Pāmāl*.

Then, in accordance with the well-known saying—'In a place without trees a *Palma Christī*[1] is [looked on as] a shady and fruitful tree' the Amīrs, on this principle, looked to Shāham Khān Jalāīr as their leader :—

"The death of the great has made me great."

But, when the news reached the Court, the Emperor appointed the Khān Jahān, in the room of the Khān Khānān, to the Command in Bengāl, and presented him with a gold-embroidered cloak, and vest of gold, and jewelled sword-belt, and a horse with a guilded saddle. Then whether at his own request, or for the peace of the kingdom, it was settled that Mīrzā Sulaimān should go by sea on a pilgrimage to Ḥijāz: and having signed a draft for him of 50,000 rupees upon the imperial treasury, and given him another sum of 20,000 rupees from the local treasury of Gujrāt, the Emperor gave him leave to depart. And Qulīj Khān he appointed as his escort, to see him off safely from the port of Sūrat. During this same year he reached Makkah and Al Madīnah, and by the help of God's grace and faithfulness he returned by way of 'Irāq, and was, as was right, reinstated in the sovereignty of Badakhshān :—

"Thou hast never seen that road, therefore they never showed it thee,
Else, who has ever knocked at that door, and they opened not to him."

On his return he gave one of his daughters to Muzaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā, commandant of Qandahār, who at that time had come to Lāhōr, and had attached himself to the Court; and another daughter he gave to another man.

In this year the late[2] Ḥusain Khān (for whom, of all men of superior understanding, the Author had an old and strong attachment, and the most perfectly sincere friendly relations) through infirmity
219 caused by the appearance of that stage and mark, which is the destroyer of pleasures, and the vanquisher of the warrior, after the buffeting of all those troubles, which had passed over him, through apparent madness, but real wisdom, left Kānt-u-Golah with

[1] The *Qiqāyōn* of Jonah iv. 6. For a like prov. see Talm. Babl. *Synh.* 44*a*.
[2] He was dead, when our author wrote.

a band of his friends and intimates (who, whether in the flood of fire, or in the billows of the sea, had never in any wise deserted him), and, passing through the confines of Badāūn and Sambhal, and crossing the river Ganges, arrived in the Dūāb. Then, after plundering, the *mawāsān*[1] and disaffected of that neighbourhood (who, deeming the payment of rent unnecessary, never used to return any answer to their feudal lord, so that you may guess what happened to the helpless, duped, non-plussed, dishonoured tax-collectors) he went off to the base of the northern mountains. This was a place he had all his life a hankering after, and kept it, as a mine of silver and gold in full view: continually concocting in the crucible of his guileless breast (which was large enough to contain a world) visions of golden and silver idol-temples[2] and bricks of gold and silver. Then, without having received any orders authorizing him to do so, he turned to Basant-pūr (an elevated and well-known place in the hill-district), and invested the place. Malik-ush-Sharaq, the tax-collector of T'hānēsar[3] shut the door of the fort: and the other tax-collectors in like manner, in a fright, having run into their holes, spread a false report that he was in rebellion, and sent a petition to that effect to the Court. The Emperor enquired of Sa'īd Khān Moghūl (who was a connection and very old friend of Ḥusain Khān, and who had just come from Multān) whether this report was true; this he firmly denied. But when the Emperor asked him to give, on the part of Ḥusain Khān, a bond in writing for the cattle and goods which Ḥusain Khān had carried off from the agriculturists he utterly declined to do so, and all that former love and friendship changed into an affectation of being utterly unacquainted with him :—

"These deceitful friends, whom you see,
Are but flies about a sweetmeat.
Before you they are truer to you than the light,
Behind your back they are more evanescent than a shadow."

[1] Are these the same as the "*māwīs*" Blochm., p. 252, or ought we to read *Mu'āçiyān* rebels ?
[2] The Emperor Maḥmūd had acquired immense wealth from the plunder of Hindū temples. He hoped to do the same.
[3] See p. 94, *note* 4.

220 At last he sent Sayyid Hāshim, son of Maḥmūd Bārha, and the sons of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, the Judge of Amrūhah (before he dismissed him to Bakkar), with a body of the Amīrs to operate against[1] him. While Ḥusain Khān was fighting in the hill-district of Basant-pūr he received a severe musket-wound under the shoulder-blade, besides losing a host of his veterans. Accordingly, without having accomplished anything, he turned back, and getting into a boat he went on the river Ganges towards Patyālī (which was the native place of his kith and kin). He got as far as Gaḍha Maktēsar whence, as he was disabled by his wound, in accordance with their orders, they brought him to Āgrah, and deposited him in the house of Çādiq Muḥammad Khān (between whom and Ḥusain Khān there had existed from the beginning of the conquest of India, or rather from Qandahār-times onward, the kindliest feeling, and most sincere religious sympathy) Shaikh Bīnāī, the physician, being sent for by the Emperor's command, came to try and heal him. But on his representing that the wound was of a frightful character the Emperor sent for Ḥakīm 'Ayn-ul-mulk. And the Author, having received the Emperor's permission, went with the physician to see him, in order to keep up my old relations with him. I found him, and while a moment, by reason of my sorrow, seemed to me like days, I composed these words of friendship, sorrowful and mingled with tears :—

"Wherever I and the loved-one met together,
For fear of the malevolent we bit our lips.
Without the intervention of ear or lip, by means of heart and eye,
Many a word was there, that we said and heard."

Meanwhile the imperial surgeons came to operate on him. They thrust a probe into the wound to the depth of a span, and probed it mercilessly. But that man of fortitude swallowed the agony, like a
221 sweet draught, and neither frowned, nor shewed any sign of pain, but smiled without dissimulation :—

"My face is calm in spite of the bitter words of men,
Poison is in my mouth, but my face is wreathed in smiles."

[1] For *bar pisari o* ought we to read *bar sari o* ?

And that was my last sight of him until the Judgment-day, and my very last farewell of him. I heard two or three days after I arrived at Fathpūr, that his sickness had turned to a flux. He was so refined in the crucible of abstinence, that what remained of impurity in him, by reason of human nature and the infirmity of the flesh, entirely left him, and the alloy of his nature becoming pure gold, he became purified by fire, for 'Trial is to the Saints what the flame is to gold' :—

"All carnal attributes have departed from Mas'ud Beg,
That of him which was Soul is become that very Soul again."

And—that he might attain the full felicity of a true and regular martyrdom, in accordance with the authentic Tradition : 'He that is afflicted with the colic is a martyr,' in that distress of expatriation, and grief of exile, and trouble of penury, together with the accident of a wound from Infidels received in a hostile country, and the distraction of relaxed liver, he removed his baggage from this transitory existence to the eternal Paradise : and the Bird of his Soul escaping from the Cage of this World, that prison of the Believer, at the invitation : "Return thou, O soul, unto thy Lord, well pleased and wellpleasing,[1]" flew towards the Rose-bed, to dwell there in "rest, and in gracious favour, and a garden of delights :[2]"

"None ever came into the world, who remained there,
Except he, of whom a good name remained."

Although he gave away whole worlds of gold to the deserving and the needy, yet when he took his departure to the other world [he was so poor, that] his excellence of regal qualities, exalted in degrees, and holy in his attributes, Khwājah Muḥammad Yaḥyā Naqshbandī (the Spirit of God is his Spirit !) brought the expenses of his burial, and with all honour[3] and respect deposited him in peace in the strangers' burial-place at Āgrah :—

[1] Al Qur'ān, LXXXIX, 28.

[2] Al Qur'ān, LVI, 88.

[3] The word in the text *ba-i'jāz* means 'in amazement.' But the editors have put a (?) to it, and it should, doubtless, be read *ba-i'zāz* 'in honour,' as the following word *iḥtirām* clearly points out.

"How can I see him sleeping in the dust,
222 Him, who has raised me from the dust!"

Thence he was carried to the cemetery of Patyālī, which became his burial-place, and they made him like a buried treasure: and *Ganj-bakhsh*[1] 'Bestower of treasure' was found to give the date. And when, on my following the Mīr 'Adal[2] (who is now departed himself to the mercy of God) on his journey to Bakkar, I told him of the decease of this man, so rich of heart but poor in purse, he burst into tears, and began to extol his purity and ability, and said: "If any one wish to practice walking unspotted from the world, he ought to act and walk, just as Ḥusain Khān acted and walked:"—

"I am the slave of that man, who, under the blue sky,
Is free from whatever partakes of the tinge of dependence."

It so happened that this interview also, with the Mīr, became memorable to the author: and from the expression made use of by that great man on that occasion, *viz.*, "All my friends are departed and I know not whether I shall ever see you again," you would have said that his star was sinking; and so it in fact was:—

"As long as in this flock there remains a single sheep,
Fate will not desist[3] from the butcher-trade."

Let it not be forgotten that the author enjoyed the society of that unique one[4] of the age for the space of about nine years, and [but] one piece of opposition (though to use so strong a term in connection with him were a shame, and a dire injustice) did I meet with from him, and that was in military matters, and the affairs of this world. And among the many venerable persons and spiritual directors of the age, who still remain, I do not find a tithe of a tenth part of that I found in him, [who was] in the *Sunnī* section [of Islām] pure in faith, and in purity of conduct perfectly sincere

[1] There seems to be some mistake, as this only gives 975.

[2] His name was Sayyid Muḥammad, see p. 224 and Text, p. 220, l. 1.

[3] Read *nishīnad*.

[4] Ḥusain Khān.

and upright, in spirit without an equal, in valour peerless, in courtesy alike in his behaviour both to small and great, and in disinterestedness without an equal in the age, in detachment from worldly objects stainless, in active service untiring, in dependence on God without compare, in asceticism worthy of a hundred praises; but if he had lived in these days he would hardly have been able to have attained such a character for orthodox and sincere religion.[1] 223
At the time that he was absolute governor of Lāhōr (I have it from trustworthy people), his food consisted of barley-bread, his object being to follow the example of the Seal of the Prophets and best of Apostles[2] (the blessings of God be on him, and on them all!): and ever so many thousands of mosques and ancient sepulchres he repaired, restored, or rebuilt. One day it happened that a Hindū in the dress of a Muslim came into his assembly, and he with his usual genuine humility, taking him for a Muslim, stood up to greet that Hindū. When he found out the true state of the case, he felt ashamed and ordered that from that day forward all Hindūs should sew a patch of stuff of a different colour on their garments near the bottom of the sleeve, that there might be a mark to distinguish between Muslims and Kāfirs.[3] For this reason he was commonly known among the people by the title of *Tukriya*, for they call a patch *tukrā*,[4] which is another name for the Arabic word *Ghiyār*[5] (with *kasra* under the dotted *'ain*, and *ye* with two dots below,[6]

[1] This is not said in disparagement of Ḥusain Khān, but in disgust at the innovations which Akbar introduced later on.

[2] *I. e.*, Muḥammad.

[3] Unbelievers, *i. e.*, non-Muslims. This is the origin of the name Kaffir, which was applied by the Muslims of Africa to the other inhabitants.

[4] Sanskrit *stoka* 'a piece,' whence the Hindī *tukrā* (with cerebral *t*) 'a patch.'

[5] A distinguishing badge, that which makes a person *ghair* (different) from others.

[6] Since Semitic languages are generally written without vowel-points, and sometimes even without the diacritic points, which, in the Arabic (Persian, Ottoman-Turkish &c.) characters, distinguish between some of the consonants, *e. g.*, between *n* and *y* &c., when a writer wishes to define the pronunciation of a word he has to spell it out in the most elaborate manner. The Persian character is the Arabic adapted to the exigencies of the language, and it is usually written without vowel-points.

so that it is of the form of the word *diyār*[1]). On another occasion he ordered that the Kāfirs, in accordance with the requirements of the Holy Law, should not ride on saddles, but should sit on a pack-saddle. When on a journey, out of deference to the Sayyids, and men of learning and excellence (who used to attend him, and to greet whom he, when seated, used always to rise), he would never use a four-post bedstead: nor would he voluntarily omit saying the Prayers in the night any more than the Friday prayers in the mosque. And, although he had a *jāgīr* worth *lacs* and *krors*, he never had more than one horse with him, and even that he would sometimes give away to meet some expense, or for some worthy object, and so whether on a journey or at home would be content to go afoot, until one of his friends, or of his servants, brought him another. And a poet in a *qaṣīdah* said:—

"The Khān is bankrupt, and the slave is wealthy."

He had taken an oath that he would never amass treasure, and whenever gold was brought before him he would say: "You would
224 say that it is an arrow or a javelin that pierces my side" and he was never at ease until he had given it away. And sometimes it would be observed that, when the Government had assigned some fifteen to thirty or forty thousand rupees on the *pargana*,[2] he, regardless of this, would sign orders for the soldiers and for other expenses also, so that both[3] would get an equal share. He also had a vow that every slave who came into his possession should have the first day to himself. He never had anything to do with any women except his three legally married wives. He looked on nuts as a sort of intoxicating food, and as therefore forbidden by the religion. One day the Shaikh-ul-hidyah of Khairābād (who was one of the leading Shaikhs on the high way of direction and guidance of posterity) being exercised at the Khān's voluntary poverty, and expenditure, and squandering of property, and unnecessary presents, and extreme extravagance in the distribution of pensions and grants,[4]

[1] A tract of country.

[2] *Viz.*, to keep up the required number of soldiers.

[3] Military and non-military expenses.

[4] Instead of *itti/āq* read *auqāf*. Compare p. 22, *note* 4.

endeavoured to urge him to a change in those habits. But this advice was not in harmony with his disposition, so becoming angry he said: "It is simply a question between obeying your order in the matter, and following the tradition of the Prophet; what choice can there be? On the other hand we expect from such as you religious guides, that, if there be any root of avarice or desire for the things of this world in us, you should show us the way by which we may eradicate and cut off such a matter; and not that you should be the ones to lend a false glitter to the accessories of transient trifles, and should make us avaricious, so as to sink among the lowest of the low in the unworthy pursuit of greed and avarice:—

"Wealth never remains in the hand of the free,
Nor patience in the heart of a lover, nor water in a sieve."

Although the author was never with him on any serious battle-fields, still I was his companion in many jungle-warfares, and comfortless journeys. And I observed in him a resolution and a courage, such as perhaps those renowned heroes, who have left their names emblazoned on the pages of history, may have possessed; and not to mention his immense physical strength and prowess—they might 225
have boasted of the same courage as that lion-like warrior. And in the day of battle the *Fātiḥah*[1] which he read was to this effect: "Either martyrdom or victory.[2]" And whenever people told him that he ought to put victory before martyrdom, he used to say: "My desire is rather to see the glorious departed, than the lords who remain alive." And such was his liberality, that if by any possible supposition the treasures of the world and the Sultanate of the whole face of the earth could have become accessible to him, and have been delivered over to him, the very first day he would have become a borrower. And this *qit'ah* became true in his day:—

[1] The first Surah of the Qur'an. The expression 'reading the *Fātiḥah*' is used figuratively of entering upon an undertaking. Compare the expression 'reading the verse of flight' on p. 48, *note* 1.

[2] *Fath*.

He did right in not making both worlds[1] manifest,
The peerless Lord, dispenser of justice, without equal or compare:
Else in a moment of liberality he would have given away both,
And the Creature would have nothing left to hope for from the High God."

And sometimes it would so happen that he would purchase forty or fifty horses, 'Irāqīs, and of mixed breed, and Turkish, at the price at which the dealer first offered them, and would say "You and God know that:—

'A true merchant never demands too much.'"

and afterwards at some social gathering would give them all away to his friends, and then apologize for so doing. The very first time that the writer became acquainted with him, at the time when the army of Garha-Katangah was being got ready at Āgrah, he presented me with an 'Irāqī horse, which he had bought for 500 rupees, and in accordance with:—

"The king of Hormūz never saw me, and without a word from me
He conferred on me a hundred favours;
The king of Yazd saw me, and I lauded him,
But he did not give me anything."

What can one do?

"Speak of a person, as you find him."

226 When he removed his baggage from this transitory world, he was in debt to the amount of a *lac* and a half of rupees, and more; but, on account of the numerous good offices which he had during his lifetime performed for his creditors, they of their own free will and pleasure tore up his bonds, and went away perfectly satisfied, with prayers for the pardon, acceptance, peace, and eternal happiness of his soul upon their lips. And they did not on account of his liabilities bring any lawsuit or litigation against his children (such as is the usual bequest of deceased debtors):—

[1] The editors' (?) to the last word of the first line is unnecessary. They seem to have overlooked the fact, that the lines are distinctly called a *Qit'ah*, and that therefore only the second and fourth lines need rhyme.

"There are Muḥammads and Muḥammads:
The live one killed me, and the dead one revived me.[1]"

In a word how can I, when there is such unanimity of opinion on the subject, find the ability to eulogize such numerous virtues as his. But since I spent in his service the best of this life, which is the flower of youth, and not the mere dregs of life, which is the time of the worthlessness of old age and bewilderment, and since through his kind patronage I have got on so exceedingly well, and am become one of the renowned of the age, and a man of mark in the world, and have obtained the blessing (in so far as it is possible) of contributing to the comfort of the servants of the Lord of earth and heaven, therefore, in gratitude to God for his many favours and goodnesses towards me, have I composed this memorial section, in commemoration of some of his good qualities, though it be but one of a thousand, but a few out of many:—

"It is not that I confer any honour on Muḥammad by mentioning him,
But rather my words that are honoured by mentioning Muḥammad."

And trusting in the truth of the saying 'To commemorate the righteous brings down mercy from God,' I hope on account of this commemoration of his virtues to become a recipient of the all-embracing mercy of God:—

Repeat to us the mention of Na'mān,[2] verily the mention of him
Is like musk, which diffuses its odour as often as thou agitatest it.

So that it may come to pass in accordance with that old time which I spent with him, that my resurrection may also be with him; as has been intended, and involved in futurity: "And this is not difficult with God.[3]"

And in this year the Emperor, on account of the beauty of my voice, which was comparable with the sweet voice, and ravishing tones

[1] The application seems to be this: that, while he was alive his extravagance rendered his children liable to fall into poverty, but that after he was dead the kind actions, he had performed during life, freed them again.

[2] King of Hīrah in 'Irāq.

[3] Al Qur'ān, XIV, 23.

227 of a parrot, made me the Reader of the Prayers on Wednesday evenings, and entered me among the seven Imāms.[1] And the duty of summoning the congregation on that day and night he committed to Khwājah Doulat Nāzir Ghaif Shadīd (a eunuch, neither man, nor woman), and appointed him to look after me that I should be present at the five hours of prayer.[2]

At this time Khwājah Amīn-ud-dīn Maḥmūd (known as Khwājah Amīnā) passed from the world, and the abundant wealth which he left behind came into the royal treasury.

On the 17th of the month Zī-Qadah[3] of this year, the Emperor's journey to Ajmīr took place, and when one stage distant he, according to his usual custom on such occasions, went on foot on a pilgrimage to the Sacred Sepulchre On the 9th of this month the Sun entered Aries:—

"The Workman, the Sun, when he begins anew his work,
His entrance into Aries makes glorious the rising Morn."

This was the commencement of the twenty-second year from the accession. At this time news arrived, that after the death of Mun'im Khān, *Khān Khānān*, the Amīrs being unable any longer to withstand the attacks of Dāūd, had retired on Ḥājīpūr and Patnah from Gaur and Tāndah, and that Khān Jahān, because his army was still at Lāhōr, was advancing but slowly. Accordingly the Emperor wrote a *farmān*, and entrusted it to Turk Subhān Qulī to bear to Khan Jahān, ordering him to hasten up as quickly as possible. And Subhān Qulī performed his mission, covering a distance of nearly a thousand *cosses* in twenty-two days. At the same time news came to Ajmīr, that Khān Jahān, on arriving at Garhī, had fought an obstinate battle with the Afghāns of Dāūd, and had defeated them with some 1500 killed or taken prisoners, and was still advancing.

During the first part of the blessed month Muḥarram[4] of the year nine hundred and eighty-four (984) the Emperor

[1] The Emperor had seven Imāms, or private Chaplains, one for each day of the week.

[2] The five hours of prayer are: Before dawn, midday, afternoon, after sunset, bedtime.

[3] The eleventh month.

[4] The first month.

introduced Mān Singh, son of Bhagvan Dās, into the burial place of the saint Mu'īn (may its occupants attain a happy resurrection!) and treating him with kindness, and showing him the greatest favour, presented him with a robe of honour, and a horse with all its 228 appointments, and ordered him to proceed to the hostile district of Kokanda and Kombalmīr.[1] which was a dependency belonging to Rānā Kīka. And 5,000 reguiar troopers, partly from his own body-guard, and partly belonging to the Amīrs who were in command,[2] he appointed and dispatched as his force. And he sent with him Āç f Khān *Mir-bakhshī*,[3] and Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī, and Shāh Ghāzi Khān Tabrīzī, and Mujāhid Khan, and Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, and Sayyid Hashim Bārha, and Mihtar Khān a servant of the Family, and other Amīrs. And when the author, in the train of Qāzī Khan and Āçaf Khān. arrived at about three *cosses* from Ajmīr, and ardour for fighting against the infidels kindled in my breast, I returned and represented the state of the case to the High Çadr, Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabī. *Shaikh-ul-Islām*, and made interest with him to obtain leave of absence from the Emperor. Although he granted my request he left the presentation of the petition to his Wakīl, Sayyid 'Abd-ur-Rasūl, a meddlesome sort of a fellow. And, when I found that the matter hung fire far too long, I sought the intervention of Naqīb Khān (with whom I was on brotherly terms). At first he made objections, and said: "If a Hindū had not been the leader of this army, I should myself have been the first to have asked permission to join it." But I represented strongly to the said Khān, that I looked on any true servant of the Emperor as a fit leader for myself, and what did it matter, whether it were Mān Singh, or another? And that the purity of intention was what one should look to. Then Naqīb Khān took the opportunity, when the Emperor was going in high state to visit the shrine of that Diffuser of Light,[4] to present my petition. At first the Emperor said: "Why he has just been appointed one of the Court-Imāms, how can he go?" Naqīb

[1] Near Udaipūr in Rajpūtāna.

[2] We propose to read *Nābīnām*, instead of *Nābīnām* 'sightless.'

[3] Paymaster of the Court. Āīn-ī Akbarī, Blochm. p. vi. He had been appointed *vice* Qāzī 'Alī. *Ibid.* p. 411.

[4] Shaikh Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishtī.

Khān represented that I had a very strong desire to take part in a holy war. So the Emperor sent for me, and asked me: "Are you
229 in earnest?" I answered: "Yes." Then he said, "For what reason?" I humbly replied: "I have the presumption to desire to dye these black mustachios and beard in blood through loyalty to your Majesty's person:—

Thine is a perilous service, but I wish to undertake it,
That I may gain renown, or death,[1] for thy sake."

He replied. "If God (He is exalted) will, thou shalt return the bearer of news of victory," and when I put out my hand towards the couch in order to kiss his foot, he withdrew it; but, just as I was going out of the audience chamber he called me back, and filling both his hands he presented me with a sum of 56 ashrafī,[2] and bid me farewell. And when I went to take leave of Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabī, who reached the very acme of kindness in removing all my former obstacles, he said: "Be sure that at the moment of the meeting of the two armies in battle, which according to a sure Tradition of the Prophet (may the best of blessings and peace be upon him!) is the most favourable time and place for the acceptance of prayer, be sure," said he, "that you remember me for good in your prayer: do not forget." I consented; and, having prayed the *Fātiḥah*, joined that army with horse and arms in company with a number of friends of one mind with myself in the matter:—

'Every day on the march, and each night a new halting-place.'

And this journey from beginning to end turned out most successful and prosperous, till eventually I came back to Fatḥpūr with news of

[1] *Lit.* That I may make my face red (with the glow of success), or my neck red (with the gore of death). This play on the words reminds one forcibly of a similar one in Gen. xl. 20—23 "And *he lifted up the head* of the chief butler, and of the chief baker among his servants, and he restored the chief butler unto his butlership, ... and he hanged the chief baker."

[2] About £ 86 sterling.

victory, and brought with me the well-known elephant (the subject of dispute[1]) from Rānā Kikā.

On the twentieth of Muḥarram[2] in this year having arranged the affairs of the army of Kokandah, the Emperor started on his way back to the Seat of Felicity Fatḥpūr, and on the first of the month of Çafr[3] he reached his usual dwelling-place. At this time messengers brought word that after the Khān Jahān had left Garhī,[4] Dāūd had advanced from Tāndah to a place called Āg-Maḥall, on one side of which is the river Ganges, and on the other side it joins the mountains. And that there he had taken up his position, and strengthened it with a trench, and fort, and was every day making sallies
230 thence. And that Khwājah 'Abd-ullāh, grandson of Khwājah Aḥrār (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!) had fallen after making repeated and vigorous attacks on the trench. And that on the other side Khān Khānān (?) the leader of the Afghāns had been slain. Upon this the Emperor wrote a *farmān* to Zafr Khān, commandant of Patnah and Bihār, ordering him to collect all the forces of that district and to proceed to the assistance of Khān Jahān.[5]

In the month Rabī'ul-awwal[6] of this year Mīrzā Muḥammad Sharīf, son of Mīr 'Abd-ul-Latīf Qazwīnī, who was a young man of the very greatest ability, and sharpness of intellect, and possessed of a sweet disposition, and a sweet voice, and endowed with all sorts of perfections, while playing at Chogān[7] with the Emperor in the open space of Fatḥpūr, fell from his horse, and immediately gave up his soul to the Beloved.[8] And a great cry arose in the city and neighbourhood, and this report[9] spread on all sides. The Emperor was

[1] It appears that he had refused to send to Court an elephant (as a sign of submission). See p. 241.

[2] The first month.

[3] The second month.

[4] See p. 232.

[5] Ḥusain Qulī Khān.

[6] The third month.

[7] Polo.

[8] There is a play on the words *jān* 'soul,' and *Jānān* 'Beloved.' *i. e.* The Creator.

[9] It would appear from what follows, that the report was to the effect that it was the Emperor who was killed.

an eye-witness of this accident, and did not know what to do. Meanwhile Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Atgah seized the rein of his Majesty's horse, and said: "My Lord, what are you doing here? go away." And so he turned his rein towards the palace. Then he sent *farmāns* with assurances of the soundness of his health and strength to the Amīrs of the frontiers, so that the panic was stayed. Of the number of these *farmāns* one arrived at Kokandah, addressed to Mān Singh, and Āçaf Khān, with the contents aforesaid. And so that grief of ours was changed into rejoicing.

During the first part of the month Rabi'ul-awwal of the year nine hundred and eighty-four (984) took place the victory of Kokandah. And the following is a succinct account of it. When Mān Singh and Āçaf Khān with the army of Aj̱mīr, on their way to Mandalgaṛh, arrived by forced marches at the town of Darah, seven *cosses* from Kokandah, the Rānā came out to oppose them. Then Mān Singh mounted an elephant, and with a number of the imperial horsemen, such as Khwājah Muḥammad Rafī Badakhshī, and Shihāb-
231 ud-dīn Guroh-pāyandah Quzāq, and 'Alī Murad Uzbek, and Rājah Loun Karan, commandant of Sāmbhar, and other Rājpūts in the centre, and a body of renowned youths took his place in the advance-body. And some eighty or more picked men of these were sent, with Sayyid Hāshim Bārha,[1] as skirmishers in front of the advance-body (and such are called the 'chickens of the front line'). And Sayyid Aḥmad Khān Barha with a body of others[2] had the right-wing, and Qāzī Khān with a body of sons of Shaikhs of Sīkrī, relatives of Shaikh Ibrāhīm Chishtī, had the left-wing. And Mihtar Khān was in the rear And Rānā Kīkā advancing from behind Darah with a force of 3,000 horse, divided his men into two divisions. One division, of which Ḥakīm Sūr Afghān was the leader, came straight from the direction of the mountains, and attacked our advance-body. And on account of the broken and uneven state of the ground, and the quantity of thorns, and the serpentine twistings of the road, the skirmishers and the advance-body of our troops

[1] Compare Text, p. 220, l. 1. This, of course, means 'of Bārha.' For the use of names of places in this manner compare my *Memor book of Neurnberg*, p. 21, under *Heubach*.

[2] "Others" means "other Sayyids."

became hopelessly mixed up together, and sustained a complete defeat. And the Rājpūts of our army, the leader of whom was Rājah Loun Karan, and who were most of them on the left, ran away like a flock of sheep, and breaking through the ranks of the advance-body fled for protection to our right wing. At this juncture the author, who was with some of the special troops of the advance-body said to Āçaf, "How are we now in these circumstances to distinguish between friendly and hostile Rājpūts?" He answered "They will experience the whiz[1] of the arrows, be what may":—

'On whichever side there may be killed, it will be a gain to Islām'
So we kept firing away, and our aim[2] at such a mountain-like mass of men never missed. And there was even a surer proof [of the righteousness of my conduct in so doing, for]—

'The heart is the most faithful witness that can testify'[3]:—
[And]
'The proof of the true Lover is in his sleeve:'

and it became certain that my hand prospered in the matter, and that I attained the reward due to one who fights against infidels.

And the Sayyids of Bārha,[4] and some youths of renown, performed in this battle such exploits as would have become Rustam;[5] 232
and many slain on both sides strewed the plain. The other division of Rānā Kīkā's army, under the Rānā in person, charged out of the pass, and meeting Qāzī Khān, who was at the entrance of the pass, swept his men before them, and bearing them along broke through his centre. Then the Shaikh-sons from Sīkrī all fled at once. And an arrow struck Shaikh Mançur, (son-in-law of Shaikh Ibrāhīm) who was leader of this company, in the seat of honour as he was in the act of flight, and he bore the wound for a considerable time. But Qāzī Khān, although he was but a Mulla, stood his ground manfully, until receiving a cimetar blow on his right hand, which wounded his

[1] *Shayah* is apparently a misprint for *Shībah-i*, *Shīb-i Shīb-i*, or *Shapah-i*, all of which words are onomatopœa for the 'whiz' of an arrow.

[2] *Shiçt* = *Shist*

[3] Comp. 1 John iii. 21.

[4] Perhaps both the skirmishers under S. Hāshim Barha, and those of the right-wing under S. Aḥ. Kh. Bārha.

[5] The famous hero in the *Shāhnāmah*.

thumb, being no longer able to hold his own, he recited [the saying] 'Flight from overwhelming odds is one of the Traditions of the Prophet,' and followed his men [in their retreat]. Those of the army who had fled on the first attack, did not draw rein till they had passed five or six *cosses* beyond the river. In the midst of all this confusion Mihtar Khān hastening up from the rear with his reserves, and beating his kettle-drums, called on the imperial troops to rally. And this shout of his was to a great extent the cause of the fugitives taking heart again, and making a stand. And Rājah Rāmshāh of Gwālyār (grandson of the famous Rājah Mān). who always kept in front of the Rānā, performed such prodigies of valour against the Rājpūts of Mān Singh, as baffle description. And these [Rājpūts of Mān Singh] were those who, on the left of the advance-body, fled, and thereby caused also the flight of Āçaf Khān,[1] and then took refuge with the Sayyids who were on the right; and, if the Sayyids had not held their ground firmly, such confusion did the retreating advance body cause in their ranks, that the affair would have turned out a disgraceful defeat. And with regard to the elephants, when they made a charge on the elephants of the Imperial army, two strong must-elephants singled each other out and fought together. And Ḥusain Khān, leader of the elephants. who was riding on an elephant behind Mān Singh, also joined in the fight. And Mān
233 Singh, springing into the place of the elephant-driver, exhibited such intrepidity as surpasses all imagination. And one of these two elephants, which was a private one of the Emperor's fought furiously with the Rānā's elephant (which was named Rām Parshād, and was of exceedingly strong build), and the two kept charging at one another, until by change an arrow reached a mortal place in the driver of the Rānā's elephant, so that the shock of the charge threw him to the ground. Then the driver of the imperial elephant, with the greatest quickness and address, leapt from his own elephant, and took his seat on that of the Rānā, and performed such a deed as none other could have done. On seeing this circumstance the Rānā could no longer hold his ground, but left the ranks and fled, and confusion fell on the army of the Rānā. Then the young heroes, who acted as the body-guard of Mān Singh, performed such exploits

[1] And of our worthy Author, no doubt, with him.

as were a perfect model; and that day through the generalship of Mān Singh the meaning of this line of Mullā Shīrī became known:

"A Hindū wields the sword of Islām."

And the son of Jaimal of Chitōr, and Rām Shāh Rājah of Gwālyār with his own son Sālabāhan, who showed extreme obstinacy of resistance, went to hell; and of the clan of the Rājpūts there was not left one fit to be his successor—Good riddance of bad rubbish![1] And showers of arrows were poured on the Rānā, who was opposed to Mādhav Singh. And Ḥakīm Sūr,[2] who had fled before the Sayyids, retreated on the Rānā, and so the two divisions became one. Then the Rānā turned and fled, and betook himself to the high mountains, whither he had retreated after the conquest of Chitōr, and there sought to shut himself up as in a fortress. And though it was so extremely hot, being during the forty midsummer-days, so that the very brain boiled in the cranium, they fought from early morning till midday. Nearly five hundred men were slain, and fell on the field of battle, of which number one hundred and twenty were of the people of Islām, and the rest Hindūs.[3] And
234 the number of the champions of Islām, who were wounded, exceeded three hundred. And when the air was like a furnace, and no power of movement was left in the soldiers, the idea became prevalent, that the Rānā, by stealth and stratagem, must have kept himself concealed behind the mountains. This was the reason why they made no pursuit, but retired to their tents and occupied themselves in the relief of the wounded. And the following was found to give the date:—

'And victory from God appeared nigh.'[4]

The next day the army marched thence, and having looked over the battle-field to see how each had behaved, leaving Darah,[5] came to Kokandah.[6] And certain of the devoted servants of the Rānā, who were the guardians of his palace, and some of the inhabitants of the

[1] *Lit.* 'The base are diminished, and the world becomes pure.' A proverb. see Roebuck, p. 21.

[2] Leader of that division of the Rānā's army, which first attacked the advance-body and right wing of Mān Sing's troops.

[3] It must not be forgotten, that there were Hindūs fighting on both sides.

[4] The sum of the letters = 984.

[5] See p. 236.

[6] In our text the name is always *Kokandah*, but Blochm. calls it *Gogandah*

temples, in all amounting to twenty persons, in accordance with an ancient custom[1] of the Hindūs. that, when they are compelled to evacuate a city, they should be killed in order to save their honour, coming out of their houses and temples performed the sacrificial rite, and by the stroke of their life-taking swords committed their souls to the keepers of hell. The Amīrs, as security against a night-attack on the part of the Rānā, barricaded the streets, and drew a trench, and a wall of such a height that horsemen could not leap over it, round the city of Kokandah, and then settled down quietly. And they had a list drawn up containing the names of all the slain, and the horses killed in the action, intending to enclose it with the dispatch to the Emperor. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān Bārha said, 'There has been no person, or horse of ours killed, whose name you will have to report to the imperial government, so what is the good of writing them down? It is more important at the present moment to look after the Commissariat.'[2] Then, since there was in that mountain district but little arable land, and so but a scanty amount of corn was produced, and moreover the Banjārās[3] did not come,

[1] It was a very common custom among the Rājpūts.

It has been equally common among the Jews, see translator's *Memor book of Nuernberg*, p. 9 *Ḥarakat-al-mazbūḥī kardan* seems to be the Moslem equivalent to the Jewish 'saying of the Benediction' used when slaughtering animals for Jewish food. (*Ibid.*).

[2] He was evidently a man of action, and no friend to red-tapeism.

[3] The trade of corn in India is carried on in a mode peculiar to that country. The merchants in corn are a particular caste denoted by the term *Brinjarries*. They traverse the country, conveying the grain, often from the greatest distances, in large bodies which resemble the march of an army. They encamp with regularity, never lodging in houses; are strongly armed; and ready to fight no contemptible battle in their own defence. The practice comes down from a remote antiquity; and marks that unsettled and barbarous state of society, when merchants are obliged to depend upon themselves for the means of their defence. The experienced utility of their services has procured them considerable privileges. They are regarded as neutral in all wars; they enjoy a right of transit through all countries; and the armies, which spare nothing else, act under a special obligation, seldom violated, of respecting the property of the Brinjarries (Mill and Wilson, Hist. of British India, V, p. 395). The name is *Banjārah* but also pronounced *Brinjarah* in India. It is derived from the Sanskrit *Banij* 'a merchant,' and not from the Pers. *Birinj* 'rice.' (Elliot, *The Races of the Provinces of India*, I. p. 52).

so that the army at that time was suffering from great scarcity, they set their wits to work to tackle the difficulty. Accordingly from time to time they singled out one of the Amīrs in command, and commissioned him to bring corn into the lines, and wherever in the high hills and mountains they found many people congregated together, 236 they broke them up and took them prisoners. And one had to sustain life upon the flesh of animals, and the mango-fruit. This latter grew there in such abundance as defies description. The common soldiers used to make a meal on it, fasting, in default of bread, and from its extreme juiciness very many of them became ill. The mango-fruit was actually produced in that country of the weight of a *sēr akbarī*[1] but for sweetness and flavour they are not up to much.

At this time Maḥmūd Khān, a special hanger-on of the Court, arrived from Court charged with an order to hasten to Kokandah. He examined the state of the battle-field.[2] The next day he went away, and reported from what he had heard how every one had conducted himself to the Emperor. His Majesty was graciously pleased to be satisfied on the whole; only he was vexed at their having abandoned the pursuit of the Rānā, and so allowing him to remain alive. Then the Amīrs wished to send to the Emperor the elephant, named Rām-parsād,[3] which had come into their hands with the spoil, (and which His Imperial Highness had several times demanded[4] of the Rānā, and he, unfortunately for him, had declined to surrender it) and together with it, the report of the victory to Court. Āçaf Khān mentioned the name of the Author, as a proper person to be sent with it, since he had been allowed to join the army merely to acquire religious merit and for the love of God. Mān Singh answered [jocosely]: 'There is a great deal

[1] A *sēr* contained 28 *dāms* at the commencement of the reign of Akbar, and was fixed by him at 30. It is about 2lbs. avoird.

[2] Similarly Napoleon used to go over the battle after a victory to criticise the doings of his troops.

[3] See p. 243 note 2.

[4] See p. 235 note 1.

of his work still left undone; he ought to come in front of the line and everywhere take the lead in battle.' I answered: 'My Imāmship here is finished; my business now is to go and act as Imām before the ranks of His Imperial Highness.' He was pleased and smiled, and sent me with the elephant, and appointed three hundred horsemen to accompany me by way of precaution. And he himself, taking advantage of the opportunity to enjoy himself in hunting, and to leave detached guards[1] in different places, came with me by very easy marches as far as the town of Mohanī, which is twenty *cosses* from Kokandah. There he furnished me with letters of commendation, and dismissed me to go to the Court. Thence, by way of Bāk'hōr, and Māndal Garh, I arrived at Ambēr[2] the home
236 of Mān Singh. Wherever we passed, the circumstances of the battle were published, but the people would not credit our statements. By chance it happened, that at five *cosses* from Ambēr the elephant sank into a morass, and the more it went forward, the deeper it sank in the clay. And since this was my first service of such a nature, I was in a terrible fix. At last the country people of the neighbourhood came up, and said, 'Last year[3] at this very spot a royal elephant became bogged. Let them pour a quantity of water on the clay and mud, and then the royal elephant will come out easily enough. Accordingly the water-carriers[4] did so, and poured a quantity of water on, and the elephant became gradually extricated from the quagmire, and got to Ambēr; and the exultation of those people reached the very heavens. The Author remained there three

[1] The word *t'hāna* is Hindūstānī. It is used again p. 237, l. 3 *infra* of the Station of Āra.

[2] Or Jaipūr, see p. 45 note 8.

[3] This word *pārsāl is* interesting since it helps to illustrate the word πέρυσι 'last year' 2 Cor. viii, 10; ix. 2. πέρυσι must have been originally πέρυτι = Sanskrit *para* + *vat* (sara) 'last year.' From first part *para* comes the Persian *pār* cf. πέρας. *Sāl* is perhaps the Sanskrit *Qarad* 'a year.'

[4] Here the ordinary Arabic word *saqqā* is used. But in India the common word is *bisti*, the origin of which is as follows: When Babar came to India he found the heat of the climate so unendurable, that he said that the only enviable people were the water-carriers, and that they ought to be called *bihishtī*, paradisiacal.

or four days, and then proceeded on his journey, by way of the town of Todah, which is his birth-place,[1] and Basāwar which bears this relation to him, that:—

'In that land his skin first touched the dust.'

And during the first days of the month Rabi'ul-ākhir, by the intervention of Rājah Bhagvān Dās, father of Rājah Mān Singh, I prostrated myself in Audience-chamber at Fathpūr, and delivered the despatches of the Amīrs, together with the elephant. The Emperor asked: 'What is its name?' I replied: 'Rām-prasād.'[2] His Majesty replied: Since all this [success] has been brought about through the Pīr,[3] its name henceforth shall be Pīr-prasād.[4] Next His Majesty said: 'They have written ever so many praises of you, tell me truly, in what army have you served, and what exploits have you performed?' I replied: 'In the presence of the Emperor, Your Majesty's humble servant speaks even the truth with a hundred fears and tremblings, how can he speak that which is not the truth!' And then I related to him exactly what had happened. Again he asked: 'Were you unarmed, or armed?' I said: 'I had armour both for man and horse.' 'Where did you get it from?' he said. I replied: 'From Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān.' The Emperor was exceedingly pleased, and putting forth his hand to a heap of Ashrafis[5] (which in those days, just like a heap in a treasury, used always to be laid before him) presented me with a sum of ninety six Ashrafīs, and said: 'Have you seen Shaikh 'Abd-un-Nabī 23
[since your return]?' I answered: 'From the dust of the road I came to the Court, how could I have seen him?' Then the Emperor gave me a pair of splendid Nakhūdī[6] shawls [and said]: 'Take these and go and see the Shaikh, and say to him from us: 'They are from our

[1] Not *Badāūn*, as English historians have supposed.

[2] It is a commno Hindū name meaning 'Favour of Rāmā,' from the Sanskrit *prasāda* 'favour.'

[3] He refers no doubt to the Saint Mu'īn, mentioned often before.

[4] He meant that it should no longer be named after a Hindū god, but after a Saint of Islām.

[5] See p. 229, l. 7 of text.

[6] I do not know whether that means from a place in Persia called Nakhodeh near the Lake of Urumiyeh.

own private treasury, and we had them made on purpose for you, do you wear them.' I took them, and carried the message to the Shaikh, who was very much pleased. Then he asked: At the moment of taking leave of you, I said, At the moment of joining battle remember to pray for me? I replied: I then recited the prayer 'O God! pardon believers male and female, and keep those who keep the Religion of Muḥammad, and abandon those who abandon the Religion of Muḥammad (on him be blessing and peace!)' He said: 'That was sufficient, praise belongs to God!'

This Shaikh Abd-un-Nabī eventually went out of the world[1] by a mischance, such as which may none experience or hear! and may it serve as a warning to all!—

'Whomsoever this world fosters,
At last it spills his blood.
What can be the condition of that child,
Whose own mother is its enemy!'

In this year the Emperor sent Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh post haste to the Khān Jahān (who was encamped against Dā'ūd near K'halgāon,[2] and was awaiting the arrival of Muzaffar Khān,[3] and the army of Bihār and Ḥājī-pūr) entrusted with a firmān expressing his anxiety for those Amīrs, and promising the speedy arrival of His Majesty in person. And he despatched five lacs of rupees by a mounted messenger, as a subsidy to that army, and also ordered several vessels to start from Āgrah laden with corn for the troops. Then news arrived that Guǰpatī,[4] a zamīndār of the neighbourhood of Ḥājī-pūr and Patnah, who had been subjugated,[5] had rebelled, and gathering together a force, had attacked Farḥat Khān, and his son Mīrak Radāī, who were in the station of Āra, and had brought them both to the grade of martyrdom, and now held all the roads. On this account on

[1] See the year 991 in this History.

[2] *K'hal-gāṇw* (Colgong). The termination *gāṇw* is the Sanskrit *grāma* village, comp. Sātgaṇw.

[3] See p. 230, l. 4, text.

[4] So Blochmann, pp. 400, 441, and so, apparently, MS.; not *Cajītī*.

[5] *I. e.*, he *had* been, but now rebelled. The word *īl* is Turkī, and means obedient, submissive.

the twenty-fifth of Rabī'ul ākhir[1] of the aforesaid year the Emperor started towards the east of Hind, and came to a halt within five *cosses* of his goal. At this halting-place Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān brought 238
the head of Dā'ūd: and this verse, which Sayyid Mīr Kai at the moment of returning from Patnah to Jounpūr had chosen as a charm of prophetic meaning, came true:—

"News of the victory suddenly came,
The head of Dā'ūd came to the Court."

And the history of the battle is concisely as follows. When Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān joined the army of the Khān Jahān in the neighbourhood of K'halgāon, he was very anxious to attack the enemy. So the next day (which was the fifteenth of Rabī'ul ākhir) the Khān Jahān issued orders to the Amīrs of his own troops, and appointed to each the place he was to take. Then Muzaffar Khān reinforced him with 5,000 horse. And Dā'ūd with the greatest presumption and pride, being supported by his paternal uncle Junaid Kararānī and other leaders, drew out of the fortress, and leaving his hiding-place offered battle. At the very first attack a cannon-ball struck the knee of Junaid and shattered it. When the armies closed with one another, defeat fell on the Afghāns. The horse of Dā'ūd stuck fast in a swamp, and Ḥasan Bēg surrounded him, and brought him to Khān Jahān. Dā'ūd being overcome with thirst asked for water. They filled his slipper with water and brought it to him. But, when he refused to drink, Khān Jahān offered him his own private canteen, and allowed him to drink out of it. He did not wish to kill him, for he was a very handsome man; but finally the Amīrs said that to spare his life would be to incur suspicions as to their own loyalty, so he ordered them to cut off his head. They took two chops at his neck without success, but at last they succeeded in killing him, and in severing his head from his body. Then they stuffed it with straw, and anointed it with perfumes, and gave it in charge to Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān, and sent him with it to the Emperor. They took many elephants and much spoil. And on the twenty-third of Jamād'-as-sānī[2] the Emperor went to Aǰmīr with the intention of returning thanks for the victory.

[1] The fourth month.

[2] The sixth month.

And on the sixth of the month Rajab,[1] which is the anniversary of
239 the decease of Ḥazrat Khwājah[2] (may God sanctify his glorious tomb!) the Emperor arrived at Ajmīr. And Sulṭān Khwājah, son of Khwājah Khāwand Maḥmūd[3] he appointed *Mīr Ḥājī*,[4] and sent a sum of six lacs of rupees, in money and goods, to be distributed among the deserving people of Makkah and Madīnah, and for building a *Khānah*[5] in the sacred precincts. When the Emperor dismissed Sulṭān Khwājah on his road to the two Sacred Cities, he himself, with bare head and feet, and dressed in the *Iḥrām*, and in every respect clothed like a pilgrim, and having shorn his head a little, went a little distance in his train. At this a cry broke forth from the multitude,[6] and he showed himself moved by their devotion. And Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān and Qulīj Khān, and Āçaf Khān were appointed to escort Sulṭān Khwājah, with orders that they should part from the caravan at Kokandah, and should scour the country of the Rānā,[7] and following his track wherever they should hear news of him, should bring destruction on him.

And contemporaneously with these events news arrived, that Shāh Ṭahmāsp had passedf rom the world,[8] and that Shāh Ismā'īl II had succeeded him. And they found this *mnemosynon* for the date:—

"It is the beginning of *Reign* and *Victory*, and *Conquest*."[9]

And the Emperor made a general order, that any one who wished might go on a pilgrimage, and that his expenses should be paid from the Treasury. And a great number of persons attained that felicity. But the reverse is now the case, for he cannot now bear even the name of such a thing, and merely to ask leave to go on a pilgrimage is enough to make a man a malefactor worthy of death: "We alternate these days among men."[10]

[1] The seventh month.
[2] Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishtī Sigizī of Ajmīr.
[3] Dost. Blochmann.
[4] Leader of the pilgrims.
[5] See Burton's *Meccah and El-Medinah*, III.
[6] They were afraid that he was about to become a devotee.
[7] Rānā Kikā, see above.
[8] Shāh of Persia, see above.
[9] The first letters of these words give 4 + 80 + 900 = 984.
[10] Al Qur'ān III. 134.

And at this time, when news arrived of the distressed state of the army at Kokandah, the Emperor sent for Mān Singh, Āçaf Khān and Qāzī Khān, to come alone from that place, and on account of certain faults which they had committed, he excluded Mān Singh and Āçaf Khān (who were associated in treachery[1]) for some time from the Court; while on the contrary Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī, and Mihtar Khān, and 'Alī Murād Uzbek, Khanjarī Turk, and one or two others, of whom I was of the number, were distinguished from these 240 men, and were honoured with presents and promotion in rank But all the rest, though they fell from the position of confidence, were dismissed without punishment.

On the 19th of this month the Emperor marched towards the country of the Rānā, who was pillaging in the mountain district of Oudīpūr, Khānpūr &c.

At this time Khwājah Shāh Mançūr, a Shīrāzī clerk, who at the beginning of his career had been for some time clerk in the perfumery department, and had been obliged to flee on account of the hostility and power of Muzaffar Khān, came to Mun'im Khān at Jounpūr and was received with the greatest respect, and appointed to be his *dīvān*. And after the death of Mun'im Khān he came to Court in accordance with an imperial firmān, and on account of his exceedingly fine business qualities and soundness of judgment, he became *dīvān* of the whole empire, and by degrees became associated in imperial affairs with the prosperous Rājah[2]:—

"He is an incapable who does not rise to power.
For at all events Destiny is on the look out for a capable man;"

But some one has just reversed the statement and said:—

"The incapables of the world have risen to power.
How then can Destiny be on the look out for a capable man?"

[1] The *Tārīkh-i Nizāmī* says that what displeased the Emperor was that they would not suffer any plundering of the Rāna's country, and that it was this that caused the distress of the army. Elliot v 401.
[2] Todar Mal (see Blochm., p. 430)

But the first is true, and the second is not a fair statement of facts.

And among the events of that year was the appearance of a comet in the west. And, when Shāh Mançūr took to wearing a long tail to the back of his turban, they dubbed him 'The Star with a tail.' And through his excessive economy and stinginess in the army expenses, and the pitch that he reached in grasping in season and out of season, people forgot the tyrannies of Rājah Muzaffar Khān and kept heaping upon him abundance of abuse:—

"For many bads are worse than bad."

241 In this same year news arrived that Shāh Ismā'īl, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Emperor of Persia,[1] had been murdered, with the consent of the Amīrs, by his own sister Parī Jān Khānam: and Mīr Ḥaidar, the riddle writer, found the *tārīkh* of his accession in the word:—"A king[2] of the face of the earth:" and the *tārīkh* of his death in:—A king below the earth." And the effect of the comet in that country became manifest, and in 'Irāq the greatest perturbation resulted, while the Turks conquered Tabrīz, Shirwān, and Māzandarān. And Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābandah, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp by another mother, succeeded to the throne, as is related in its proper place. And the period of cursing and reviling the great Companions of the Prophet, which had lasted for 1,000 months in direct opposition to authority, and involved the use of improper language towards the sons of Ummaiya, came to an end;[3] but the heresy had already travelled from that country to this:—

"Error[4] came to Hind from the land of 'Irāq,
Know that '*Irāq* rhymes with *road to Niſāq*."

While the imperial army was encamped at Mohanī the Emperor wrote a firmān to Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān, and Rājah Bhagvān Dās ordering those two commanders to remain at Kokandah

[1] See p. 246.

[2] *Shāhinshāh* and *Zamīn* give 768 in both cases. And in the first *rāī* gives 216, while in the second *zer* gives 817. Thus the date of the accession is 984, A. H., and of the death 985.

[3] Our writer means that while the preceding Shāhs of Persia had been *Shī'ahs*, the new Shāh was a *Sunnī*.

[4] In Persian *Niſāq*.

and Qulīj Khān with other Amīrs he ordered to accompany the pilgrim-caravan as far as Idar, which is 40 *cosses* from Aḥmadābād, and thence to send on a body of troops to convey them as far as Aḥmadābād, while he himself should lay seize to Idar, and extirpate Narāin Dās the Rājah of that place. So Qulīj Khān in accordance with his orders remained at Idar, and sent on Tīmūr Khān Badakhshī with 500 horsemen to escort the caravan to a place of safety. But the Rājah of Idar, like the Rānā,[1] after the fashion of robbers kept wandering from mountain to mountain, and from jungle to jungle:—

"What does the Moon, that the Halo does not imitate?"

At this camping-place Shihāb Khān, and Shāh Bidāgh Khān with his son 'Abd-ul-Maṭlab and Shāh Fakhr-ud-dīn Khān and other 242
zamīndārs of Mālwah, came and paid their respects. And the Emperor left Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī, who had been raised to the rank of Commander of a Thousand, with Sharīf Muḥammad Khān Atgah, and Mujāhid Khān, and Turk Subḥān Qulī, with 3,000 cavalry at the station of Mohanī. And 'Abd-ur-raḥmān Bēg son of Jalāl-ud-dīn Bēg, and 'Abd-ur-raḥmān son of Mu'ayyad Bēg he left with 500 troops in the hill district of Mudāriya; but he sent for Quṭb-ud-dīn Khān and Rājah Bhagvān Dās from Gogandah, and having stationed Shāh Fakhr-ud-dīn and Jagannāth in Ūdīpūr, and Sayyid 'Abd-ul-lāh Khān and Rājah Bhagvān Dās at the entrance of the defile of Ūdīpūr, the Emperor went himself into the neighbourhood of Bānswāla and Dungarpūr. At this place Rājah Todar Mal arrived from Bengāl, and brought to the Emperor 500 elephants from the spoil of that kingdom, and other valuables.

While at this place he sent Qulīj Khān (whom he had recalled from Idar, and appointed Āçaf Khān as leader of the army in his stead) together with Kalyān Rāī Baqqāl an inhabitant of Cambay to the port of Sūrat to obtain an agreement from the Europeans, so as to set free the ships of Sulṭān Khwājah,[2] which for want of such an agreement were lying idle.[3] Afterwards he was to come to Mālwah and join the army.

[1] *I. e.*, Rānā Kīkā.

[2] The conductor of the pilgrimage.

[3] The Portuguese held Bombay, and so were able to control the navigation of Sūrat.

In the month of Ziḥijjah[1] of this year took place the New Year's day of the 23rd year from the Accession. He celebrated that festival in the castle of Dībālpūr one of the dependencies of Mālwah.

The compiler of this Compendium had on account of a severe sickness remained at Basāwar.[2] He now asked leave to proceed to the camp by way of Bānswālah At Hindūn[3] Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān consented, but representing that the road was blocked up and full of difficulties, he caused me to return and brought me to Bajaunah. And after some days on account of my anxiety to perform my duty as one of the Imperial Imāms I went in company
243 with Razawī Khān by way of Gwālyār and Sārangpūr, and Ujayn, and on the 12th of Ziḥijjah paid my respects to the Emperor in the confines of Dībālpūr belonging to Mālwah. Then I presented to the Emperor a valuable pocket-Qur'ān, and a note-book of marvellous and rare sermons by Ḥāfiz Muḥammad Amīn, a preacher of Qandahār, such a sweet-voiced preacher as whom had never been seen by any one in this generation. This Qur'ān and note-book had been carried off by some thieves from a certain halting-place a *cos* distant from Basāwar, and Sayyid 'Abd-ullah Khān had gone in pursuit and had handed over the things to me. When I brought them into his presence, the Emperor evinced great pleasure, and calling Ḥāfiz Muḥammad Amīn he said to him in joke: "They have brought me a pocket-Qur'ān from somewhere or other, I make it a present to you." Ḥāfiz recognizing it was extremely delighted, and making profuse and boundless bows and prostrations by way of thanks, said: Your Majesty the very same day said to Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān, "If God will, you will find it, it can't be really lost." When the Emperor enquired of the author the circumstances of its discovery, I replied: "A company of labourers, who in some of the villages of Basāwar are occupied in digging wells and tanks &c., and who under pretext of this occupation do a little in highway robbery had stolen these articles. But one of them, having had a difference with his companions brought word to Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh

[1] The last month of the Muhammadan year

[2] Lak'hnou Lithograph gives *Peshāwar*

[3] That edition reads *Hindūān* not *Hindūn*.

Khān, so that he was able to seize them all, and so they confessed the thefts they had committed." Then the Emperor said to Ḥāfiz: "If God will, the rest of the articles will also be found, so be of good cheer!" To this he replied: "I have attained my wish in the recovery of my Qur'ān and note-book, which I received as an inheritance from my father and grandfather, and I cannot compose sermons myself. For the other things I don't care much." And eventually on the return from that journey those articles were 244
all found among the things taken from the countrymen, as the Emperor had said would be the case, and Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān brought them into the Imperial presence at Fatḥpūr. While at Dībālpūr I was reinstated in my office of Imām, and Khwājah Daulat Nāzir had to keep me up to the mark, and in the old way one day and night out of the seven used to make me mount the pulpit, and the proverb became fulfilled: "Little Aḥmad will not go to school, so they carry him":—

> "Either thou goest, or otherwise they will carry thee, there is no choice."

And on account of anxiety for the affairs of that kingdom, the Emperor remained some days at Dībālpūr. And some of the great Amīrs, such as Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān he sent, with the *jāgīrdārs* of Mālwah, against Rājah 'Alī Khān in the direction of Asīr and Burhānpūr, to subdue that district. And Shāhbāz Khān, *Bakhṯhī*, was to see to the branding of the horses and the mustering of that army. At that station Rājah Todar Mal, together with I'timād Khān of Guǰrāt, was appointed to look into revenues of the country of Guǰrāt, and into the stores of that kingdom.

At this time news came of the defeat of Rājah Narāin Dās, and the taking of Idar. The particulars are as follows: When Qulīj Khān, through the efforts of 'Alī Murād Uzbek, who had been sent to fetch him, had left Idar and returned to Court, and Āçaf Khān[1] had been appointed to the command, the Rājah of Idar, who had become an outcast and wanderer, had with the assistance of Rānā Kīkā and other *zamīndārs* collected an army and advanced to within 10 *cosses* of the station of Idar, intending to make a night attack.

[1] See above, p. 249.

Then Āçaf Khān and Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm and Tīmūr Badakhshī, and Mīr Abu-l-ghays Bokhārī, and Mīr Muḥammad Ma'çūm
245 Bakrī, &c., agreed that it would be the best plan, leaving about 500 horse to guard the station, themselves to make a night attack on the enemy, and so anticipate him in his plans. Accordingly just at daybreak on the 4th of Ziḥijjah, in the year nine hundred and eighty-four (984), when they had proceeded 7 *cosses*, Rājah Narāin Dās met them coming in the opposite direction armed *cap-à-pie*, and immediately attacked them, and arrows and swords and javelins began flying in the air. And Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm, who was in the van in advance of every one, in drinking the draught of martyrdom still showed his superiority. Defeat fell on the infidels, and they fled to a man and skulked like foxes in their holes. When the dispatch of Āçaf Khān arrived, a firmān of commendation was issued to the officers of that army.

In this year Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad *Mīr 'Adal*, who had been appointed to the government of Bakkar, sent Sayyid Abu-l-Fazl and his other sons against Sabwī (?), and they reduced that fortress in a short space of time. And Mīr Sayyid Abul Qāsim son of Mīr Sayyid Çafāli (who is one of the most important personages of Bhakkar and had come to do homage at Court) was raised to the rank of a body-guardsman. And this line gives the date:—

"To the sons of the Prophet[1] belongs the taking of Sabwī."

And in this year the Mīr 'Adal[2] departed this life, and the date is given by the following:—*Sayyid-i-Fāzil*[3]—May God deal with him according to excellence (*fazal*)!

Among the events of this time was the arrival of Sharīf of Āmul, and his interview with the Emperor while he was at Dībālpūr. The
246 sum of the matter is as follows: This reprobate apostate had run from country to country, like a dog that has burnt its foot, and turning from one sect to another, he went on wrangling until he became a perfect heretic. For some time he studied after the

[1] The brothers were Sayyids, *i. e.*, descendants of the Prophet.

[2] The father of the above-mentioned 'sons of the Prophet.'

[3] These words mean "Excellent Sayyid," and give 985, which is one too much. But, if we take *fazal* instead of *fāzil*, the date is 984.

vain fashion of Çūfiism, which is void of all -sophy, in the school of Maulānā Muḥammad Zāhid of Balkh, nephew of the great Shaikh Ḥusain of Khwārizm (God sanctify his tomb!), and had lived with darvīshes. But as he had little of the darvīsh in him he set on foot abundance of vain talk and senseless effrontery, and blurted it out, so that they expelled him. The Maulānā wrote a poem against him in which the following verse occurs:—

"There was a heretic, and Sharīf was his name,
Perfect he thought himself, not perfect all the same!"

In his wanderings he came to the Dak'hin, where from his want of self-restraint he betrayed the filthiness of his disposition, and the rulers of the Dak'hin wished to cleanse the tablet of existence of his image, but eventually he was only set on a donkey and shown about the city in disgrace. But since Hindustān is a wide place, where there is an open field for all licentiousness, and no one interferes with another's business, so that every one can do just as he pleases, at this time he made his way to Mālwah, and settled at a place five *cosses* distant from the Imperial camp. Every foolish and frivolous word that proceeded out of his mouth instead of being wholesome food was the poison of asps, and became the absorbing topic of general conversation. Many persons like brute beasts, especially the heretics of 'Irāq (who separated themselves from the Truth of the Faith, like a hair from the dough, 'Nabatheans'[1] exactly describes them, and they are destined to be the foremost worshippers of Antichrist[2]) gathered round him, and at his orders spread abroad the report that he was the Restorer promised for the tenth century. The sensation was immense. As soon as His Majesty heard of him he invited him one night to a private audience in a long prayer- 247
room, which was made of cloth, and in which the Emperor with his suite used to say the five daily prayers at the stated hours. Ridiculous in his exterior, ugly in shape, with his neck stooping forward, he performed his obeisance, and then stood still with his

[1] The 'Nabatheans' are the 'Bœotians' of the Arabs. "Ces gens sont fort grossiers. C'est pourquoi ils passent ordinairement parmi les Arabes pour des idiots et des ignorants." D'Herbelot.

[2] See p. 301, Text.

arms crossed, you could scarcely see how his blue eye (which colour is said to be a sign of hostility to the Prophet—peace be upon him!) shed lies, falsehood, and hypocrisy. There he stood for a long time, and when he got the order to sit down, he prostrated himself as in worship, and then sat down *duzānū*,[1] like an Indian camel. And there he held *tête à tête* with the Emperor, and discussed various questions. No one except the *Ḥakīm-ul-mulk*[2] was allowed to be present with them, but every now and then from a distance, when he raised his voice, I could catch the word *'ilm* [knowledge]. He chewed the cud of a host of foolish stories, and called them "the Truth of Truths," and 'the Foundation of Fundamentals':—

"A race both outwardly and inwardly ignorant
Through ignorance is lost in folly.
They are immersed in heresy and call it Truth!
There is no power or might except in God!"

The whole talk of the man was a mere repetition of the ideas of Maḥmūd of Basakhwān, who lived in the time of Tīmūr the Lord of Conjunction, at Basakhwān, which is the name of a village in the neighbourhood of Gīlān. Maḥmūd had written thirteen treatises of dirty filth, full of such droppings of heresy as no religion or sect would suffer, and containing nothing but deceitful flattery, which he called 'science of expressed and implied language.'[3] The chief work of this miserable wretch is entitled *Bahr u Kūzah*[4], containing such loathsome nonsense, that when the ear eats thereof it turns sick. How the devil would have laughed in his sleeve, had he heard it, and what capers he would have cut! And this gross fellow Sharīf had also written a regular conflict of absurdities which he named "First glimpses of the Truth," in which he blindly fol-
248 lows Mīr 'Abd-ul-awwal. This book is written in loose, deceptive

[1] Kneeling and sitting on the heels, with the hands resting on the knees.

[2] Shams-ud-dīn, of Gīlān on the Caspian. Blochm. p. 542.

[3] So Blochmann (P. 177) renders the words *'ilm-i-lafz-u ḥāl*. Our "letter and spirit" (?).

[4] 'The Ocean and the Jug,' *i. e.*, God and the Soul, the Finite trying to reach the Infinite.

aphorisms, each beginning with the word *mīfarmūdand*:[1] it is a regular poser, and a mass of ridiculous silly nonsense. But in spite of this folly, in accordance with the saying: 'Verily God the King brings people to people,' he so carried things before him, and knew so well how to turn to his own account the spirit of the age and mankind, that he is now a Commander of One Thousand, and one of the apostles of His Majesty's religion in Bengāl, possessor of the four[2] degrees of Faith, and in his turn summoning faithful disciples to these degrees. An account of these degrees will be given later on:—

"Regard not the reprobation or approval of the common people,
For their business is always either to bray or to purr.
Common people believe in a Cow[3] as a God,
And do not believe in Noah as a prophet."

We make our complaint unto God on account of the world: if ever it does good, it immediately repents; and if it does evil, it goes on in its evil course. The following just suits his case:—

"I was last year a star of the lowest dimension,
This year I am the Pole-star of religion.
If I last out another year,
I shall be the Pole-star of the religion of 'Alī."

And when the Emperor had satisfactorily settled the affairs of that district, he started thence by successive stages by way of Rintambhor, and hunting as he went along arrived on the 23rd of Çafr of the year nine hundred and eighty five (985) at Fatḥpūr. And Shaikh Faizī, who now enjoys the title of the King of Poets, wrote an ode, of which the opening lines are:

"The breeze that cheers the heart comes from Fatḥpūr,
For my king returns from a distant journey"

[1] *I. e.*, 'The master said,' comp. the Hebr. Midrash *Yelammedēnu* 'he used to teach us.'

[2] Akbar said that perfect devotedness consisted in the readiness to sacrifice four things, Life, Property, Religion, Honour.

[3] Al Qur'ān II, where "Cow" is used for the "Calf" of Exodus.

Two or three months later news arrived of the troubles in Gujrāt,
249 the origin of which was as follows. When Rājah Todar Mal went in the afore-mentioned capacity[1] to Gujrāt, Muzaffar Ḥusain, son of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā, who was daughter's son to Kāmrān Mīrzā came from the country of the Dak'hin. At the time of the siege of Sūrat his mother Gulrukh Bēgum had carried him off thither, from there, at the age of fifteen or sixteen years. At the instigations of a scoundrel named Mihr 'Alī, one of the old retainers of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, he gathered together a number of vagabonds and raised an insurrection in Gujrāt. Then Bāz Bahādur, son of Sharīf Muḥammad Khān Atgah, and Bābā Bēg *Dīwān* of Gujrāt, marched against Muzaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā, attacked him in the *parganna* of Patlād, and were defeated. Then the Mīrzā went off to Cambay with some 2,000 or 3,000 horse. And Wazīr Khān, governor of Gujrāt, although he had a force of 3,000 horse, on account of the dissatisfaction among his troops, who were by no means to be relied on, determined to shut himself up in the fort, and wrote a statement of affairs to Rājah Todar Mal, who was at Patan. Then the Rājah marched towards Aḥmadābād, upon which the Mīrzā decamped from outside Aḥmadābād[2] and retired on Dūlaka. Wazīr Khān and the Rājah pursued him, and a fierce battle took place in that neighbourhood, and defeat fell on the enemy, who retired to Jūnāgaṛh. At this juncture the Rājah returned suddenly to Fatḥpūr. Then Muzaffar Ḥusain returned from Jūnāgaṛh, and besieged Wazīr Khān (who for the aforenamed reason had, rather than risk an engagement, again shut himself up in the fortress) at Aḥmadābād. He placed ladders against the walls of the castle, and endeavoured to take it by assault: in fact he had almost carried the fort, when suddenly a bullet reached the breast of Mihr 'Alī, who was the Mīrzā's absolute vicegerent, and the casket of his secrets, and brought him into a casket indeed:—

"Death comes unexpectedly,
And the grave is a casket indeed."

[1] See above p. 251.

[2] He had gone thither after remaining two or three days at Cambay. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī.*

As soon as the Mīrzā became aware of this catastrophe he took to
250 flight, and went towards Sulṭānpūr and Nadarbar.

The renowned Amīrs who, under the leadership of Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān, had been appointed against Rājah 'Alī Khān, and had driven him into the fortress, and keeping him closely besieged had ravaged the country, were very near taking the fortress. Meanwhile Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān became disaffected, and separating himself from the Amīrs went towards Bahroṇch and Barodah, where he held a *jāgīr*, and which through the Mīrzā[1] had been thrown into the direst confusion. The financial affairs of Asīr and Burhānpūr had become so completely embarrassed, that the Amīrs had to content themselves with receiving from Rājah 'Alī Khān so much tribute as he was then in a position to pay, and sent it to Court, and themselves returned to their *jāgīrs*.

At this time Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk Shīrāzī, who in the year nine hundred and eighty-three had gone on an embassy in company with the *wakīl* of 'Ādil Khān ruler of the Dak'hin,[2] returned and presented the elephants and other valuable presents of 'Ādil Khān to the Emperor: and after the superseding of Deb Chand, Rājah of Majholī, in the military command of Bāns Barelī, Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk was appointed to the command in the skirts of the mountain district. From that place he wrote a report consisting of ever so many sections. In one of them he said: "Since I am separated from the Court, and in this desolate wilderness I have not a single individual of my friends for a companion, if a certain Rājah who is well acquainted with the good and evil of this district, and the whole conduct of its affairs should mention my name, and if people should be inclined to restore their confidence to him, and he should have some unrequited services at Court, please send him: it would be a great kindness to him, and a great advantage to your humble servant. But your Majesty's will is law." Khwājah Shāh Manṣūr read over each section, and wrote an answer according to the Emperor's orders, but when he came to this section His Majesty gave him neither 'Yea' nor 'Nay':—

[1] Muzaffar Ḥusain.

[2] He was the reigning prince of Bījāpūr.

"Though hair should grow on the palm of the hand,
Yet thy locks cannot come into my hand.
251 Such is my hard fate,
And such is thy hard-heartedness."

And in the month of Rajab[1] (in the year nine hundred and eighty-five) which is the time of the festival of the saint Khwājah Aj̣mīrī, the Emperor turned his face towards Aj̣mīr. And while he was at Todah, Shāh Abu Turāb one of the great Sayyids of Shīrāz and counsellor of the Sulṭāns of Guj̣rāt, and Rājah Todar Mal, who after his victory over Mīrzā Muzaffar Ḥusain had set out for the Court, arrived. When not far from Mairt'ha he appointed Shāh Abu Turāb *Mīr Ḥājjī* over a caravan of pilgrims, and to I'timād Khān Guj̣rātī he gave a large sum of money, and permission to proceed to the sacred Makkah. And the Emperor issued a general order that any one who wished might go. And when I brought a petition to Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabī that I might receive permission to go, the Shaikh asked me: 'Have you a mother still alive?' I answered: 'Yes.' He said: 'Is there one of your brothers who will fulfil the obligation of serving her?' I answered: 'No, I am her only means of support.' To this he replied: 'If you were to obtain your mother's permission first, it would be better.' But that happiness I was not fortunate enough to obtain: and now with the teeth of disappointment she gnaws the back of the hand of repentance:—

"Thy favour did not do one particular thing,
And the time for the thing passed by.
On one particular day I met not with thee,
And the opportunity passed by."

In the neighbourhood of the town of Ambīr, in the district of Mūltān, which is an ancient city which had become totally ruined, the Emperor commanded the rebuilding of the city. A lofty castle, and gates and a garden were apportioned out to the Amīrs, and they expended the greatest energy in the work of building, so that in

[1] The seventh month.

eight[1] days is was finished. And the Emperor made the rayats settle down in that district. He called the place after the name 252
of Rāī Manohar, son of Rāī Lonkaran, governor of Sāmbhar, and gave it the name of Manohar-pūr. This Manohar, whom they called for some time Mīrzā Manohar, grew up and was educated in the service of the eldest prince, and attained to great proficiency. Now he composes poetry and bears the title of Tusanī, and an exceedingly able young man he is. He will be mentioned in the sequel containing Memoirs of the Poets. Thence by way of Nārnūl the Emperor set out for Dihlī and Shaikh Nizam of Nārnūl, one of the greatest Shaikhs of the time, came to meet him. After performing the pilgrimages at Dihlī to the tombs of the great saints of that illustrious locality, the Emperor went on a hunting expedition in the neighbourhood of Pālam.

At the beginning of the last decade of the blessed month of Ramazān in this year, news reached me at Rewārī, that at Basāwar a son had been born to me, a happiness which I had been long anxiously expecting. I presented an offering of *ashrafīs* to the Emperor, and requested him to name the child. After reading the *Fātiḥah* he enquired the name of my father and of my grandfather, I answered "Mulūk Shāh was my father, and he was the son of Ḥāmid." He said, 'This child is called 'Abdul Hādī'"—Hādī being a name which at that time was day and night upon his lips. Although Ḥāfiz Muḥammad Amīn, the preacher, and one of the seven Imāms[2] kept urging me with the greatest importunity not to commit this folly, but to assemble some reciters of the Qur'ān to my house to recite the whole Qur'ān in order to secure a long life to my son, I declined to do so, and at the end of six months my son died If God will, may he be to me a reward and treasure, an intercessor and one accepted in the Day of Judgment!

From Rewārī I took five months' leave and went to Basāwar, on account of certain important affairs, or rather follies; but I exceeded my term of absence and remained there a whole year. This neglect of duty and the machinations of my enemies caused me to

[1] The *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* says 20 days. Elliott V, 407.
[2] See p. 232.

fall from the Emperor's favour, and he took no further notice of
253 me. Even to this day although a period of eighteen years has elapsed since that event, and eighteen thousand worlds[1] have passed away, I continue still afflicted with this unrequited service, which offers neither chance of confirming myself in his favour, nor opportunity of leaving his service :—

"I have not the fortune to have intercourse with the Beloved,
I have not the fortitude to abstain from Love.
I have not the power to fight against Fate,
I have not the foot to flee from the field."

And while the Emperor was at Hānsī, at the time that he was on his way to the Panjāb, a despatch arrived at Court from Shēr. Bēg Tawāchī, to the effect that Muzaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā having fled from Gujrāt and gone to the Dak'hin, had been captured by Rājah 'Alī Khān, and was held prisoner by him. So at the beginning of Zī ḥajjah[2] in the year nine hundred and eighty-five (985) the Emperor despatched a *farmān* to Rājah 'Alī Khān by the hand of *Maqçūd*[3] *Jauharī*, which resulted in his sending the Mīrzā to the Imperial Court.

In the beginning of the sacred month of Muḥarram[4] in the year nine hundred and eighty-six (986) was the new year's day of the Jalālī period, corresponding with the twenty-fourth year from the accession :—

"The Çafar[5] of the throne wins the day over the Sultān of the sky :
Verily his fame rises up to Aries."

At Patan the Emperor had the honour of visiting the tomb of the saint Ganj Shakar (may God sanctify his glorious spirit!), and then went for a *Qamurghah* hunt in the neighbourhood of Nandanah, and in the course of four days numberless game was enclosed.

[1] He seems to mean that monstrous changes had taken place in the course of that time.

[2] The twelfth month.

[3] See *infra*, p. 274.

[4] The first month.

[5] The old name of Muḥarram. Whence the two first months are sometimes called *Çafarāni*.

And when it had almost come about that the two sides of the *Qamurghah* were come together, suddenly all at once a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the Emperor, and an extraordinary change was manifested in his manner, to such an extent as cannot be accounted for. And every one attributed it to some cause or other; but God alone knoweth secrets. And at that time he ordered the hunting to be abandoned :—

"Take care! for the grace of God comes suddenly, 254
It comes suddenly, it comes to the mind of the wise."

And at the foot of a tree which was then in fruit he distributed much gold to the faqīrs and poor, and laid the foundation of a lofty building, and an extensive garden in that place. And he cut off the hair of his head, and most of the courtiers followed his example And when news of this became spread abroad in the Eastern part of India, strange rumours and wonderful lies became current in the mouths of the common people, and some insurrections took place among the rayats, but these were quickly quelled.

While he was at Bihrah the Imperial Bēgum arrived from the Capital. At this time he confided the government of the Panjāb to Sa'īd Khān Moghul, and appointed Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī (who is the grandson[1] of Mīr Qāzī Ḥusain Maibazī) to rearrange the boundaries of the lands given as *Madad-i Ma'āsh* and *Aymah* in the Panjāb and elsewhere, which had been encroached upon. He had orders to abolish the old boundaries and re-measure the enclosures, and to put them all together into one village. Thus an exact distinction was made between the different grant-lands of the empire, and all this was done in spite of Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabī, and the dishonesty of his subordinates. Thence the Emperor set out on his return to Faḥtpūr. And near to Khizrābād Sādhorah on the 3rd of Jamada'-s-sānī[2] in the aforesaid year the Emperor embarked on board ship and the Amīrs and nobles of the kingdom also went on board a vessel to accompany him, but the army went by land. And on the 29th of this month the Emperor arrived at Dihlī. During the first part of the month Rajab he disembarked from the water-boat and mounted

[1] The Lak'hnau edition has asterisks after the word *naberah*.

[2] The 6th month.

a land-boat (which is a figurative expression for a desert-traversing steed), and on the 6th of this month he reached Ajmīr and attended the festival held at the tomb of the Saint.[1] The next day at the same hour he started for the Imperial Palace, and travelling each day 50 *cosses*, he arrived at Todah at day-break on Friday the 9th. The compiler of these pages, who had come from Basāwar to meet
255 him, paid his respects to him at that time, and presented the Book of the *Aḥādīs*,[2] which contains forty of them treating on the merit of war with Infidels, and the advantages of archery, and its name includes the date of it. It was admitted into the Library, and no mention whatever was made of any fault on my part in delaying to redeem my promise. And later that day the Emperor came to Fathpūr. There he used to spend much time in the *'Ibādat-khānah* in the company of learned men and Shaikhs. And especially on Friday nights, when he would sit up there the whole night continually occupied in discussing questions of Religion, whether fundamental or collateral. The learned men used to draw the sword of the tongue on the battle-field of mutual contradiction and opposition, and the antagonism of the sects reached such a pitch that they would call one another fools and heretics. The controversies used to pass beyond the differences of Sunnī, and Shī'ah, of Hanīfī and Shāfi'ī, of lawyer and divine, and they would attack the very bases of belief. And Makhdūm-ul-mulk wrote a treatise, to the effect that Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabī had unjustly killed Khizr Khān Sarwānī, who had been suspected of blaspheming the Prophet (peace be upon him!), and Mīr Ḥabsh, who had been suspected of being a Shī'ah, and saying that it was not right to repeat the prayers after him, because he was undutiful towards his father, and was himself afflicted with hemorrhoids. Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabī replied to him that he was a fool and a heretic. Then the Mullās became divided into two parties, and one party took one side and one the other, and became very Jews[3] and Egyptians for hatred of each other. And persons of novel and whimsical opinions, in accordance with their pernicious

[1] Mu'in-ud-dīn Chishtī Sigizī.

[2] See p. 207, *note* 1.

[3] *Sabṭī* is from the Hebrew *Shēbheṭ* 'a tribe' and is applied to Israel as descended from the twelve heads-of-tribes (*Shebhātīm*), the sons of Jacob

ideas, and vain doubts, coming out of ambush decked the false in the garb of the true, and wrong in the dress of right, and cast the Emperor, who was possessed of an excellent disposition, and was an earnest searcher after truth, but very ignorant and a mere tyro, and used to the company of infidels and base persons, into perplexity, till doubt was heaped upon doubt, and he lost all definite aim, and the straight wall of the clear Law, and of firm Religion was broken down, so that after five or six years not a trace of Islām was left in him: and every thing was turned topsy turvy:—

The matter of me and you has fallen upside down, 256
You *purchase* the very thing I *blame*.[1]

Of this there were many causes and reasons, but in accordance with the Proverb 'A little guides to the much, and fear points out the culprit,'[2] a specimen of them is brought forward in the course of this history (and God is the assistant!). In a word crowds of learned men from all nations, and sages of various religions and sects came to the Court, and were honoured with private conversations. After enquiries and investigations, which were their only business and occupation day and night, they would talk about profound points of science, the subtleties of revelation, the curiosities of history, and the wonders of tradition, subjects of which large volumes could give only an abstract and summary: and in accordance with the saying:—"Three things are dangerous, Avarice satisfied: desire indulged: and a man's being pleased with himself" everything that pleased him, he picked and chose from any one except a Moslem, and anything that was against his disposition, and ran counter to his wishes he thought fit to reject and cast aside. From childhood to manhood, and from manhood to his declining years the Emperor had combined in himself various phases from various religions and opposite sectarian beliefs, and by a peculiar acquisitiveness and a talent for selection, by no means common, had made his own all that can be seen and read in books. Thus a faith of a materialistic character became painted on the mirror of his mind and the storehouse of his

[1] The word عيب 'blame' is بيع 'purchase' written backwards

[2] *Ex uno disce omnes.*

imagination, and from the general impression this conviction took form, like an engraving upon a stone, that there are wise men to be found and ready at hand in all religions, and men of asceticism, and recipients of revelation and workers of miracles among all nations and that the Truth is an inhabitant of every place: and that consequently how could it be right to consider it as confined to one religion or creed, and that, one which had only recently made its appearance and had not as yet endured a thousand years! And why assert one thing and deny another, and claim pre-eminence for that which is not essentially pre-eminent?

And Samanas[1] and Brahmans (who as far as the matter of private
257 interviews is concerned gained the advantage over every one in attaining the honour of interviews with his Majesty, and in associating with him, and were in every way superior in reputation to all learned and trained men for their treatises on morals, and on physical and religious sciences, and in religious ecstacies, and stages of spiritual progress and human perfections) brought forward proofs, based on reason and traditional testimony, for the truth of their own, and the fallacy of our religion, and inculcated their doctrine with such firmness and assurance, that they affirmed mere imaginations as though they were self-evident facts, the truth of which the doubts of the sceptic could no more shake—

"Than the mountains crumble, and the heavens be cleft!"

And the Resurrection, and Judgment, and other details and traditions, of which the Prophet was the repository, he laid all aside. And he made his courtiers continually listen to those revilings and attacks against our pure and easy, bright and holy faith, some of which are written in the book called "The Inspiration of Holy Scripture": and urged and excited them to his own path by speech both set and extempore:—

"The guardian gave advice to that fair one:
Do not smile on every face, as the rose through the wind.
When the advice became past endurance, that coquette
Knit her brow, and hung down her head."

[1] Buddhist ascetic, Sansk. *çramana.*

Some time before this a Brahman, named Puruk'hotam, who had written a commentary on the book *Khirad-afzā*, had had private interviews with him, and he had asked him to invent particular Sanskrit names for all things in existence. And at one time a Brahman, named Debī who was one of the interpreters of the *Mahābhārata*, was pulled up the wall of the castle sitting on a *chārpāī* till he arrived near a balcony, which the Emperor had made his bed-chamber. Whilst thus suspended he instructed his Majesty in the secrets and legends of Hinduism, in the manner of worshipping idols, the fire, the sun and stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers, such as Brahma, Mahādev, Bishn, Kishn, Rām and Mahāmā (whose existence as sons of the human race is a 258
supposition, but whose non-existence is a certainty, though in their idle belief they look on some of them as gods, and some as angels). His Majesty, on hearing further how much the people of the country prized their institutions, began to look upon them with affection. He became especially firmly convinced of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and he much approved of the saying:—"*There is no religion in which the doctrine of Transmigration has not a firm hold.*" And insincere flatterers composed treatises in order to establish indisputable arguments in favour of this thesis. And having instituted research into doctrines of the sects of the Hindū unbelievers, of whom there are an endless and innumerable host, and who possess numbers of sacred books, and yet do not belong to the *Ahl-i-Kitāb*,[1] he took so much pleasure in such discussions, that not a day passed but a new fruit of this loathsome tree ripened into existence. Sometimes again it was Shaikh Tāj-ud-dīn whom he sent for. This Shaikh was son of Shaikh Zakariyā of Ajodhan. The principal 'Ulamā of the age call him *Tāj-ul-'ārifīn*.[2] He had been a pupil of Rashīd Shaikh Zamān of Pānipat, author of a commentary on the *Lawāih*, and of other excellent works, was most excellent in Çūfīism, and in the knowledge of Theology second only to Shaikh Ibn 'Arabī, and had written a comprehensive commentary on the *Nuzhat ul-arwāh*. Like the preceding he was drawn up the wall of the castle in a blanket, and his Majesty listened the whole night

[1] People of the Book, Jews, Christians, and Sabeites; *Al Qur'ān* xxix, 45, &c.
[2] Crown of the Çūfis.

to his Çūfic obscenities and follies. The Shaikh, since he did not in any great degree feel himself bound by the injunctions of the Law, introduced arguments concerning the Unity of Existence, such as idle Çūfīs discuss, and which eventually lead to license and open heresy. He also interested the Emperor in the question as to the faith of Pharaoh (the curse of God be on him!), which is mentioned in the book *Fuçūç ul-ḥikam*, and as to the excellence of hope over fear, and such like questions, to which people, overlooking the warnings of Reason and the prohibitions of the Law, instinctively incline. Thus he became a chief cause of the weakening of the Emperor's faith in the commands of Islām. He allowed that infidels would be kept for ever in fire, but the eternity of the *punishment* he thought doubtful, and not actually established. He also introduced many changes into the texts of the
259 Qur'ān, and the Traditions of the Prophet (peace be upon him!). And the expression *Insān i kāmil* he said referred to the Khalif of the age, explaining it in the sense of 'holiest' and interpreting most things in a manner not wholly correct, and not a few of them quite wrong he uttered much such like nonsense. And he invented a *sijdah* [prostration] for him, and called it *zamīn-bos* [kissing the ground], and looking on the reverence due to a king as an absolute religious command he called the face of the king *Ka'bah i Murādāt* [sanctum of desires], and *Qiblah i Ḥājāt* [goal of necessities]. And in support of these matters he brought forward some apocryphal traditions, and the practice of the disciples of some of the Shaikhs of India. And thus after a time the titles The Only One, The Absolute The Perfect Man became commonly applied to the just, majestic, and magnanimous Emperor. Similarly other of the great Shaikhs, such as Shaikh Ya'qūb of Kashmīr, who is a well-known writer, and at present the greatest authority in religious matters, mentioned some of the opinions expressed by that chief of the Qāzīs, Hamadānī,[1] such as the following: that Muḥammad the Prophet of God (may God bless him and his race and grant him peace!) was a personification of the title *Alhādī* [the guide], and that Iblīs [the devil] is a personification of the title *Almuzill*[2] [the

[1] Abdul-Jabbār Hamadānī, see D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* fol. 395.
[2] Al Qur'ān xxviii, 14.

tempter], and that both names, thus personified, have appeared in the world, and that both personifications therefore are necessary

Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd, too, was drawn up the castle wall in the same way, and uttered unworthy, loathsome abuse against the three Khalifs, and called all the companions of the Prophet, their followers and next followers, and the saints of ancient and modern times, (may God show favour to them!), infidels and adulterers, and represented the Sunnīs and the *Ahl-i-Jamā'at*[1] as despicable and contemptible, and pronounced every sect except the Shī'ah as erring and leading into error.

The differences among the 'Ulamā, of whom one would pronounce a thing as unlawful, and another by some process of argument would pronounce the very same thing lawful, became to his Majesty another cause of unbelief. And since he looked on each of the 'Ulamā of his own age as superior in dignity and worth to Imam i Ghazzālī and Imām i Rāzī, and since he knew the worthlessness of those of his own time, he inferred the unknown from the known and rejected 260
also their predecessors.

Learned monks also from Europe, who are called *Pādre*, and have an infallible head, called *Pāpā*, who is able to change religious ordinances as he may deem advisable for the moment, and to whose authority kings must submit, brought the Gospel, and advanced proofs for the Trinity. His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion, and wishing to spread the doctrines of Jesus, ordered Prince Murād to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices, and charged Abu-l-Fazl to translate the Gospel. Instead of the usual *Bismillāh-irraḥmān-irraḥīm*[2] the following line was used:—

Ai nāmī vay Gesu Christu,[3]

that is "O thou, whose name is merciful and very bountiful." Shaikh Faizī added to this the hemistich:—

Subhānaka lā siwāka yā hū.[4]

[1] Those who in religious ordinances follow the *ijmā'* 'agreement' or common consent of the 1st cent. of the Hejrah.
[2] In the name of the gracious and merciful God.
[3] Our author seems to have imagined that "Jesus Christ" means "merciful and bountiful."
[4] Praise be to Thee, there is none like Thee, O He.

And the attributes of the accursed Antichrist and his qualities were ascribed by those accursed men to his lordship The Best of the Prophets (God bless him and his family and preserve him from all Impostors!).

The accursed Bīrbar tried to persuade the Emperor, that since the sun gives light to all, and ripens all grain, fruits and products of the earth, and supports the life of mankind, therefore that luminary should be the object of worship and veneration; that the face should be turned towards the rising and not towards the setting[1] sun, which is the west; that man should venerate fire, water, stones, and trees, and all natural objects, even down to cows and their dung; that he should adopt the sectarian mark, and Brahmanical thread. Several wisemen at Court confirmed what he said, by representing that the sun was "the greater light" of the world, and the benefactor of its inhabitants, the patron of kings, and that kings are but his vicegerents. This was the cause of the worship paid to the sun on the *Nou-rōz-i-Jalālī*, and of his being induced to adopt that
261 festival for the celebration of his accession to the throne. Every day he used to put on clothes of that particular colour which accords with that of the regent-planet of the day. He began also, at midnight and early dawn, to mutter the spells, which Hindūs taught him, for the purpose of subduing the sun to his wishes. He prohibited the slaughter of cows, and the eating of their flesh, because the Hindūs devoutly worship them, and esteem their dung as pure. Instead of cows they sacrifice fine men. This reason was also assigned, that physicians have represented the flesh of cows to be productive of sundry kinds of sickness, and to be difficult of digestion.

Fire-worshippers also came from Nousārī in Guǰrāt, proclaimed the religion of Zardusht as the true one, and declared reverence to fire to be superior to every other kind of worship. They also attracted the Emperor's regard, and taught him the peculiar terms, the ordinances, the rites and ceremonies of the Kaiānians.[2] At last he ordered that the sacred fire should be made over to the charge of Abu-l-Fazl, and that after the manner of the kings of Persia, in

[1] *I. e.*, towards Makkah.

[2] An old Persian dynasty.

whose temples blazed perpetual fires, he should take care it was never extinguished night or day, for that it is one of the signs of God, and one light from His lights.

From early youth, in compliment to his wives, the daughters of Rājahs of Hind, he had within the female apartments continued to offer the *hom*,[1] which is a ceremony derived from sun-worship; but on the New-year of the 25th year after his accession he prostrated himself both before the sun, and before the fire in public, and in the evening the whole Court had to rise up respectfully when the lamps and candles were lighted.

On the festival of the eighth day after the Sun's entering Virgo in this year he came forth to the public audience-chamber with his forehead marked like a Hindū, and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrists by Brahmans, by way of a blessing The chiefs and nobles adopted the same practice in imitation of him, and presented on that day pearls and precious stones suitable to their respective wealth and station. It became the current custom also to wear the *rāk'hī* on the wrist, which means an amulet[2] formed out of twisted linen rags. Every precept which was enjoined by the doctors 262
of other religions he treated as manifest and decisive, in contradistinction to this Religion of ours, all the doctrines of which he set down to be senseless, and of modern origin, and the founders of it as nothing but poor Arabs, a set of scoundrels and highway-robbers, and the people of Islām as accursed. But in the course of time the truth of this verse[3] in its hidden meaning developed itself: "Fain would they put out the light of God with their mouths! but, though the Infidels abhor it, God will perfect his light." By degrees the affair was carried to such a pitch that proofs were no longer considered necessary for abolishing the precepts of Islām. I remember, that in the early days of these discussions I had an argument with Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl in the privy audience-chamber at Fatḥpūr. He said: "It seems to me that there is a fair objection to be made to all writers [on such subjects] on two grounds. First—Why should they not have written as circumstantial histories

[1] The branch of a certain tree offered by Parsees as a substitute for *Soma* juice.

[2] Sanskrit *rakshikā*.

[3] Al Qur'ān LXI, 8.

of the old prophets, as they have done in the annals of their own Prophet (God bless him and his family, and give them peace!)?" I answered: "The stories of the prophets are numerous enough in all conscience!" He said: "Nay, they are too compendious, they ought to have been written more in detail." I answered: "In times gone by just the amount now extant must have been thoroughly sifted by critics and historians, and the rest not authenticated."[1] He said: "This answer is not satisfactory. But secondly—There is no kind of handy-craft's man, who is not mentioned in the *tazkirat-ul-auliyā*, and the *nafaḥāt-ul-uns* &c., but the people of the Prophet's own family what fault have they committed that they are not mentioned therein? This is a great subject of wonder." On this topic whatever the time allowed was said, but who will care to hear it! Afterwards I asked. "For which of these notorious heresies have you yourself the greatest inclination?" He said: "I wish to wander for a few days in the vale of infidelity for sport." I said: "It will not be a bad thing if you eventually take the yoke
263 of marriage,[2] as they have said:—

He took upon him the yoke of the Law, by the help of God,
From off the neck of the world, Peace be to his memory!"

He smiled and went away, and as has been suggested by a man of the world:—

"One favour of the Judge is better than a thousand witnesses"

he fell boldly into disputation in religious matters with such imbecile old men as the Çadr, the Qāzī, the Ḥakīm-ul-mulk, and Makhdūm-ul-mulk, and had not the slightest hesitation in putting them to shame, at which the Emperor was pleased. They sent privately a message to Abu-l-Fazl by Āçaf Khān, *Bakhshī*: "Why are you always falling foul of us?" He returned answer: The fact of the matter is I am the servant of a mere mortal, and not of an

[1] History serves as a kind of filter for each generation, removing the impurities of the traditions of the generation before. *Abbott.*

[2] *Viz.* to Orthodoxy.

egg-plant."[1] By dint of his own exertions, and the assistance of his father, and the patronage of the Khalīf of the age, and by the favour of fortune, he cast them all in a short space of time down to the ground of scorn and contempt, as we have already stated. And not one of the people of Islām, except Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ and Mulā Muḥammad Yazdī could keep pace with him in any of the discussions. When further enterprises and propositions were brought forward I retired into private life:—

"When the desire is great
Difficulties become light.[2]"

I read the verse of flight,[3] and fell altogether out of the Emperor's notice, and all that friendship became estrangement. But thank God that I am as well off as I am!—

"My heart did not go gadding about, and a good thing it didn't!
It settled on nothing but thee, and a good thing it didn't!
Thou saidest, 'I shall grieve if thine affair turn out well'
Thou sawest that it did not turn out well, and a good thing it didn't!"

I did not consider myself a fit recipient of favour nor His Majesty a fit object of service, and I was quite content:— 264

"Come that we may waive all ceremony,
You shall not rise to me, I will not bow to you."

And at long intervals I used to come and prostrate myself in the ante-chamber, and was a witness to the truth of:—

"Companionship will not arise,
Where dispositions are not congenial."

[1] The egg-plant bears fruit all the year round, hence the Brahmans say (*Chandi* p. 69) when they fear that their patron is drowned, that he was an egg-plant to them, whereas his *śrāddh* (funeral feast) will only yield once like a radish. Abu-l-Fazl seems to mean, that since his patron is a mere man and liable to die, or to change, he thinks it advisable to "make hay while the sun shines."

[2] "Where there is a will there is a way."

[3] Compare p. 48, *note* 1.

And afterwards according to destiny[1]: —

"I saw that seeing thy face from afar was pleasanter,
I left thy companionship, I ceased to be a spectator."

Since the account of those trifles and particulars, and the stringing of all these events in chronological order is of the number of impossibilities, thus much must be deemed sufficient, and my refuge is in the mercy of God (He is exalted!), who in all cases is the defender and protector of his servants, in fulfilment of the promise[2]:—"Shall not verily the party of God have the upper hand, is not God sufficient for his servants?" I have made bold to chronicle these events, a course very far removed from that of prudence and circumspection But God (He is glorious and honoured!) is my witness, and sufficient is God as a witness, that my inducement to write this has been nothing but sorrow for the faith, and heart-burning for the deceased Religion of Islām, which 'Anqā[3]-like turning its face to the Qāf of exile, and withdrawing the shadow of its wings from the dwellers in the dust of this lower world, thenceforth became a nonentity, and still is so. And to God I look for refuge from reproach, and hatred, and envy, and religious persecution:—

"I am content with what God has decreed for me
And I commit my affairs to my Creator.
God has indeed been good in what is past,
So will He be good in what is to come."

In this year a certain *ḥakīm* came to Fatḥpūr, who said that he could construct a house having all its four sides in the water. And that he could plunge into the water and enter the house without the water's penetrating it. With a view to this they made a tank in the court-yard of the palace twenty *gaz* by twenty *gaz*, 265 and three *gaz* deep. In this they built a stone cell, and on the

[1] The Lak'hnau edition reads *muqaddar* not *miqdār*.
[2] An adaptation of Al Qur'ān LVIII, 22, V, 61, XXXIX, 37.
[3] The fabulous bird (*Sīmurgh*) said to dwell in the mountains surrounding the world (*Qāf*).

roof of it they built a high tower, and on all four sides of the cell they left steps. But the pretensions of the ḥakīm, like his medicines, proved a lie, and he fled and was seen no more.[1] But Ḥakīm 'Alī of Gīlān some seventeen years later did construct such a pond at Lāhor, and Mīr Ḥaidar a riddle-maker found "*The pond of Ḥakīm 'Alī*[2]" to give the date. And that pond the Emperor filled brimful of copper coins, which amounted to as much as 20 *kror* One day he had an interview with one Shaikh Banj'hū by name, a singer with a sweet voice, and of Çūfī tendencies, one of the disciples of Shaikh Adhan of Jounpūr (whose name gives the date of his death[3]), and had a very agreeable time of it. Then he sent for Miyān Tānsīn, and other unequalled singers of Hind; but he preferred him to any of them, and ordered that Shaikh Banj'hū should carry off the whole of that sum of money. But his strength was unequal to carrying it, so he asked for a little gold instead. The Emperor, accordingly, presented him with nearly 1,000 rupees in exchange. And the rest of that money the Emperor in the course of three years, more or less, got rid of by means of various expenses. About this time he received from Shaikh Mubārak[4] a lecture on his extravagant expenditure. Before that, at the time of the [musical] exhibitions, Shaikh Faizī had said: "Our Shaikh[5] is not much of a courtier." "No," replied the Emperor, "he has left all those fopperies to you." He sent Shaikh Banj'hū, and Miyān Tānsīn, and all the musicians to the Shaikh[6] that he might tell him what they were worth as musicians. He said to Miyān Tānsīn: "I have heard that you can sing a bit." At last he compared his singing to the noise of beasts, and allowed it no superiority over it.

In this year Ma'çūm Khān, foster-brother of Mīrzā Ḥakīm, who was a brave youth, and was always performing valiant deeds, being vexed with the Mīrzā came and did homage to the Emperor. He

[1] For the expression see Text p. 243, l. 11.
[2] The letters give 1002.
[3] *Shaikh Adhan* = 300 + 10 + 600 + 5 + 5 + 50 = 970.
[4] Father of Abu-l-Fazl.
[5] Meaning their father, Shaikh Mubārak.
[6] Mubārak.

gave him a command of 500 and appointed him to the district of Bihār. There he fought a battle with Kallā Pahār, a general dis-
266 tinguished among the Afghāns for his might and prowess, and gained the victory over him. The Emperor from Fatḥpūr sent him a *farmān* making him a *mançabdār* of 1,000, together with a present of a horse and a dress of honour from his own wardrobe. They say that he saw in a dream the glorified 'Alī (may God be gracious to his countenance!) so distinctly, that you would have said that the blessed hand had struck him on the back. Through this blessing he never turned his back from the foe; and the mark of the hand is visible on his back to this day:—

"What fear of the waves of the sea is there
To him, who has Noah for his pilot."

In the month of Shavvāl[1] of the aforesaid year the Emperor sent for Mullā Taib (a worthless wretch) from Kīt'hal, and patronized him, and appointed him *Dīwān* of the province of Bihār and Ḥājīpūr. And most of his acts of patronage were of a like character. Also Rāī Puruk'hotam in reward for his commentary[2] he made *Bakhshī*. And Mullā Mujdī of Sarhind, who had formerly been warrant-writer to Islīm Shāh, he made Receiver-General of revenues. And Shamshīr Khān, *khwājah-sarā*, he made Superintendent of the Exchequer. And these through the vileness of their birth, which necessarily produces vileness of character, having arrived at that place, were loyal neither to God nor their Emperor. They perpetrated all sorts of oppression and tyranny, and bending unsuitable and unfitting seasons to their wishes, so annoyed the soldiery that they compelled Ma'çūm Khān to revolt, as shall soon be narrated, if God (He is exalted!) will.

In this same month *Maqçūd*[3] *Jauharī* Mīrzā Muzaffar Ḥusain brought the presents of Rājah 'Alī Khān from Khāndesh, and presented them to the Emperor, who after a time forgave him his transgressions, and then honoured him by raising him to the dignity of son-in-law,[4] and took him into favour.

[1] The tenth month.
[2] On the *Khirad-afzā*. See p. 265
[3] See p. 260.
[4] In the 36th year he married him to his eldest daughter, the Sulṭān Khānum.

In this year the Emperor appointed Shahbāz Khān *Bakhshī*, with Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī and Sharīf Khān Atgah, and others to march against Rānā Kīkā.[1] The Rānā shut himself up in Koṇbhalmīr,[2] which is a strong fortress. The imperial troops were victorious and ravaged that district. One night the Rānā effected his es- 267
cape from the fortress, and took refuge in another mountainmastness.

In this year Sulṭān Khwājah returned from a pilgrimage to Makkah and brought with him horses of Arabian pedigree, and Abyssinian slaves, and other precious presents for the Emperor, who received him with favour and made him Çadr.

The office of *Mīr-Hājj* for the year nine hundred and eighty-six was given to Khwājah Muḥammad Yaḥyā, one of the descendants of Khwājah Aḥrār (God sanctify his spirit!). He left 4 lacs of rupees as a deposit at his ancestor's shrine, and in the month of Shavvāl[3] of this year started from Ajmīr to go to Makkah.

Now Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabī and Makhdūm-ul-mulk having fallen out with one another had been the cause of people's distrusting both the past and the future, and had brought about a great declension from true religion. In accordance with the [Arabic] saying: "When two people clash together, they fall together" the Emperor sent them to Makkah together with this caravan. The next year they arrived at the goal of their wishes, and in the end of the business (which deserves honour for that result) they became cleansed from their accidental stain, and returned in safety to the fold of Islām, and learning eventually brought about its natural result, and "He is great, and man is little[4]" was found to give the date.

In the beginning of the year nine hundred and eighty-seven (987) news arrived of the death of Khān Jahān governor of Bengāl. The Emperor wrote a *farmān* of condolence to his brother Isma'īl Qulī Khān, and he appointed Muzaffar Khān, who had been honoured with the post of Dīwān, as governor in his stead, and Razawī Khān

[1] Also called Pratāb, or Partāb.
[2] On the frontiers of Udīpūr and Joudpūr.
[3] The 10th month.
[4] 5 + 6 + 70 + 7 + 10 + 7 + 100 + 6 + 40 + 30 + 6 + 700 = 987.

he appointed *Bakhshī*, and Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ he made *Çadr*, and Rāi Patr Dās with Mīr Adham as his colleague he made Dīwān, and sent them off from Fatḥpūr.

On the 19th of the month Çafar[1] of this year the Author (praise be to the Most High!) was blest in the 40th year of his age with the birth of a darling son named Muḥi-d-dīn (may God prolong his days, and furnish him with wholesome knowledge, and acceptable works!). He was born at Basāwar.

In this year Mullā 'Ashqī, who had the title of Khān and had written a *dīvān*[2] and a *maṣnavī* (a ridiculous one too!), and who had
268 gone as *vakīl* of Qazī Çadr-ud-dīn of Lāhor to Kashmīr came back, and in company with one Muḥammad Qāsim by name, ambassador of 'Alī Khān governor of Kashmīr, brought presents of quantities of saffron and musk and *costus arabicus*, and shawls and other precious products of Kashmīr and Tibet.

At this time the Emperor sent Ḥakīm 'Alī, a relative of Ḥakīm-ul-mulk, of Gīlān (who is now without an equal in philosophy, and medicine, and other rare sciences) in company with the *vakīls* of 'Ādil Khān of the Dak'hin to Bījāgarh.

At this time Mīr Nizām, sister's husband to Mīrzā Shāhrukh, came as ambassador from Badakhshān with presents of Badakhshī horses, and glittering rubies, and strings of camels.

In this year the Emperor was anxious to unite in his person the spiritual as well as the secular headships, for he held it to be an insufferable burden to subordinate to any one, as he had heard that the Prophet (God be gracious to him, and give him peace!), and his lawful successors, and some of the most powerful kings, as Amīr Tīmūr Çāḥibqirān, and Mīrzā Ulugh Beg-i-Gurgān, and several others had themselves read the *khuṭbah*, he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in public as the *Mujtahid* of the age. Accordingly on the first Friday of Jumāda'l-awwāl[3] of the year nine hundred and eighty-seven, in the chief mosque of Fatḥpūr, which he had built near the palace, His Majesty began to read the *khuṭbah*. But all at once

[1] The second month.
[2] Blochm., p. 598.
[3] The fifth month.

he stammered and trembled, and though assisted by others, he could scarcely read three verses of a poem, which Shaikh Faizī had composed, but came quickly down from the pulpit, and handed over the duties of Imām to Ḥāfiz Muḥammad Amīn, the Court *Khatīb*. These are the verses:—

"The Lord, who gave to us sovereignty,
Who gave us a wise heart, and a strong hand,
Who guided us in equity and justice,
And drove from our thoughts all save equity,
His description is higher than the range of thought,
Exalted is His Majesty, Allāhu Akbar!"

And in these days, when reproach began to spread upon the 269
doctrines of Islām, and all questions relating thereto, and ever so many wretches of Hindūs and Hindūizing Musalmāns brought unmitigated reviling against the Prophet, and the villainously irreligious Ulamā in their works pronounced the Emperor to be without sin, and contenting themselves with mentioning the unity of God, they next wrote down the various titles of the Emperor, and had not the courage to mention the name of the Prophet (God be gracious to him and his family, and give them peace in defiance of the liars!) this matter became the cause of general disgrace, and the seeds of depravity and disturbance began to lift their heads in the empire. Besides this base and low men of the higher and lower classes, having accepted the collar of spiritual obedience upon their necks, professed themselves his disciples. They became disciples through the motives of hope and fear, and the word of truth could not proceed out of their mouths.

At this time Muzaffar Khān, governor of Bengāl sent a present to the Emperor consisting of 5 *lacs* of rupees in ready money, and other notable gifts of elephants, and cloth, which were beyond calculation, also 39 elephants were presented by Muḥammad Ma'çūm Kābulī.

On the second Friday of this month the Emperor assembled the poor and the deserving in the *chaugān*-field, and came in person to the place. Nearly a *lac* of persons, men and women, were present in that enclosure. And Sulṭān Khwājah the *Çadr*, and Qulīj Khān

presented to each a piece of gold. On that day of assembly eighty persons, women and children, were crushed to death under the hands and feet. And from the girdles of some of the women, whose husbands had died in Bengāl, there fell purses full of *ashrafīs* and rupees. This affair caused great suspicion to arise as to all the poor. An order was issued, that in future but few persons should be brought together at once, but he soon laid aside this rule also.

270 In these same days the Emperor appointed Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān Atgah as tutor to the eldest prince, and held a great levee. The tutor as is customary on such occasions presented the Emperor with notable elephants, and other presents worthy of his new post, and taking the prince upon his shoulders he ordered dishfuls of gold and jewels to be scattered to the people.

In this year an ambassador of 'Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek came from Transoxiana with a letter containing assurances of friendship. The Emperor sent Mīrzā Fūlād Barlās, with Khwājah Khaṭīb, who was a native of Bokhārā, to accompany him with presents and gifts. And the seal of the letter was as follows :—

"When we are friends with one another,
Sea and land are free from confusion and evil.'

At this time a document made its appearance, which bore the signatures and seals of Makhdūm-ul-mulk, of Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabī *ṣadr-uṣ-ṣudūr*, of Qāzī Jalāl-ud-dīn of Multān, *qāzī-l-quzāt*, of Ṣadr Jahān the *muftī* of the empire, of Shaikh Mubārak the deepest writer of the age, and of Ghāzī Khān of Badakhshān, who stood unrivalled in the transcendental sciences. The subject-matter of the document was the settling of the absolute superiority of the *Imām-i-'ādil* over the *Mujtahid* and the investigation of the grounds of this superiority. In so doing they set right some doubtful Traditions containing some disputed points, so that no one of them might any longer have it in his power to refuse obedience whether to religious or political edicts, but that he might stand self-convicted. And the discussion of this matter was carried on with great prolixity. Such questions were discussed as : "To whom is the title *Mujtahid*, and the word *ijtihād* applicable?" And, "whether it is the duty of the *Imām-i-'ādil*,

who is versed in politics and holds a higher rank than the *Mujtahid*, to decide according to the requirements of the times and the wants of the age all legal questions on which there exists a difference of opinion." At last, however, all signed the document, some willingly and the rest against their convictions. I shall copy the document *verbatim* :—

"Petition. 27

Whereas Hindūstān is now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. Now we, the principal 'Ulamā, who are not only well-versed in the several departments of the Law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, *first*, of the verse of the Qur'ān[1]: "Obey God, and obey the prophet, and those who have authority among you," and, *secondly*, of the genuine Tradition: "Surely the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment is the *Imām-i-'ādil*; whosoever obeys the Amīr, obeys Thee; and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Thee," and, *thirdly*, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony; and we have agreed that the rank of *Sulṭān-i-'ādil*,[2] is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a *Mujtahid*.[3] Further we declare that the king of Islām, Amīr of the Faithful, shadow of God in the world, *Abu-l-Fatḥ Jalāl-ud-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Padshāh Ghāzī* (whose kingdom God perpetuate!) is a most just, a most wise, and a most God-fearing king. Should therefore in future a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the Muṭtahids are at variance, and His Majesty in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation, and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions, which exist on that point, and issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

[1] IV, 62.
[2] Just ruler.
[3] Authority on points of law.

272 Further, we declare that, should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Qur'ān, but also of real benefit to the nation; and further, that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of property and religious privileges in this.

This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God, and the propagation of Islām, and is signed by us, the principal 'Ulamā and lawyers, in the month of Rajab[1] of the year nine hundred and eighty-seven (987)."

The draft of this document, when presented to the Emperor, was in the handwriting of Shaikh Mubārak. The others had signed it against their will, but the Shaikh had added at the bottom that he most willingly signed his name; for this was a matter to which for several years he had been anxiously looking forward.

No sooner had His Majesty obtained this legal document, than the road of deciding any religious question was open; the superiority of the intellect of the Imām was established, and opposition was rendered impossible. All orders regarding things which our law allows or disallows were abolished, and the superiority of the intellect of the Imām became law. They called Islām a travesty.

But the state of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl resembles that of the poet Ḥairatī[2] of Samarqand, who after having been annoyed by the cool and sober people of Māwara-n-nahr, joined the old foxes of Shī'itic Persia, and chose the roadless road. You might apply the proverb to him—"I prefer hell to disgrace."

On the 16th of Rajab of this year His Majesty made a pilgrimage to Ajmīr. It is now fourteen years since His Majesty has been to that place. On the 25th of Sha'bān, at the distance of five *kos* from the town, the Emperor alighted and went on foot to the tomb of the Saint [Mu'īn-ud-dīn]. But sensible people smiled and said, It was strange that His Majesty should have such a faith in the Khwājah of Ajmīr, while he rejected the foundation of everything,

[1] The seventh month.

[2] See Blochmann's *Āīn-i Akbarī*, Translation p. 187, and Sprenger *Catalogue* p. 424.

our Prophet, from whose "skirt" hundreds of thousands of saints 273 of the highest degree like the Khwājah had sprung:—

"The Fairy has her face hidden,
But the Demon is all ogles and blandishments:
The Intellect is consumed with astonishment,
What can this miracle mean!
In this Garden no one has ever gathered
A Rose without a thorn. Nay,
The Lamp of Muḥammad is ever attended
By mischievous sparks of Abu Lahab."

After that the Emperor had started [for Ajmīr] Makhdūm-ul-mulk and Shaikh Abd-un-nabī tempted mankind by suggesting the forgery of the Qur'ān, and by going out of the way to show the impossibility of inspiration, and by throwing doubts on the authority of prophets and Imāms, and utterly denying the existence of demons and angels, and all mysteries and signs and miracles Also the integrity of the traditional Text of the Qur'ān and its verbal authority, and existence of the soul after the dissolution of the body, and reward and punishment other than by means of transmigration they deemed impossible, and tenaciously brought forward such verses as these:—

"How much of Truth is in the hand of the tomb!
The Qur'ān remains, and many an old Tomb.
The Tomb tells not a word to any,
For the secret of the Qur'ān none searches."

"The Festival is come, and all shall be well—like the face of the bride.
The cupbearer will pour pure wine into the cup—like the blood of the cock.
The bridle of prayer, and the muzzle of fasting—Once again
It will remove from the necks of these asses—Aha! aha!"

His Majesty had now determined publicly to use the formula, 'There is no God but God, and Akbar is God's representative.' But as this led to commotions, he thought better of it, and restricted the use of the formula to a few people in the Harem. People expressed

the date of this event by the words, "Revolution of Religion."[1]
The Emperor tried hard to convert Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān
274 and Shahbāz Khān. But they staunchly objected. Quṭb-ud-dīn Khān said: "What would the kings of the West say, such as the Sulṭān of Constantinople, if they heard all this? For they all hold the same faith be it a travesty or no" His Majesty then asked him, if he was in India on a secret mission from Constantinople, as he showed so much opposition; or if he wished to keep a small place warm for himself, should he go away from India, and become an honoured subject there. He might go at once. Shahbāz got excited, and took part in the conversation; and when Bīr Bar—that hellish dog—attacked the faith, he said to him: "You cursed infidel, will you go on talking in this manner, until I am able to pay you out!" Affairs became rather unpleasant, and the Emperor said to Shahbāz in particular, and to the others in general: "Would that they would beat your mouths with a slipper full of filth!"

At this time Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān, governor of Patan arrived from Gujrāt.

And in this year Qāzī 'Alī of Baghdād, who had been appointed in spite[2] of Shaikh Abd-un-nabī to look into the administration of the *Madad-i ma'āsh* lands, and their encroachment,[3] brought those holders[4] of grant-lands, which brought in 1,000, or 500 down to those which brought in 100, to Court, and cut off most of their lands, and taking the very calf[5] from the cow left them precious little. By this means respect for the families of the great and noble, and the renowned and famous vanished from the cities, and the children of no race were left so helpless as the human beings of Hind: "A generation came after, who neglected prayer, and followed their own lusts."[6] Schools and mosques were obliterated, and great numbers left their native country: and their children, who remained, in course of time got a reputation for mean conduct.

[1] 30 + 400 + 50 + 5 + 1 + 10 + 1 + 40 + 400 = 987

[2] Instead of برِ رسم read برِ رغم as on p. 254, l. 11.

[3] Compare Text p. 254, l. 9; Translation, p 261.

[4] See Blochm. 274.

[5] I propose to read گوسالہ عذوی instead of گوسالہ عدلوی.

[6] Al Qur'ān XIX, 60.

"The schools were as empty of learned men,
As the wine-seller's shop of wine-bibbers in the Fast-month.
They turn the teacher's black-board into a draught board. 275
And the Reader's Qur'ān into a gambling-stake"

And the Emperor after showing much severity to Ḥakīm-ul mulk on account of his opposition to Shaikh Abu-l Fazl, whom he called *Fazlah*,[1] at last ordered him to make a pilgrimage to Makkah

In the blessed month of Ramazan[2] of this year the aforementioned Qāzī 'Alī brought me (who through my absence from Court had begun to look upon myself as one of those forgotten out of mind) before the Emperor in the city of Ajmīr, and mentioned my 1,000 *bīghas* of subsistence-land, which he said caused me to waste my time:—

"To the Court of Princes in season and out of season
Thou shouldest go in order to receive some grant"

The Emperor said: "I suppose that in the *farmān* for the grant there is some condition insisted on" He replied: "Probably, it was on condition of his attendance at Court." The Emperor said: "Make enquiries, perhaps he is not well, that he absents himself so long." Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī said in jest: "He is suffering from a purse-complaint"; and all the courtiers made some reference to the duties of my late office of Imām, which, especially the public prayer, was at that time in abeyance. Shahbaz Khan said: "We do not ought always to be present." The Emperor said: "We do not wish any one to attend against his will, if he does not care about attending at Court, let him have but half of the grant. Immediately I resigned it, and this was very annoying to the Emperor, and he turned his face from me. But when Qāzī 'Alī kept perpetually asking the Emperor: "What does your Majesty decree concerning it?" after a good deal of talk he said: Ask Shaikh Abd-un-nabī (who is now at the Camp) how much he ought to

[1] *Fazl* means "excellence," but *fazlah* "refuse," "leavings"

[2] The ninth month.

[3] There is a play on the words *bīgah* "out of season," and *bigah* a measure of land, about ⅔ acre.

have without condition of attendance." Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabī sent word by the late Mullānā Ilāhdād of Amrohah: "Since he is a
276 family-man, and the expenses he has are well known, we approve of his having the amount, which your Majesty has decreed, *viz.*, 700 or 800 *bīgahs*. But the courtiers did not see the fitness of this, and put great pressure on me to be more diligent in attendance, so that *nolens volens* I fell again into the snare:—

"The clever bird, when it falls into the snare,
Has to bear it as well as it can."

All this arose from my not consenting to be branded as his disciple, and he used frequently to allude to it, and in extemporary verse I used to say:—

'I am glad I have not a horseman nor a foot-soldier,
I am free from the bond of the king, and of the prince too.'

In this year the *Tamghā*,[1] and the *Jazyah*,[2] which brought in several *krors* of *dāms* were abolished, and edicts to this effect were sent over the whole empire.

In the same year Ma'çūm Khān, son of Mu'īn-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān Farankhūdī, who held the governorship of Jaunpūr, came to the Court, and was afterwards sent back to Jaunpūr. And Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī the Emperor appointed Qāzi'l-quzāt of Jaunpūr, and the governorship of Dihlī was given to Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, son of Mīr Khalīfah.

Mulla Muḥammad Yazdī, when he reached the province of Jaunpūr, issued a *fatwā* insisting on the duty of taking the field and rebelling against the Emperor. The consequence was that Muḥammad Ma'çūm Kābulī, and Muḥammad Ma'çūm Khān Farankhūdī, and Mīr Mu'izz-ul-mulk, and Nayābat Khān, and 'Arab Bahādur. and others, drew the sword, and in many places (as will be narrated) fought some desperate battles. The Imāms said, that the Emperor has in his dominion made encroachments on the grant lands belonging to us and to God (He is magnified and glorified!),

[1] Inland tolls.
[2] Tax on Non-Moslems.

may the All-merciful have mercy on him! Finally Mihtar Sa'ādat who bears the title of Pēshrau Khān, when he had been to Ma'çūm Khān Jaunpūrī and returned to Court, informed the Emperor of the facts of this *fatwā* of Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī, who accordingly on some pretext or other sent for Mīr Mu'izz-ul-mulk and Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī from Jaunpūr. When they arrived at Fīrozābād, which is eighteen *cosses* from Āgrah, the Emperor sent word that 277
they should separate them from their guards, and put them into a boat, and take them by way of the Jamnā to Gwālyār. Afterwards he sent another order that they should be made away with. So they put the guards into one boat, and them into another old one, and when they were in deep water ordered the sailors to swamp the boat of the lives of the two in the whirlpool of destruction. After some days Qāzī Yāqūb came from Bengāl and the Emperor sent him to follow the other two And one by one he sent all the Mullās, against whom he had any suspicions of dissatisfaction, to the closet of annihilation. And having banished the 'Ulamā of Lāhor, he separated them from one another like a dishevelled thread. Of the number of these was Qāzī Çadr-ud-dīn Lāhorī, whose free-thinking was greater than that of Makhdūm-ul-mulk; him he appointed Qāzī of Bahroṇch in Gujrāt. And Mullā 'Abd-ush-shukūr Gūldār he appointed Qāzī of Jounpūr, and Mullā Muḥammad Ma'çūm he appointed to Bihār. And Shaikh Munawwar he banished to Mālwah, and made him Çadr of that district. In this way each of them obtained the promotion he wished, but away from home. But on account of his advanced age, and because the Mullās had refused him the title of Shaikh, looking on him, as they did, as a mere travester, and a regular enemy and ill-wisher to the Faith, and an unfortunate old beggar, the Emperor made an exception in the case of Shaikh Mu'īn, grandson of Mullānā Mu'īn, the celebrated preacher, and giving him no trouble left him at Lāhor. He died in the year nine hundred and ninety-five. And Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Sarhindī he made Çadr of Gujrāt, and sent him thither. He abstracted much treasure and gold from the fief-lands by means of bribes, and so heaped up quantities of gold. If they would not pay the bribes he used to confiscate their lands. This matter was represented to the Emperor,

and Ḥājī Ibrāhīm had to sue for permission to retire to the Dak'hir,
278 until on suspicion of rebellion the Emperor sent for him, and committed him to the keeping of Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk. His Majesty used to send for him to attend the evening *sēance* and he inventing such things as would please the Emperor presented a pamphlet containing all sorts of lies about the great ones of the Faith. But this forgery and deception was found out. The sum-total of it is that he wrote in a clumsy manner in an old worm-eaten book a spurious expression purporting to have emanated from Shaikh Ibn 'Arabī (God sanctify his tomb!), to the effect that the Khalīf of the age would have many wives, and would shave his beard; and he included many other peculiarities of the Emperor. So his Majesty became again propitiated, and admitted him once more among his courtiers. And according to report Ḥājī Ibrāhīm had interpolated in an old pamphlet, one of the works of Mullā Abu Sa'īd, nephew of Miyān Mān Pānīpatī, a Tradition to the effect that a son of one of the Companions of the Prophet came shaven into his presence (God bless him, and his family, and grant them peace!), and that he said: "The people of Paradise will look like that." When he took to boldly disputing with Shāh Fatḥ-ullāh, and Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, and Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ, and satirizing them, the Emperor sent him to the castle of Rintam-b'hor. There he died; and after the razing of the fortress, they found his dead body, which was tied up with long strips of cloth, and the story got abroad that he had thrown himself down from the top of the fortress. This event took place in the year nine hundred and ninety-four:—

"Last night our share in this world was in a garden like Paradise,
But this morning we are without house, *as if it had never been inhabited.*"[1]

And any piece of orthodox learning which a man might have acquired became his bane, and the cause of his degradation. And the 'Ulamā and Shaikhs, the leaders of thought to all around, he sent for to the Court, and enquired into their grant-lands and pensions. He saluted and honoured them all in the Moghul style,[2] and

[1] Al Qur'ān X, 25.

[2] See p. 46, *note* 3.

when they had had either a public or a private audience with him, he settled upon them a certain portion of land according to the 279
opinion he had formed of them. And any one, whom he knew to have pupils, or assemblies for dervish-dancing, or any kind of counterfeit[1] worship, he named "a shop,"[2] and either sent him to prison, or dismissed him to Bengāl or Bakkar. And this business was always going on. Those Pīrs who had reached a blessed old age, and those Shaikhs who were nearest eternity, were the best off. But to enter into details would be too long. And on account of these *farmāns* the Çūfīs, who gave themselves up to dances and ecstasies, were subjected to the *testamur* of Hindū examiners, and through their evil *state* "they forgot their religious *ecstasy*"[3] These were banished from their country and had to creep into mouse-holes, and the whole position was reversed:—

"There was one year such a famine in Damascus,
That lovers forgot love.
Heaven became so stingy towards earth,
That fields and palms did not wet their lips."

And in truth those wretched assemblies, and absurd ceremonies, and those worthless hypocritical Çūfīs were for the more part quite worthy of perishing:—

"That is not Çūfī-action or liberality,
But rather deceitful action and bawdery.
Theft and robbery are better than this,
Robbing the dead of their clothes is better than this"

However much I wish that this bit of sketch of an historical picture may be put together, my pen against my will slips from my guidance and turns in another direction to the description of this period of innovation, and the doctrines of the new sect and religion:—

[1] That is, in the Emperor's eyes.

[2] He meant that he was making his religion a *trade*. Comp. one of the sayings of Hillēl in *Mishnāh*, *Ābōth*; and many similar sayings throughout the *Talmūdim*.

[3] A pun on the two meanings of *ḥāl*, στάσις and ἔκστασις.

'The virtues of Kāfūr, if I wish to praise him,
Or if I wish not, they dictate to me and I write."

"Hush! the master is coming to the house."

Would that I were quit of this business; but what can I do?—

"They are gone under whose skirts we lived,
And I am left among the worthless like the skin of a scabby camel."

280 "I reproached heaven, that with sword of oppression thou hast slain
Assembly-adorning kings, and the youth of the Barmak-family.[1]
Thou hast placed thine own power of binding and loosing in the hands of a people,
Compared with whom a dog is honourable in respect of generosity.
But in the ear of my soul the answer came: Be content, live happily!
For a period of eighteen days[2] pulls out the beard of every one."

In this year Muzaffar Khān arrived in Bengāl, and began a course of great strictness in his administration, and commenced wronging and oppressing the Amīrs of that district, and confiscated many of their *jāgīrs*. He practised the *dāgh-u-maḥall* in the Court fashion, and the settlement of accounts in the old manner:—

"Be not hard in reckoning with the world,
For every one who is hard dies a hard death.
In letting people be at ease spend thy time,
For he lives at ease, who leaves people at ease."

And Bābā Khān Qāqshāl, and Khālidī Khān, who were nobles of great importance, however much they tried to escape the *dāgh*, and begged to have their *jāgīrs* confirmed, did not obtain their request. But Muzaffar Khān with a view to getting back the

[1] Put to death by Hārūn-ur-rashīd.
[2] *I. e.*, a short time.

money from the *jāgīr*, which Khālidī Khān had acquired through neglecting the *dāgh-u-maḥall*, put him in prison and ordered him the bastinado. It so happened that at this time he received a *farmān* addressed to him ordering him to bring to punishment one Roshan Bēg by name, a servant of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who had arrived in Bengāl from Kābul. Muzaffar Khān seized him from the midst of the Qāqshāls, and using harsh language to Bābā Khān showed him the *farmān* and ordered him to cut off Roshan Bēg's head at the head of the *dīwān*. All the soldiers of that place on beholding this affair trembled for their own safety, and with one accord scratching their heads, and putting on their Mughal helmets, broke out into open rebellion. They assembled in the city of Gaur, which in the ancient language was called Lak'hnautī, and 281
looted the goods of Muzaffar Khān wherever they found them. Muzaffar Khān collected a number of boats, and ordered Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ and Patr[1] Dās to march against the Qāqshāls at the head of their own armies. It need hardly be said that by Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ, who was a *bottle*-man rather than a *battle*-man, and by Patr Dās, who was a Hindū writer, no great signs of valour would be likely to be shown in this line. Muzaffar Khān sent a *farmān* to the Qāqshāls, expressing his wish to conciliate them all, and promising to confirm them in their *jāgīrs*. But they sent him answer, that he must send to them Razwī Khān and Patr Dās as a guarantee of his sincerity. Accordingly he sent them the aforenamed together with Mīr Abu Isḥāq, son of Mīr Sayyid Rafī'ud-dīn *Muḥaddis*, all of whom they imprisoned, and then applied themselves still more vigorously to rebellion.

Meanwhile Mullā Ṭīb and Rāī Purushottam, *Bakhshī*, who had at one blow confiscated the jāgīrs of Ma'çūm Khān Kābulī and 'Arab Bahādur and the other Amīrs of Bihār, and had thus laid the foundations of unpleasantness, and allowing their violence and arrogance to exceed all bounds had forced them into rebellion, crossed the river Josā with their whole force in order to attack Ma'çūm Khān. But 'Arab Bahādur came upon Rāī Purushottam unawares, and having slain him took much spoil. Then having opened a correspondence with Bābā

[1] پتر appears to be a mistake for پٹر

Khān Qāqshāl with a view to co-operating with him, he hastened to Garhī.

On the side of Muzaffar Khān Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khawāfī[1] (who is now *Dīwān-i-kul*[2]) opposed their entrance into Garhī.

Then Ma'çūm Khān having been victorious and having succeeded in forming a junction with the Qāqshāls, crossed the river Ganges to oppose Muzaffar Khān. Muzaffar Khān shut himself up in the fort of Tāndah, which consisted of four old walls and nothing more.
282 Vazīr Khān Jamīl Bēg, who was one of the old loyal Amīrs in conjunction with Jān Muḥammad Khān Bihbūdī and other warriors, joined the rebels. They took Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ and Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn and most of the nobles prisoners. But these two leaders together with Rāī Patr Dās by some means or other effected their escape, and with the help of the *zamīndārs* managed to reach Ḥājīpūr. During these troubles Ḥakīm Nūr-ud-dīn Qarārī lost his life. The Qāqshāls and Ma'çūm Khān lured Muzaffar Khān out of the fort of Tāndah upon a solemn assurance of safety, and then put him to death with all sorts of tortures And making his goods and chattels the fund from which they drew in inducing people to join them, they collected a force. So the whole of the province of Bengāl and Bihār fell into their hands, and they collected a large force of horsemen and foot-soldiers. They released from prison Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain, whom the Emperor had sent from the prison of Qāsim Alī Khān Baqqāl governor of Kālpī to Bengāl, and made him their general.

Then Rājah Todar Mal, with Çādiq Muḥammad Khān and Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān and other mighty Amīrs were appointed from Fatḥpūr to go and quell the rebellion. And Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, governor of Rohtās, and Muḥammad Ma'çūm Khān Farankhūdī, governor of Jaunpūr, and the other *jāgīr*-holders of the neighbourhood were ordered to assist the Rājah. While they were still on their way Shāham Khān Jalāīr engaged with Sa'īd Khān Badakhshī

[1] Khawāf is the name of a district and town in Khurāsān. *Blochm.* p. 445.

[2] The 12 *Dīwāns* who in 1003 had been appointed to the Çūbahs, were under his orders. *Dīwān-i-kul* is the same as *Vazīr-i-kul*, or *Vazīr-i-Muṭlaq*, or merely *Vazīr*. *Blochm.* p. 446, *note* 3.

and slew him. Muḥammad Ma'çūm Jounpūrī joined the Rājah with 3,000 well-trained and perfectly appointed cavalry. But symptoms of rebellion were apparent in all his actions. The Rājah detecting this tried to soothe him by every possible means. Meanwhile he sent a report of the state of affairs to Court.

Muḥammad Ma'çūm Khān Kābulī, and the Qāqshāls and Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain with 30,000 gallant horsemen, and 500 elephants and a number of boats and cannon in battle array seemed to intend to offer battle in the neighbourhood of the town of Mungīr. The 283
Rājah since he could not quite trust his army, which was on the look-out for the slightest change of fortune, did not deem it prudent to fight in the open, and so shut himself up in the fortress of Mungīr. Every day skirmishes took place, and the Imperial army was reduced to great distress. At this time Zain-ud-dīn Kambū, a relative of Shahbāz Khān brought by water a *lac* of rupees under a postal-guard, and delivered them over to the Rājah. This supported him for a few days. In the same way the Emperor sent a *lac* of rupees every few days, one time by the hand of Daryā Khān Ābdār, another time by Sarmadī, and another time by a son of the banker[1] Bhagwān Dās the treasurer, and so received news each time. Of the number of the postal-guard was one 'Abd-ul-Ḥay Khawwās, a handsome man without brains, son of Qāzī Çadr-ud-dīn Sambhalī (who also in a blundering sort of way used to discuss ceremonial and religious matters), he died young, and his barque of life was drawn into the whirlpool of calamity.

At this time Humāyūn Farmūlī, a son of the celebrated Shāh Farmūlī, who had received the title of Humāyūn-Qulī Khān, and at the time of the discussions about the new Musalmānish customs, and the worrying and examining of men at Ajmīr, had been a witness of those dreadful pieces of work, together with Tarkhān Dīwānah fled from the army of the Rājah and joined the rebels.

It so happened that during the course of the siege Bābā Khān Qāqshāl fell grievously sick, and was on the point of death. Then Jabbārī, son of Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, who was a strong pillar of that cause (and is now in high favour in the service of the Emperor) on account of the sickness of Bābā Khān showed an inclination to

[1] Hindī *Sēt'h*, Sanskrit *çreshta* "excellent," "banker."

be off. And so the solidity of that confederacy began to be broken up. Ma çūm Khān Kābulī was obliged to hasten towards Bihār. And 'Arab Bahādur went from thence by forced marches to seize Patnah and get the imperial treasury into his hands. Pahār Khān Khaçç-i-khail, who is generally known as Sayyid Ārif, shut him-
284 self up in the fortress of Patnah. And Rājah Todar Mal sent Ma'çūm Khān Farankhūdī with a force to the assistance of Pahār Khān. 'Arab Bahādur, being unable to withstand the force opposed to him, withdrew to Kachītī,[1] a well-known *zamīndār* (?) [2]

The Rājah and Çādiq Khān with the rest of the Amīrs set off for Bihār with the intention of suppressing Ma'çūm Khān Kābulī. The latter made a night-attack on them. It so happened that he attacked the quarters of Çādiq Khān. On that night one Tārmāh Bēg, a great leader, who in conjunction with Ulugh Khān the Abyssinian had been appointed to keep guard, was slain. Ulugh Khān fell back but Çādiq Khān held his ground. Ma'çūm Khān fought bravely, and did all that was possible, but when he found that the attack was unsuccessful he retired, and became a bandit throughout that wide district. Eventually he took refuge with 'Isā Khān, the *zamīndār* of Orīsā, who at that time by the hand of Sa'īd Khān Mughal sent to the Court two hundred and fifty elephants, and other precious gifts together with a sum of four *lacs* of rupees, and gold vessels, and aloe-wood, and fine linen and cloth beyond compare, and he is still there to this day. Thus the whole of the province of Bihār as far as Garhī came into the possession of the imperial army.

At this time the Emperor sent for Shajā'at Khān, and his son Qāyim Khān (who had a stipend as one of the musical people about Court, and was a smart and clever young man) from Sārangpūr to come to Fatḥpūr. On the road their attendants on account of bad conduct and evil goings-on, and faithlessness, and worthlessness, which are inseparable qualities of a leader of our day, killed both him and his son, and then dispersed. They say, that one day a beggar asked for something of Shajā'at Khān, and other Khāns, who were in the audience-chamber. After he had importuned them

[1] This is also the reading of the Lak'hnau lithograph.
[2] See Text, p. 285, ll. 7, 8. Transl. p. 293.

much he answered him: "My good man, the door of alms which 285
admits you, was not made by us."

After this event the Emperor appointed Sharīf Khān Atgah governor of Malwā in his place, and having visited him at his quarters and received the greatest hospitality, he despatched him to that district.

In this year the Emperor sent for Khān-i-A'zam from Āgrah, where he had been for a long time under surveillance, and treating him with kindness sent him with 5,000 horsemen to assume the governorship of Bengāl.[1] And having sent for Shahbāz Khān from the district of the Rānā, he appointed him with a well-equipped army to assist Khān-i A'zam, with orders that he should proceed to the confines of Hājīpūr and traversing the jungle of Kachītī should compel 'Arab Bahādur to come out of that place.

In this year Ḥakīm-ul-mulk Gīlānī, being reckoned by the Emperor as one of those not to be trusted in matters of religion and faith,[2] was sent, as has been already narrated, to Makkah with a sum of five *lacs* of rupees, to be given as presents to the worthy among the *sharīfs* and poor. And there he remained for the rest of his life:—

"I will not move from the head of thy street,
I am not the rolling heavens, but the stationary earth."

And however much the Emperor sent for him he still remained there, and committed himself to God.

In this year he sent for the renowned Shaikhs from all sides and quarters, and had a private interview with each, and investigated several matters. Most of them made themselves agreeable, having a grant of some *bīghas* of land in view (may dust be scattered on their heads!), and indulged in flattery, and wheedling, and open blasphemy. And their real intentions broke through their cloke of dissimulation. This is the portion of the enemies [of the Faith]: Morals remained after the loss of Renunciation, Solitude, Trust, Contentment, Aspiration; and even that too men saw stripped from them all, and so suspicion of them crept into other quarters:—

[1] See Elliot, V, p. 419, *note*.
[2] *I. c.*, He could not depend on him to side with himself.

"This lot of fools are clothed in rags,
They mumble some mysterious words.[1]
286 They have never advanced far in sincerity and purity,
Though they have destroyed many a good name."

Of the number of these was Shaikh Chānīldah, successor of the great Shaikh 'Abd-ul-'azīz, an inhabitant of the town of Sīwahnah. In accordance with the Emperor's command he went down to the *Ibādat Khānah*[2] and began to display and sell perverted prayers. He foretold that a certain lady of the harem would bring forth a son, but as it so happened that a daughter was born, the prophesy fell rather flat. In the same way Sayyid Hāshim Fīrozābādī opened that kind of business with a hundred marvels; and they became the cause of discrediting former teachers. But when the Emperor sent for Shaikh Muttahi Afghān Kāsī from the Panjāb, in obedience to his summons he came from the monastery on foot in company with the messengers, while they carried his litter behind him. At Fathpūr he alighted at the house of Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtyār, and sent word: "My eye has not rested on any blessed sign of the Emperor" So the Emperor without granting him an audience sent him quickly about his business. Also Shaikh-ul-hadyah Khairābādī came to Court in accordance with a message from the Emperor, who received him standing with great respect. He had traversed the desert of Poverty with the foot of Trust and Solitude, and had not accepted any land from the Emperor. He was very intimate with the own son of Abu-l-Fath, with whom the Author at Sambhal towards the end of the reign of Islīm Shāh, in accordance with the command of the famous Moulawī, the great Master Miyān Hātim, Sambhalī (God have mercy on him!), read the *Irshād-i Qāzī*, and the commentary thereon. He has now succeeded his father, and is the great authority on all knowledge and practice and Çūfi-ism. When a question was asked Shaikh-ul-hadyah, he pointed to his ear and said: "I hear an exalted word!", and the Emperor having excused him hastily dismissed him.

[1] الف لامي is in allusion to certain letters of the alphabet with which some of the Chapters of the Qur'ān, *e. g.*, the second, begin.

[2] See p. 200.

In this year low and mean fellows, who pretended to be learned, but were in reality fools, collected evidence, that His Ma- 287
jesty was the Çāhib-i-Zamān, who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of Islām and the Hindūs. Sharīf[1] brought proofs from the writings of Mahmūd of Basakhwān, that he had said that in the year 990 a certain person would abolish lies, and how he had specified all sorts of interpretations of the expression "Professor of the true Religion," which came to the sum-total 990. And Khwājah Moulānā of Shīrāz, the heretic of Jafrdān, came with a pamphlet by some of the Sharīfs of Makkah, in which a tradition was quoted to the effect that the earth would exist for 7,000 years, and as that time was now over the promised appearance of the Mahdī would immediately take place. The Moulānā also brought a pamphlet written by himself on the subject. The Shīahs mentioned similar nonsense connected with 'Alī, and quoted the following Rubā'ī, which is said to have been composed by Nāçir-i-Khusrou, or according to some by another poet:—

"In 989, according to the decree of fate,
The stars from all sides shall meet together.
In the year of Leo, the month of Leo, the day of Leo,
The Lion of God will stand forth from behind the veil."

All this made the Emperor the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else.[2]

Meanwhile a despatch arrived from Rājah Todar Mal, stating that all this while he had kept Ma'çūm Khān Farankhūdī along with him by conciliatory treatment, and all sorts of expedients. But that Khwājah Shāh Mançūr *Diwān* had claimed a good deal of money due from him and Tarsūn Muhammad Khān, and had written them exceedingly harsh and threatening letters and had caused them great annoyance. And, that at this critical juncture these payments were the cause of dissensions in the army. Since the exactions of Shāh Mançūr had several times been reported at Court, the Emperor refused him admittance, and after some days, thinking it the best thing to do, handed him over as a prisoner

[1] Of Āmul, see above p. 252.

[2] Of God.

288 to Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥarram, and in his place appointed Vazīr Khān, brother of Āçaf Khān of Herāt, as *Dīwān-i-kul*. And to Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī, a heart-troubler, unlucky, preposterous, owl-like, rejected of God and mankind, he granted the honour of being his assistant, that in conjunction they might decide important cases. Glory to God! what a proper combination it was!

At this time they brought a man to Court, who had no ears nor any trace of the orifices of the ear. In spite of this he heard everything that was said to him, though the place of the ears was quite level. And in this year, in order to verify the circumstances of this case, an order was issued that several suckling infants should be kept in a secluded place far from habitations, where they should not hear a word spoken. Well-disciplined nurses were to be placed over them, who were to refrain from giving them any instruction in speaking, so as to test the accuracy of the Tradition which says "Every one that is born is born in a state of nature," by ascertaining what religion and sect these infants would incline to, and above all what creed they would repeat. To carry out this order about twenty sucklings were taken from their mothers, for a consideration in money, and were placed in an empty house, which got the name of "Dumb-house." After three or four years they all turned out dumb, and the appellation of the place turned out prophetic. Many of these sucklings became the nurselings of mother earth :—

"My mother is earth, and I am a suckling,
The propensity of children for their mother is not strange.
Soon will it be that resting from trouble
I shall fall drunk with sleep on my mother's bosom."[1]

[1] Compare Chaucer *Pardoner's Tale* 12661—12672.

"Ne Death alas! ne will not have my life.
Thus walk I like a restless caitiff,
And on the ground which is my mother's gate
I knocke with my staff, early and late
And say to her, "Leve mother, let me in," &c.

Also Cowley's *Old Man of Verona*. And in Eastern literature Job i. 21, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return *thither*." *scil.* ἐπὶ ταφὴν εἰς μητέρα πάντων, Eccles. xl. 1. And Rig Veda (X, 18), as the body is committed to the earth, the hymn proceeds :—

In this year the Emperor sent the prince Daniyāl with Shaikh Faizī, who was his teacher, and Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtyār, and a number of courtiers to Ajmīr. And he presented a donation of 25,000 rupees to the *faqīrs* of that monastery.

In this year Rājah Todar Mal and the other imperial Amīrs passed the rainy season in Ḥājīpūr. 289

And Ma'çūm Khān Farankhūdī, who was in a discontented state of mind went to Jounpūr without the permission of the Amīrs, and broke out into rebellion. The Emperor sent Peshrou Khān, known as Mihtar Sa'ādat, the head of the chamberlain department (*dāroghah-i-farāshkhānah*), with a *farmān* to appease him, and the government of Jounpūr was given to Tarsūn Khān, and that of Oudh to Ma'çūm Khān Farankhūdī. He uttering some wild speeches like a crazy man, and considering Oudh an out-of-the-way corner of the Empire, went there and began to prepare for war.

Meanwhile Mihtar Sa'ādat came to Court, and reported the conduct of the Amīrs of that province; he also recounted how that Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī had issued a *fatwā* authorizing rebellion and insurrection. This was the cause of Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī and Mīr Mu'izz-ul-mulk being sent for, as has been narrated.

At this time Niyābat Khān, son of Hāshim Khān, Nīshāpūrī who at the time of the Emperor's going to Patnah had found favour, revolted in Jhosī and Payāg (Prayāg), which was his *jāgīr*, and marching against Kaṛah, which sided with Isma'īl Qulī Khān, and an Afghān named Ilyās Khān, who was governor of that place, slew Ilyās Khān in battle. They then laid siege to the fortress, and began to ravage and lay waste the country. The Emperor appointed Isma'īl Qulī Khān *Vazīr Khān*, and Muṭlab Khān, and Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtyār, and other Amīrs, to march against Niyābat Khān.

Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥarram, and Bīrbar *bādfarosh*,[2] he sent to Oudh to try and appease Ma'çūm Khān Farankhūdī.

"Approach thou now the lap of earth, thy mother.
The wide-extending earth, the ever kindly."

Such instances might be multiplied indefinitely.

[1] See p. 285.

[2] Minstrel, dealer in encomiums.

After the departure of Vazīr Khān, the Emperor released[1] Khwājah Shāh Mançūr, and reappointed him *dīwān-i-kul*.

When Niyābat Khān heard of the despatch of this army against him, he raised the siege of Karah, and went towards Gasht a dependency of the district of Patnah. The Amīrs crossed the river and quickly attacked him. He turned back to offer battle, and alone against so many Amīrs fought such a desperate battle, that imagina-
290 tion fails to picture it. At first he threw their army into utter confusion, and having dismounted Shaikh Jamāl spared his life. But eventually he was put to flight, and retreated to Oudh to Ma'çūm Khān.

And 'Arab Bahādur was at the same time defeated by Shahbāz Khān, and also took refuge with Ma'çūm Khān. Shahbāz Khān went in pursuit of 'Arab Bahādur, first to Jounpūr, and afterwards to Oudh. Ma'çūm Khān, who had such a quantity of war *matériel* that, to use an hyperbole, he could have withstood the kings of Irān and Turān both at once, and had thirty or forty banners and tails and kettle-drums in his army, and paraphernalia in the same proportion, hastened to attack Shahbāz Khān, and in the twinkling of an eye overcame him. Shahbāz Khān fled in one day a distance of forty *cosses* as far as Jounpūr But by good luck Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān, who was in the right wing of Shahbāz Khān's army, had remained hidden in the jungle, and at the moment that the troops of Ma'çūm Khān were dispersed after booty, he, seeing the other with a few followers seizing his opportunity charged in among his disorganized soldiery and defeated him. As soon as Shahbāz Khān heard this news, he hasted back just as quickly as he had gone, and joined the force of Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān. He attacked Ma'çūm Khān a second time, and a great battle was fought in the environs of Oudh This time Ma'çūm Khān was put to flight, and disappeared. His mother and sister and wife and son and his goods and chattels, and all his paraphernalia of pomp and power were taken as spoil. He himself fled headlong, not knowing his crupper from his reins, and took refuge in the Sawālik mountains. This event took place in the month of Zi-ḥājjah[2] in the year nine hundred and eighty-eight (988).

[1] See above p. 295.

[2] The twelfth month.

At this time an organ, which was one of the wonders of creation, and which Ḥājī Ḥabīb-ullāh had brought from Europe, was exhibited to mankind. It was like a great box the size of a man. 291
A European sits inside it and plays the strings thereof, and two others outside keep putting their fingers on five peacock-wings,[1] and all sorts of sounds come forth And because the Emperor was so pleased, the Europeans kept coming at every moment in red and yellow colours, and went from one extravagance to another. The people at the meeting were astounded at this wonder, and indeed it is impossible for language to do justice to the description of it.

At one of the meetings the Emperor asked those who were present to mention each the name of the man, who could be considered the wisest man of the age; but they were not to mention kings, as they formed an exception. Thus Ḥakīm Humām mentioned himself, and Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl his own father.

During this time the four degrees of devotion to His Majesty were defined. The four degrees consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor Property, Life, Honour, and Religion. Whoever had sacrificed these four things possessed the four degrees; and whoever had sacrificed one of these four possessed one degree. All the courtiers now put down their names as faithful disciples of the Throne.

In the month Muḥarram[2] of the year nine hundred and eighty-nine (989) news arrived that Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm on the invitation of the two Ma'çūms,[3] and at the instigation of Farīdūn Khān, who was his maternal uncle, and a regular leprous spot,[4] set out with the intention of conquering Hindūstān. He sent his servant Shādmān over the Indus, but Mān Singh, son of Bhagwān Dās marched to oppose him, and slew him. On hearing the news the Mīrzā crossed the Indus, and encamped in the environs of Sayyidpūr.

Upon this the Emperor, having advanced the soldiers eight months' pay out of the treasury, and leaving the prince Dāniyāl with

[1] Probably the bellows.

[2] The first month.

[3] *Viz.*, Ma'çūm Kābulī, and Ma'çūm Farankhūdī.

[4] There is a play on the word *khāl*, which means both "uncle" and "mole."

Sulṭān Khwājah *Çadr*, and Shaikh Ibrāhīm Chishtī, as vicegerents, marched from Fatḥpūr towards the Punjāb. At the *sarāī* of Bād, which is fifteen *cosses* from Fatḥpūr, news arrived of the victory of Shahbāz Khān.[1]

292 Mān Singh found in the portfolio of Shādmān three letters of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm addressed respectively to Ḥakīm-ul-mulk Gīlānī, Shāh Mançūr *Dīwān*, and Qāsim Khān *Mīr-baḥr*. He sent them *verbatim* to the Emperor, who read them, but kept the matter to himself.

At Dihlī news arrived, that the Mīrzā was encamped at Lāhor in the garden of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, and that Rājah Bhagwān Dās, and Mān Singh, and Sa'īd Khān had shut themselves up in the fortress.

At Pānīpat Malik Sānī Kābulī, *vazīr* of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who had the title of Vazīr Khān, having been vexed by the Mīrzā arrived at the quarters of Shāh Mançūr, and got him to introduce him at Court. Since there had not been in times past any such manifest intimacy and connection between these two persons, the absence of Sānī Khān from the Mīrzā at such a juncture seemed to the Emperor to be accounted for by some design on the part of the Mīrzā, and as not being devoid of interested motives, so it confirmed his previous suspicions of Khwājah Shāh Mançūr. Accordingly he had him arrested and showed him the letters. However much he swore to his own innocence it did him no good, for it is an acknowledged principle, that "A denial on oath is no proof of innocence." In the neighbourhood of Shāhābād Malik 'Alī, brother of Qāzī 'Alī, who is now *Kotwāl* of Lāhor, sent to the Court in one parcel two obscure letters. One was addressed to Shāh Mançūr from one Musharraf[2] Bēg, who was a servant of Shāh Mançūr. The second was from a person, whose identity was suspected, containing an account of his interview, first with Farīdūn Khān, and secondly with the Mīrzā, and how the Mīrzā had settled the affairs of a certain *parganna*, which was either known or suspected. And this much became known by inference and conjecture, that Sharaf Bēg, a servant of Shāh Mançūr, who was

[1] Over Ma'çūm Farankhūdī.

[2] Called Sharaf ower down, and also in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

Shikkdār[1] on his behalf in the *parganna* of Fīrozpūr, thirty *cosses* from Lāhor, had written to his master: "I have had an interview with the Mīrzā through the intervention of Farīdūn Khān, he has sent his agents everywhere, but he has exempted our *parganna*." And suspicion became a certainty. Most, nay all, of the Amīrs, 293 who had received many annoyances from Shāh Mançūr, were longing for his fall. With one consent they exerted themselves to secure his execution. In the morning the Emperor ordered the Captain of the guard[2] to hang him on gallows at the *Manzil* of Kajh-koṭ.[3] His numerous oppressions of the people formed the halter round his neck, and may it remain clinging there till the day of Resurrection. "Beware of the service of kings, for they pride themselves on giving an answer in peace, but they think nothing of cutting off your head in punishment:—

"Be of good cheer, for no tyrant
Completes his course in peace."

The Emperor came by way of Sarhind to Kalānor and Rohtas, and reached the Indus. When the Mīrzā heard this news, he crossed the river of Lāhor, and turned his reins back to Kābul. And so the mystery of the verse[4]: "On that day shall a man flee from his brother" became manifest.

In the month of Rabī'us-sānī[5] of this year the Emperor ordered to be built on the banks of the Indus,[6] which is generally known as the *Sind-sāgar*, a fortress, which he called Atak Banāras, to distinguish it from Kaṭak Banāras.[7]

From this place he sent the prince Sultān Murād with Qulīj Khān and other Amīrs to Kābul. And prior to this he had sent Mān Singh with a body of Amīrs towards Pashāwar.

[1] Revenue-collector.

[2] The *Khidmatiyyah* were foot-guards on duty in the environs of the palace. These chiefs received the title of *Khidmat-rāī*. *Blochm.* p. 252.

[3] Called in the *Akbarnāmah* the *Sarāī* of Koṭ K'hachwah. *Blochm.* p. 431, *n.*

[4] Al Qur'ān LXXX, 30.

[5] The fourth month

[6] *Nīlāb.*

[7] These were the two frontier towns of his empire, and he wished them to have similar names. *Blochm.* p. 374 *n.*

At this time the Mīrzā sent Khwājah Abu-l-Fazl Naqshbandī, and Muḥammad 'Alī Dīwānah as ambassadors to the Court to sue for pardon for his offences. The Emperor sent back with them Ḥājī Ḥabīb-ullāh with the message: "Forgiveness is conditional on repentance for what is past, and an oath for future conduct, also on your sending to the Court your sister, who is married to Khwājah Hasan." The Mīrzā said to Ḥājī: "Khwājah Ḥasan will not agree to sending my sister, for he has taken her away to Badakhshān. But I am very sorry for what I have done:—

"I have repented, and am sorry for what I have done,
294 Call me no more a Kāfir, for I am become a Muslim."

On the 15th of Jamāda's-sānī having crossed the river Indus the Emperor sent Khwājah Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad in haste to Jalālābād to the prince Shāh Murād and the Amīrs, with the request: "Please send me your advice." They replied: "The best thing you can do is to come as quickly as possible." And both Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, and Ḥājī Ḥabīb-ullāh came together from that place, and at Pashāwar gave each his own message to the Emperor. Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad said: "Although the Amīrs in their usual talk say: 'We ourselves are sufficient'; yet in the language of present facts[1] they say: 'Victory follows on the footsteps of the Emperor.'" Accordingly the Emperor left the prince Sultān Salīm with Rājah Bhagwān Dās and Qāzī 'Alī *Mīrbakhshī* in the camp, and travelling express at the rate of twenty *cosses* a day arrived at a place called Surkhāb, fifteen *cosses* from the camp of Prince Murād. Then Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm at seven *cosses* from Kābul, at a place called Khurd-kābul had a severe engagement with his nephew,[2] who was like the king's son in the game of great chess.[3] The Mīrzā at last took to flight with the intention of taking refuge with Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek. Prince Murād entered Kābul.

[1] This juxtaposition of *qāl* "voice," and *ḥāl* "present circumstances" reminds one of Demosthenes, 1st Olynthiac *ὁ παρὼν καιρὸς μονονουχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφιείς.*

[2] Prince Murād.

[3] See Bland in Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. 13 (old series).

The day before the action Farīdūn Khān had attacked the rear of the Prince's army, and had slain many men. He had plundered the treasury of Qulīj Khān and the other Amīrs, and carried off much spoil. Ḥājī Muḥammad an *Aḥadī*, who had preceded the Emperor by means of postal-relays, arrived on the spot just as the plundering was going on. When he saw what had happened, he returned to Surkhāb and told the tale to the Emperor in an incoherent manner, and caused him much annoyance. The next day, as the Emperor was recommencing his march, news of the victory was brought.

On the tenth of the month Rajab[1] the Emperor entered the fortress of Kābul. He spent a week enjoying himself in the gardens of that city. When he enquired of some trusty followers 295
of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm the history of the affair of that letter to Shāh Mançūr, and examined closely into the matter, he found out that Karam-ullāh, brother of Shahbāz Khān together with other Amīrs had concocted all this forgery and deception, and that the last letter also, which had been the cause of his being put to death, was a forgery of the Amīrs. So the Emperor was very much grieved about the execution of Shāh Mançūr:—

"[illegible] noble death, which was intended [by God],
Was brought about by the instrumentality of man."

But that repentance was like the drinking of the elixir by Sohrāb.[2]

The Emperor sent Laṭīf Khwājah *Mīr shikār* to the Mīrzā to tell him that his offences were forgiven, and so prevented his taking refuge in the territory of the Uzbeks. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm took in his presence on oath of allegiance, and executed an engagement, which he sent by 'Alī Muḥammad Asp along with him to the Court.

His Majesty conferred Kābul upon Mīrza Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and leaving the army he returned quickly to Jalālabād, where there was a large encampment. At this time Khwājagī Muḥammad Ḥusain, brother of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān *Mīr bahr*, who was

[1] The seventh month.

[2] That is, it was too late.

one of the confidential Amīrs of the Mīrzā, came and did homage to the Emperor.

From Jalālābād he sent an army to plunder and lay waste the mountain district of Kator,[1] which is a well known stronghold of Kāfirs, and then stage by stage he marched to the Sindsāgar,[2] which he reached on the twelfth of Sha'bān.[3] There he crossed over and transported his whole army by a bridge in one day, and by successive marches went quickly to Lāhōr, where he arrived in the latter part of Ramazan.[4]

He again committed the government of the Panjāb to Sa'īd Khān, and Rājah Bhagwān Dās, and Mān Singh And with a view to making inquiry into the management of the grant-lands of that province, he appointed a Çadr to each Doāb.[5] These were Mullā Ilāhdād of Amrohah, Mullā Ilāhdād Nabawī of Sulṭānpūr, Mullā
296 Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād, and Mullā Sherī the poet. The first and fourth were remarkable for their good-heartedness, and the second and third for their bad-heartedness. And Mullā Shāh Muḥammad wrote a mandate to Shaikh Isḥāq Kākawī, a holy and God-fearing sage, with such pomp, that [you might apply to it the verse] "Our people obey God's preacher!"[6] And Shaikh Faizī he appointed Çadr of the Doāb.[7] And Ḥakīm Humām, and Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ the Çadr of the metropolis, he sent to the other side of the Ganges.

When His Majesty arrived at Pānīpat, Shahbāz Khān (who during the Emperor's absence had *more suo* turned the whole of the imperial dominions right away from Karhī to the Panjāb into people's *jagīrs*,

[1] Lak'hnau Lithograph has *Gantūr*.

[2] See above p. 301.

[3] The eighth month.

[4] The ninth month.

[5] The five rivers which enclose the Panjāb are, according to the spelling usual on our maps, the Indus, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, and Garra. The four Doabs referred to are the Doab of Sindsagar between Indus and Jhelum, Doab of Jech between Jhelum and Chenab, Doab of Rechna between Chenab and Ravi, and Doab of Bari between Ravi and Garra.

[6] Al Qur'ān XLVI, 30.

[7] Probably that between the Satlaj and the Biyah.

and had given to any one any post that he wished for) arrived at that station with great magnificence, pomp, and circumstance to pay homage to the Emperor. When His Majesty enquired the cause of all this bravery, he replied: "If I had not thus won over the soldiery, they would have revolted with one consent. Now the Empire is yours and the army is yours. You may give what you like to whom you will, and take away appointments and *jāgīrs* from whom you please":—

"From whom you please take away,
To whom you please give."

On the twenty-fifth of Shavvāl[1] the Emperor returned to Dihlī, and the younger prince, and the queens came out to meet him and on the fifth of Zī-qa'dah[2] he made his *entrée* into the metropolis.

During this journey since I had been left behind on account of a bond of great friendship which I had contracted with one Mazharī, who was one of the divine objects,[3] and on account of my freedom and *abandon* which lasted a whole year at Basāwar,[4] and brought me in the course thereof into many strange and difficult circumstances, when I arrived at Fatḥpūr on the 6th of this month, I paid my respects to His Majesty. He had previously asked Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl "How was he left behind on this journey?" He replied: "He is one of the pensioners, and is dead." And after this, when near Kābul he had directed the Çadr-i-Jahān to make out and present to him a list of all the people of piety, who were attending 297
with the army, or who were absent. When my name came up, the late Khwājah Nizam-ud-dīn Aḥmad, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī*, with whom I had become acquainted about a year before that time, but who was as friendly as if I had known him a hundred years, in the great kindness and consideration which he showed to all his friends, and to me in particular, caused me to be put down and returned as sick. And certainly the devotion to created things

[1] The tenth month.

[2] The eleventh month.

[3] A play on the word *mazhar*.

[4] Lak'hnau ed. has *Pashāwar*.

and the desire of concupiscence, and fear, are much worse than any disease. During this period of absence he kept sending me letter upon letter, saying: "Since you have certainly been remiss in your coming, you must make as far as possible an effort to come to Lāhor, or to Dihlī, or to Mit'hra, for it is a matter of public importance, and of attention to stipulated duty." But since one hour of that state was better to me than life eternal, how could I find an opportunity of occupying myself with thoughts of the future, or any other pain or loss, and so the verse[1]: "I commit my affairs to God" eventually became fulfilled :—

"Leave thy business with God, and be content,
For if He does not show mercy, it would make Him a pretender."

And at this time, every now and then, verses would occur to me in my sleep. And among them one night I composed the following in my sleep, and after waking I had a great deal of trouble and restlessness to recover it :—

"Our mirror is ready to receive the reflexion of thy face,
If thou doest not appear, the fault is not with us."

By the favour and grace of God, though seventeen years have elapsed since that time and this present time of writing, yet the delight of that taste has never left my heart, and every time I remember it I sigh: "Would that at that time I had become from head to
98 foot stripped of the world, and had escaped the pain of separation :—

Happy is he that hath seen thy face,
And has surrendered his soul;
And is no more aware what is
Absence and what is presence."

But I had an experience, and such grace came to my heart, that if I spent ages in describing it, and thanking God for it, the tithe of a tenth part of my bounden duty would not be performed :—

[1] Al Qur'ān XL, 47.

"In the ear of heart there sounded a murmur of love,
From the murmur I am full of love from head to foot.
It is but the truth, that in whole ages I should not escape,
From the obligation of giving thanks for one moment of love."

At the time that the Emperor went to Kabul, Bahādur son of Sa'īd Badakhshī had the *khutbah* read, and coins struck, in his name in the district of Tirhut, and took the title of Bahādur Shāh. They say that the following rhyme was composed for his signet (but God knows) :—

"Bahādur-ud-dīn Sulṭān
Son of Asfīd Shāh Sulṭān.
His father was Sulṭān, and himself Sulṭān,
Bravo! Sulṭān bin Sulṭān."

Eventually he was slain by the servants of A'zam Khān :—

"A base person, when dignity, and gold, and silver come to him,
Requires of necessity a slap on the head.
Have you not heard what Plato said,
It is best for the ant[1] that its wings should not grow."

When Ma'çūm Khān Farankhūdī had become thoroughly bewildered and forlorn in the mountains of Sawālik[2] through the intervention of A'zam Khān he made confession of his fault, and received a *farmān* of pardon. He came and did homage at Fathpūr. Some days afterwards he left the *Darbār* at midnight, and mounting a litter was setting off on his return home, when an armed troop fell upon him outside the gates of the city, and cut him in pieces.

Niyābat[3] also, by the intervention of the imperial Bēgum, 299
on the very day that Ma'çūm did homage, was admitted to

[1] In India immediately before the setting in of the rainy season the ants grow white wings, and fly about in swarms, and are eaten by the birds. Hence the Hindūstanī proverb: "When the ants are about to die, their wings come forth." The Spaniards have a similar proverb (see Don Quixote), "Por su mal nacieron alas à la hormiga."

[2] See p. 298.

[3] See p. 297.

His Majesty's presence. The Emperor, to please his uncle Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān, governor of Mālwah, spared his life for some time and sent him to the fortress of Rintamb'hor. There he was confined, and performed many exploits, which we cannot now relate. In conjunction with his fellow-prisoners of that place he attempted a great outbreak Eventually in the year nine hundred and ninety-seven the Emperor sent a *farmān*, and had him executed.

At this time Ḥājī Bēgum,[1] who was a second mother to the Emperor, and attended on the tomb of the late Emperor,[2] a very pillar of holiness, and purity, and virtue, and good works, hastened to the world of eternity. And the greatest distress fell upon the guardians of the tomb, and the dwellers in that holy place.

At this time the Emperor sent Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtyār, to bring Shaikh Quṭb-ud-dīn of Jalēsar, who was a *majzūb*,[3] and intoxicated[4] with the Divine Love When Quṭb-ud-dīn came, the Emperor brought him to a conference with some Christian priests, and philosophers, and great law-authorities of the age. After a discussion the Shaikh exclaimed, "Let us make a peat fire, and in the presence of His Majesty we will pass through it, and whichever gets safely through it, will prove thereby the truth of his religion." The fire was made. The Shaikh pulled one of the Christian priests by the coat, and said to him, "Come on, in the name of God!" But none of the priests had the courage to go. Soon after the Shaikh was sent into exile to Bakkar, together with other *faqīrs*, as the Emperor was jealous of his triumph There he died.

A large number of Shaikhs and Faqirs were also sent to other places. mostly to Qandahār, where they were exchanged for horses .

About the same time the Emperor captured a sect of Shaikhs, who called themselves 'Disciples,' but were generally known as 'Ilāhīs.' They used to utter all sorts of foul lies and nonsense. His Majesty asked them whether they repented of their vanities. They replied, "Repentance is our maid-servant." And so they had invented

[1] She was daughter of the brother of Humāyūn's mother.

[2] This is the meaning of *Jannat-āstānī* quoted by Blochm. p. 465, and so also apparently of our expression *Jannat-āshyānī*.

[3] De Sacey, *Pendnameh* LV, *n. f.*

[4] *Kharābī* is the same as *mast*.

similar names for the laws and religious commands of Islām, and for the Fast. At His Majesty's command they were sent to Bakkar and Qandahār, and were given to merchants in exchange for Turkish colts.

His Majesty sent for the grandsons of Shaikh Adhan, who 300
were some of the great Shaikhs of Jounpūr, with their wives and families, and sent them to Ajmīr, and gave them a fixed provision. One, two, or three of them died, and some of them are living now in poverty.

Shaikh Ḥusain, grandson of His Reverence Khwājah Mu'īn-ud-dīn (God sanctify his tomb!) he banished to Bakkar, because, when he had been to Makkah and come back again. he did not make obeisance in the manner approved by the Emperor, but came in his utter unworldliness to pay his homage to His Majesty in the old fashioned manner, who understood this neglect to be meant as a sign of disloyalty. In the year one thousand and two Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, on the occasion of the Emperor's sending for Iltimās Qāzī Fatḥpūrī, and Shaikh Kamāl Biyābānī, from Bakkar, mentioned the name of Shaikh Ḥusain also. So His Majesty sent for them all, and since they performed the *Zamīnbos* the Emperor considered that he had gained all that he required, and gave orders for their release. But Kamāl Biyābānī, whose being found in fetters[1] in the prison of Bakkar they attributed to the Khān Khānān, the Emperor sent to Rintamb'hor. And to Shaikh Ḥusain he again ordered a pension in Bakkar, and appointed him to that same place, as shall be narrated further on, if God (He is exalted!) will.

On the 9th of the month Muharram[2] in the year nine hundred and ninety (990) A'zam Khān came from Bengāl. And one evening in course of conversation the Emperor said to him, "We have found out proofs for part of the reality of metempsychosis, Abu-l-Fazl shall convince you of it!" And he accepted it all. The Emperor then appointed some Amīrs who were absent from the army of Kābul to accompany him, and sent him [back to Bengāl] to repulse Muçūm Kābulī.

[1] Vol. III, pp. 87-88 Text. *Qallāb* is given there as his *takhaduç*

[2] The first month.

On the 15th of the month Ṣafar[1] of this year the New Year came round again, and the twenty-eighth year of the Reign commenced:—

"When the Pen of the Worker of Spring came into action.
It made the Pearl of the Equinox into a paint-palette at the time of Aries."[2]

361 And the Emperor commanded both the private and the public audience chamber to be decorated with all sorts of precious materials. And they prepared costly articles of various colours, and European curtains. and they made most incomparable paintings, and erected lofty pavilions. And they decorated the bazaar at Āgrah and at Fathpūr in a similar manner, and kept high festival for eighteen whole days. And the Emperor sent for all sorts of troops of singers and musicians both Hindū and Persian, and dancers, both men and women. by thousands of thousands: and each day he went into the pavilion of one of the renowned Amīrs and honoured him with his society, and received from him a considerable present, and other proofs of hospitality.

And since, in his Majesty's opinion, it was a settled fact, that the 1000 years since the time of the mission of the Prophet (peace be upon him!), which was to be the period of the continuance of the faith of Islām, were now completed, no hindrance remained to the promulgation of those secret designs, which he nursed in his heart. And so, considering any further respect or regard for the Shaikhs and Ulamā (who were unbending and uncompromising) to be unnecessary, he felt at liberty to embark fearlessly on his design of annulling the statutes and ordinances of Islām, and of establishing his own cherished pernicious belief [in their stead].

The first command that he issued was this: that the "Era of the Thousand" should be stamped on the coins, and that a *Tārīkhi Alfi*,[3] commencing with the Death of the Prophet, should be written. And many other wonderful and strange innovations, by way of

[1] The second month.

[2] *I. e.*, The pale Winter's sun, like a colourless pearl, becomes the source of Spring colours.

[3] A history of a thousand years.

politic and wise expedients. did he devise so that the mind became bewildered by them. For one thing he decreed that *Sijdah*,[1] under the name of *Zamīn-bos*,[2] ought to be offered to kings. Another was that wine might be drunk, if for the healing of the body[3] by the advice of the physicians. But, lest confusion and wickedness should become more common on this account, he laid down severe punishments on excessive drinking, carousals, and disorderly conduct. And in order to keep the matter within due bounds he set up a wine-shop near the palace, under the charge of the Porter's wife who belonged by birth to the class of wine-sellers, and 362 appointed a fixed tariff. Persons who wished to purchase wine, as a remedy for sickness, could do so by having their name, and that of their father and grandfather, written down by the clerk Some by deceit had false names written down, and so obtained wine—for who could accurately enquire into such a matter? And [in point of fact] a shop for the benefit of drunkards was opened. They say, moreover, that swine-flesh formed a component part of that wine. but God knows! In spite of all precautions confusion and wickedness raised its head, and, however many persons were every day punished, no practical result was effected. And there was another matter, which comes within the meaning of [the saying], "Bend, but do not break in pieces,"[4] *viz.* that of the prostitutes of the imperial dominions, who had gathered together in the Capital in such swarms as to defy counting or numbering. These he made to live outside the city, and called the place *Shaitānpūrah*.[5] And he appointed a keeper, and a deputy, and a secretary for this quarter, so that any one who wished to associate with these people, or take them to his house, provided he first had his name and condition written down, might with the connivance of the imperial officers have connection with any of them that he pleased. But he did not permit any man to take dancing-girls to his house at night, without con-

[1] Prostration, in which the toes, knees, hands and forehead touch the ground.

[2] Ground-kissing.

[3] Comp. 1 Tim v. 23.

[4] A saying, the meaning of which is much disputed, but which seems to imply 'temper severity with kindness,' comp. Isaiah xli. 3 See further in Vuller's *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*.

[5] Devilsville

forming to these conditions, in order that he might keep the matter under proper control. But if any one wished to have a virgin, if the petitioner was a well-known courtier, he sent a petition by the Deputy, and obtained permission from Court. Nevertheless, in spite of the rule, all the libertines carried on these affairs under assumed names, and so drunkenness and debauchery led to many acts of bloodshed, and however many were brought to punishment, another troop [of delinquents] would strut arrogantly past the Inspector of that department :—

"Her endless beauty, as often as it slays a lover,
Another troop in love makes its appearance from the unseen."

And a number of well-known prostitutes he called privately before
303 him, and enquired who had seduced them. And after learning their names, several important Amīrs were severely reprimanded and punished, and imprisoned for a considerable time. Among them one mentioned the name of Rājah Bīr Bar, who had become a disciple of His Majesty's religion, and had made such progress in the four degrees, that he had become conspicuous as endowed with the essentials of the Four Virtues,[1] and scarcely ever left the society of his own daughters. At the time he happened to be in the parganna of Karrah in his own jāgīr. When the news of this scandal reached him, he wished to become a Jogī.[2] But on the Emperor's sending for him in reassuring terms he came to the Court.

Another thing was the prohibition to eat beef. The origin of this embargo was this, that from his tender years onwards the Emperor had been much in company with rascally Hindūs, and thence a reverence for the cow (which in their opinion is the cause of the stability of the world) became firmly fixed in his mind. Moreover he had introduced a whole host of the daughters of eminent Hindū Rājahs into his *ḥaram*, and they had influenced his mind against the eating of beef and garlic and onions, and association with people who wore beards—and such things he then avoided and still does avoid. And

[1] *Viz. ḥikmat* wisdom (prūdence), *shujā'at* courage (fortitude), *'iffat* chastity (temperance), and *'adālat* justice. Blochm. p. 193, *n.*

[2] See p. 95.

these customs and heretical practices he introduced after his own fashion into his assemblies, and still retains them. And in order to gain their love and goodwill and that of their castes, he abstained entirely from everything which was a natural abhorrence to these people, and looked on it as a mark of special devotion to himself if men shaved off their beards—so that this became a common practice. And certain pandering pimps brought forward proofs in favour of shaving the beard. They affirmed that the beard drew its nourishment from the testicles, and that since for this reason they never saw any eunuch with a beard, what could be the virtue and distinction of preserving it! Moreover that ascetics of olden time had looked upon letting the beard grow, as a kind of mortification, because it exposed them to reproach, but that, since the foolish Lawyers looked now on the cutting of the beard, not the letting it grow, as a disgrace, it was now a courting of the reproach of the world, and a mortification to cut it and not to let it grow. But if any 304 one looks at this argument from an unbiased point of view, he will see that it tends to the opposite conclusion. Unprincipled and scheming Muftīs quoted also an unknown Tradition.[1] *Kamā yaf'alu ba'ḍ-ul-quzāt*, they interpreted as meaning that some of the Qazīs of 'Irāk were in the habit of shaving their beards, whereas the true reading is *Kamā yaf'alu ba'ḍ-ul-'uçāt* 'as some obstinate sinners do.' One day Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ, at the beginning of my attendance at Court, observed that my beard was a little shorter than it was the custom to wear it. He said in the presence of the late pious Mīr Abū'l Ghais Bukhārī : "A *short* beard does not become you." I replied : "It is the barber's *short*-coming not mine." He said : "Well don't do it again, for it is neither proper nor becoming." Some time after this he himself becoming one of the Shī'ahs and religious mendicants, or rather of the Hindūs, and shaving his head, became so utterly smooth-faced, as to be the envy of the handsome beardless youths and he turned out a very hair-splitter in the matter of shaving :—

"He who vexes his brother about a fault,
Dies not until God has tried him in that very thing."

[1] In which it was stated that "some Qazīs" of Persia had shaved their beards.

And beating the gong after the manner of the Christians and exhibition of the Form of One Person of the Trinity,[1] and of *Cunabula* which is their way of keeping Festival,[2] and other such like childish games became of daily occurrence: and '*Unbelief became common*' they found to give the date.[3] Ten or twelve years later things had come to such a pass, that abandoned wretches, such as Mīrzā Jānī, Governor of Tattah, and other apostates, wrote their confession to the following effect – this is the form—'I who am so and so, son of so and so, do voluntarily, and with sincere predilection and inclination, utterly and entirely renounce and repudiate the religion of Islām, which I have seen and heard of my fathers, and do embrace the "Divine Religion" of Akbar Shāh, and do accept the four grades of entire devotion, *viz.*, sacrifice of Property, Life, Honour, and Religion!' And these lines—than which there could be no better passport to
305 damnation—were handed over to the *Mujtahid*[4] of the new religion, and became the source of confidence and promotion. Well nigh did the heavens burst asunder thereat, and the earth gape, and the hills crumble!

And in contempt of Islām ceasing to consider swine and dogs as unclean, he kept them in the *haram* and under the fort, and regarded the going to look at them every morning as a religious service. And the Hindūs who are believers in Transmigration, persuaded him, that the boar[5] is one of the ten forms, which the Divinity (praise to Him, glorious is his Majesty!) assumed in coming down:—

"His glory is more exalted than they say."

And he quoted the saying of some of the sages, that a dog has ten virtues, and that if a man were possessed of but one of them he would be a saint, in support of this. And some of the courtiers who were

[1] Meaning the Crucifix.

[2] See Blochmann in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, May 1870.

[3] 20 + 80 + 200 + 300 + 11 + 70 + 304 = 985, which is five too little.

[4] Abu-l-Fazl. (Blochmann, p. 194.)

[5] Sanskrit *varāha avatāra*

most entertaining in all sorts of music,[1] and in the realm of poetry became a very proverb, used to take dogs to their table and eat with them. And some heretic poets, of 'Irāq and Hind, so far from objecting to this, followed their example, and even made a boast of it and vied with them, taking the dog's tongues into their mouths:—

"Say to the Mīr, under thy skin thou hast a dog, as well as a carcase.
A dog runs about in front of his door, make him not thy messmate."

Another thing was this. The ordinance of washing the whole body after an emission of semen, was considered as altogether unworthy of observance. And he brought forward the following argument. The sperma genitale is the very essence of man, for the semen is the origin of the existence of the good and the pure. What sense then could there be in ceremonial ablution being unnecessary after evacuation of parva and magna, while the emission of so tender a fluid should necessitate it. It would be more fit [he argued] that people should perform the ablution first, and then have connection.

Similarly [he argued] that there could be no sense in offering food,[2] which is material, to the spirit of a dead person, since he certainly could not experience any benefit from it: much better, therefore, would it be, on the day of any one's birth to make that a high feast day. And this he named *Āsh-i-hayāt* 'Food of life.' 306

The flesh of the wild boar and the tiger was also permitted, because the courage, which these two animals possess, would be transmitted to any one who fed on such meat.

It was forbidden to marry one's cousin or near relation, because in such cases the sexual appetite is but small. Boys were not to marry before the age of sixteen, nor girls before fourteen, because the offspring of early marriages is weakly.

[1] *Vādī* is the Sanskrit *Vādya* 'music,' comp. Text. p. 42, l. 5. It does not mean 'department' as Blochmann *Āīn-i Akbarī*, p. 194 paraphrases it.

[2] Compare p. 50, note 6.

The wearing of gold and silk dresses [at prayer-time] was made obligatory. One day I saw the Muftī of the imperial dominions clothed in a garment of unmixed silk. I enquired: "Perhaps a Tradition about this matter has come to your notice?" He said, "Yes, in any city where silk is used, it is allowable to wear silken garments." I replied: "One ought to get a sight of that Tradition, for one cannot swallow a mere decree of the Emperor." He said: "It is not without one. But God knows!"

The prayers of Islām, the fast, nay even the pilgrimage, were henceforth forbidden. Some bastards, such as the son of Mulla Mubārik, a worthy disciple of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, wrote treatises, in order to revile and ridicule our religious practices, of course with proofs. His Majesty liked such productions, and promoted the authors.

The era of the Hijrah was now abolished, and a new era was introduced, of which the first year was the year of the Emperor's accession, *viz.*, nine hundred and sixty-three. The months had the same names as at the time of the old Persian kings, and as given in the *Niçāb uç-çibyān*.[1] Fourteen festivals also were introduced corresponding to the feasts of the Zoroastrians; but the Feasts of the Musalmāns and their glory were trodden down, the Friday prayer alone being retained, because some old, decrepit, silly people used to go to it. The new era was called the *Tārikh-i-Ilāhī*.[2] On copper coins and gold *muhurs* the era of the Millennium was used, as indicating that the end of the religion of Muḥammad, which was to last one thousand years, was drawing near. Reading and learning Arabic was looked on as a crime; and Muḥammadan law, and the exegesis
307 of the Qur'ān, and the Tradition, as also those who studied them, were considered bad and deserving of disapproval. Astronomy, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, poetry, history, and novels, were cultivated and thought necessary. Even the letters which are peculiar to the Arabic language, *viz.*, ث ع ح ص ض, and ڤ were avoided. Thus for عبدالله *'Abd-ullāh* people pronounced ابدالله *Abd-ullāh*;

[1] A vocabulary in rhyme by Abū Naçr of Farāh a town in Sijistān. *Blochm.* p. 41, *note* 2

[2] Divine era

and for احدي *Ahadī* they pronounced اهدي *Ahadī* &c. All this pleased His Majesty. Two verses from the Shāhnāmah,[1] which Firdūsi of Tūs gives as part of a story, were frequently quoted at Court:—

"Through the eating of the milk[2] of camels and lizards
The Arabs have made such progress,
That they now wish to get hold of the kingdom of Persia.
Fie upon Fate! Fie upon Fate!"

And so any verse which involved something of dubious tendency favouring his sect he heard gladly from the doctors, and considered it a great point in his favour, such as the verse from the Sajahrāk (?) in which the loss of the Prophet's teeth in an action against infidels is alluded to.

In the same way every command and doctrine of Islam, whether special or general, as the prophetship, the harmony of Islām with reason, the doctrines of *Rūyat*, *Taklīf*, and *Takwīn*,[3] the details of the day of resurrection and judgment, all were doubted and ridiculed. And if any one did object to this mode of arguing, his answer was not accepted. But it is well-known how little chance a man has, who cites proofs against one who will reject them, especially when his opponent has the power of life and death in his hands; for equality of condition is a *sine quâ non* in arguing:—

"A man whom you cannot convince by the Qur'ān and the Tradition,
Can only be replied to by not replying to him."

Many families plunged into these discussions, but perhaps 'discussions' is not the correct name; we should call them 'meetings for arrogance and defamation.' People who sold their religion were busy to collect all kinds of exploded errors, and brought them to His Majesty, as if they were so many rarities. Thus Laṭīf Khwājah, 308

[1] It occurs in the letter of the Persian general Rustam to the Arabian general Sa'd. See ed. Macan IV, p. 2066.

[2] On the effect of food upon a race see Herodotus *in fin.*

[3] See *Blochm.* p. 196 *notes.*

who came of a noble family in Turkistān, made a frivolous remark on a passage in Tirmizī's *Shamā'il*,[1] and asked how in the world the neck of the Prophet could be compared to the neck of an *idol*. Other remarks were passed on the "straying camel."[2] Some again expressed their astonishment, that the Prophet in the beginning of his career plundered the caravans of the Quraish; that he had fourteen wives; that any married woman was no longer to belong to her husband, if the Prophet (peace be upon him!) thought her agreeable. And many other things which it would take too long to recount:—

"The woes caused by thy tresses, and cheek, to explain
Would require a long night, and moon-light."

At night, when there were social assemblies, His Majesty told forty courtiers to sit down as 'the Forty,'[3] and every one might say or ask what he liked. If any one brought up a question connected with law or religion, they said: "You had better ask the Mullās about it, as we only settle things which appeal to man's reason." But it is impossible for me to relate the blasphemous remarks which they made about the Companions of the Prophet (God be merciful to them!), when the historical books happened to be read out, especially such as contained the reigns of the first three Khalīfahs, and the quarrel about Fadak, the war of the Çiffīn &c. would that I were deaf! The Shī'ahs, of course, gained the day, and the Sunnīs were defeated; the good were in fear, and the wicked were secure. Every day a new order was given, and a new aspersion or a new doubt came up; and His Majesty saw in the discomfiture of one party a proof of his own infallibility, entirely forgetting the proverb that a man may be hoisted with his own petard.[4] And so those who were before in favour now fell out of favour, and those who were before out of favour came into favour, those who had been near, became afar, and those who had been afar became near. Praise

[1] A collection of Traditions regarding the figure and looks of the Prophet.

[2] Referring to the charge of adultery against *Āishah*, the Prophet's favourite wife. *Al Qur'ān* XXIV.

[3] The 40 *Abdāl*. See *Blochm.* p. 197 *note*.

[4] *Lit.* 'Every one who rejects is rejected.'

be to Him! who ruleth absolutely in his kingdom as it pleaseth Him. And the common people with as little sense as brute beasts repeated continually nothing but "*Allāh Akbar*." This caused great commotion. Mullā Sherī at this time composed a *qit'ah* of ten verses, 309
of which the following are some:—

"Until in each age there arise some overwhelming calamity,
Disturbance in the street of events will be a householder.
By the punishment of the debt-exacting sword on heretics
The obligation of the head will be paid by the bond of the neck.
The collar of the lying philosopher will be torn,
And devotion clothed in rags will have its piety established.
It is utter confusion of brain, if a fool take into his head,
That love of the Prophet can ever be banished from mankind.
I cannot help smiling at that couplet, which so glibly
Will be recited at the tables of the rich, caught up by the beggar:—
The king this year has laid claim to be a Prophet,
After the lapse of a year, please God, he will become God!"

At the new year's feasts His Majesty inveigled many of the 'Ulamā and the pious, nay even the Qāzīs and Muftīs of the realm into the ravine of toast-drinking:—

"Love for thee brings news from the world of madness,
It brings pious people to wine-bibbing.
Thy memory, O Love, what a masterly potion it is,
For it makes us forget all that we have learnt."

At last the Mujtahids [of the Divine Faith], especially [Faizī, who called himself] the king of poets, called out: 'Here is a bumper to the confusion of the lawyers!" On the last day of this feast, when the sun enters the nineteenth degree of Aries (a day called *Sharaf-ush-sharaf*, and considered particularly holy by His Majesty) 310
the grandees were promoted, or received new *jāgīrs*, or horses or dresses of honour, according to the rules of hospitality, or in proportion to the presents they brought.

At this place Shāhim Khān Jalāīr arrived from Bengāl, and Rājah Bhagwān Dās from Lāhor.

During the absence of A'zam Khān and the other Amīrs, who had come to the metropolis from Ḥājīpūr, one Khabīsah[1] by name, a servant of Ma'çūm Khān Kābulī, together with Tarkhān Dīwānah, and Sarkh Badakhshī, raised a rebellion in Bihār. And Muḥammad Çādiq Khān, together with Muḥibb 'Alī Khān defeated them in an engagement, and slew Khabīsah.

In this year the prince Sulṭān Salīm[2] went to Aj̱mīr to meet Gulbadan Bēgum, and Salīmah Sulṭān Bēgum, who had returned from the pilgrimage. On this occasion they paid a gratuitous visit to the shrine of the saint Mu'in-ud-dīn, and left their gifts there.

At this time Muḥammad Çādiq Khān came from Bihār, and was quickly ordered off again, in conjunction with A'zam Khān, to repulse Ma'çūm Kābulī. And Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥarram, and Shaikh Ibrāhīm Chishtī, and other Amīrs, who had not gone in the army to Kābul, were appointed to assist Çādiq Khān.

At this time Shāh Abu Turāb, and I'tīmād Khān Gujrātī, who had been together on a journey to Ḥijāz, returned, and brought with them a stone of very great weight, which required a very strong-bodied elephant to lift it. A foot-print was clearly to be seen on it, and Shāh Abu Turāb, declared it to be the impression of the foot of the Prophet (God bless him and his family and give them peace!):—

"On the tablet at the head of our grave,
We have engraved thy image.
Until the day of the resurrection
Our head and thy foot are together."

The Emperor went a distance of four *cosses* to meet it, and com-
311 manded the Amīrs to carry it by turns a few steps, and in this manner they brought it to the city.

[1] See *Blochm.*, p 356 *note*.

[2] Who succeeded his father with the title of *Jahāngīr*

On the nineteenth of the month Sha'bān[1] the weighing of the eldest prince took place.

In this year, or the year after, Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabī, and Mukhdūm-ul-mulk, who had received the decree of eternal banishment,[2] hearing the news of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm's insurrections, came from Makkah to Gujrāt, and set their hearts on their former positions of authority, forgetful of the saying, 'The fleeting does not return':—

"The world is wide, O my child,
Thou art our corner, our corner,
Like the locust from the field of the king,
Thou art our ear of corn, our ear."

Makhdūm-ul-mulk died at Aḥmadābād, and in the year nine hundred and ninety Qāzī 'Alī was sent from Fatḥpūr to ascertain what property he had left.[3] When he came to Lāhor, he found such vast treasures as defied the key of conjecture to open their lock. Several boxes full of ingots of gold were discovered in his sepulchre, where he had caused them to be buried as corpses. And the wealth which lay open to the eye of the world was such as none but the Creator (glorious is His Majesty!) could ascertain. All these ingots of gold, together with his books, which were as precious to him as ingots, were placed in the public treasury. His sons after being some time on the rack of distress fell at last into the most abject poverty.

Shaikh 'Abd-un-nabī came to Fatḥpūr, and having made use of some rude language, the Emperor was unable to restrain his passion, and struck him in the face. He said: "Why don't you strike with a knife?" Then with a view to make him settle his account about the 7,000 rupees, which the Emperor had given him when he set off for Makkah, he was handed over as prisoner to Rājah Todar Mal, and for some time, like a defaulting tax-gatherer, they imprisoned him in the counting-house of the office; and one night a mob strangled him, and he went to God. And the next day, until after-

[1] The eighth month.

[2] That is, were about to die.

[3] For this habit of seizing a master's property on his death, see *Elphinstone*, p. 673.

noon prayer, the minarets resounded with nothing but this: "Verily
312 in this man ye have a warning ye that have eyes to see." This event took place in the year nine hundred and ninety-two. And "A Shaikh like a prophet,"[1] was found to give the date, in accordance with the verse :—

"Although they used to say, The Shaikh is like the Prophet,
It is not *the* Prophet, our Shaikh is like *a* Prophet."

"Heaven's nature is to throw down heads,
You must not withdraw your head from what is written.
She has never nurtured any, that she has not killed,
For she is tender in love, and stern in hatred."

In this year that crucible of austerity, and devotion, that impersonation of piety and religious fervour, that spiritual effigy, and mirror of divine grace, that paragon of people of rapture and ecstasy Shaikh Jalāl of T'hānēsar (God rest his spirit!) became an inhabitant of the garden of Paradise: and "The Shaikh of Saints"[2] was found to give the date.

In the same year Āçaf Khān, *Mīr Bakhshī Sānī*, who had the title of Mīrzā Ghiyās-ud-dīn 'Alī, gave up his place to his own nephew Mīrzā Ja'far (who afterwards obtained the title of Āçaf Khān), and then chose the last journey. And "May God be his help!" was found to give the date.

And at this time His Majesty deposed Ḥājī Ibrāhīm of Sarhind, as has been narrated, from the Çadrate of Guǰrāt. And when he heard that he had received many bribes, and that he kept many women, and that he desired to escape to the Dak'hin, he had him seized. For some time he entrusted him to Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk, but after a time he sent him to the fortress of Rintamb'hor. Till at last having cast him from the pinnacle of exaltation, to the abyss of misery, he fulfilled every dream of vengeance.

In this year Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgor said in the presence of the Emperor to Bīr Bar: "Just as there are interpolations in your holy books, so there are in ours; hence it is impossible to trust either."

[1] 300 + 610 + 20 + 50 + 12 = 992.
[2] 300 + 10 + 600 + 31 + 1 + 6 + 30 + 11 = 989.

Some shameless and ill-starred wretches also asked His Majesty why, since a thousand years from the Hijrah were passed, he did not bring forward, like Shāh Ismā'īl the First, some convincing proof. But His Majesty was at last convinced, that confidence in him 313
as a leader was a matter of time, and good counsel, and did not require the sword. And indeed, if His Majesty, in setting up his claims, and making his innovations, had spent a little money, he would easily have got most of his courtiers, and much more the vulgar, into his devilish nets :—

"I see in 990 two conjunctions,
I see the sign of Mahdī and that of Antichrist;
Either politics or religion must change,
I clearly see the hidden secret."

At a council held for the renovating of the religion of the empire Rājah Bhagwān Dās said: "I would willingly believe that Hindūs and Musalmāns have each a bad religion, but only tell us what the new sect is, and what opinion they hold, so that I may believe." His Majesty reflected a little, and ceased to urge the Rājah. But the alteration of the decisions of our glorious Faith was continued. And "The innovation of heresy"[1] was found to give the date.

At this time His Majesty sent Qāzī Jalāl Multānī, together with Khwāǰagī Fatḥ-ullāh *bakhshī*, who was a great opponent of the vile Shi'ah sect, to the Dak'hin. The cause of his banishment was this, that he had forged in a *farmān* a draft for five *lacs* of *tankahs*, which he had drawn from the treasury for his own use. The Emperor thought it likely, that the rulers of that part, who were exceedingly bigoted in that heresy, would put Qāzī to death with various tortures, and ignominy. But they, having heard of his constancy in the faith of Islām, and his support of the word of God against liars, secretly believing in him considered his arrival as a great gain. Besides giving him the districts granted to him as *madad-i-ma'āsh* they showed him every attention, and reckoned the very dust of his feet as collyrium. Thus through his innate good luck he became at the end of his life so honoured and respected, that however much he asked to be allowed to go on a pilgrimage to Makkah, they could

[1] 1 + 8 + 4 + 1 + 500 + 2 + 4 + 70 + 400 = 990.

314 not make up their minds to part with him. But at last he gained this felicity, and having arrived at Baṭhā wa Yathrab (may God magnify them both!) in glory and dignity, he obtained eternal acceptance, and there passed away from this old dust-bin:—

"A life, about which thou hast been informed beforehand,
From it seek not a happiness, which is eternal.
A life, into which death can find an entrance,
Say to it, Be long, or short, as you please."

And in his place the Emperor appointed, as *Qāzi-l-quzāt*, Qāzī 'Abd-us-samī' the Transoxonian of Miyānkāl,[1] of whom the poet Qāsim Khān Mouji might have composed the verse:—

"An elder from an honoured tribe,
With a beard, like a white rose, a yard long."

He used to play chess for a wager, and to give great odds. His cup-draining was notoriously a congenital habit, and in his sect bribery and corruption were considered as a duty for the moment, and the making profit on bonds for debt, and on signing judicial decrees, as a positive command. But verily since there was no reference to faith or religion left, even this amount was something towards the removal of opprobrium.

During those days also the public prayers, and the *azān*, which was chanted five times a day for assembly to prayer in the state hall, were abolished. Names like *Aḥmad*, *Muḥammad*, *Muçtafa* &c. became offensive to His Majesty, who thereby wished to please the infidels outside, and the princesses inside the Harem, till after some time those courtiers, who had such names, changed them; and such names as *Yār Muḥammad*, *Muḥammad Khān*, were altered to *Raḥmat*. To call such miserable wretches by the name of our blessed Prophet would indeed be wrong, and there was not only room for improvement by altering their names, but it was even necessary to do so, according to the proverb, 'It is wrong to put fine jewels on the neck of a pig.' This destructive fire broke out first in
315 Āgrah and burnt down house and home of both great and small, and eventually the fire extended to the graves[2] of those who kindled it (may God abandon them!)—

[1] A hilly tract between Samarqand and Bukhārā. *Blochm.* p. 545 n.
[2] That is they went to hell.

"Thou, O man, fond of words,
Who for some worthless handfuls
Desertest the Faith of God,
In the confidence of thine own sophistry,
What weakness hast those seen in the Tradition,
That thou wentest towards the irreligious?
What fault didst thou find in the Qur'ān,
That thou followest the present world?"

In Rabi'-us-sānī[1] of the year nine hundred and ninety the Sayyid Mīr Fatḥ-ullāh of Shīrāz, who in the regions of Theology, Mathematics, and Physics[2] and in all branches of science both logical and traditional, and in talismans, and incantations, and discovering treasures, was without his equal in that age, in obedience to a *farmān* requiring his presence, left 'Ādil Khān of the Dak'hin, and came to Fatḥpūr. The Khān Khānān, and Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ in accordance with the Emperor's command went out to meet him, and brought him to the imperial presence. He was honoured with the post of *Çadr*, whose only duty was erasure, in order that he might confiscate the lands of the poor, not give them. When the Emperor heard that he had been an immediate pupil of Mīr Ghiyas-ud-dīn Mançūr of Shīrāz, who had not been over strict in religious matters, he thought that Fatḥ-ullāh would be only too glad to enter into his religious scheme. But Fatḥ-ullāh was such a staunch Shī'ah, and at the same time such a worldly office-hunter, and such a worshipper of mammon and of the nobility, that he would not give up a jot of the tittles of bigoted Shī'ism. Even in the State hall he said with the greatest composure his Shī'ah prayers, a thing which no one else would have dared to do. His Majesty, therefore, put him among the class of the bigots, but he connived at his practices, because he thought 316
it desirable to encourage a man of such attainments and practical knowledge.

He married him to the younger daughter of Muzaffar Khān, and treating him with regal pomp associated him in the *vazīr*-ship with Rājah Todar Mal. And he, entering boldly into negotiations with the Rājah, came to an agreement with him. He became devoted to

[1] The fourth month.
[2] Aristotle's three-fold division of science, θεολογική, μαθηματική, φυσική.

teaching the children of the Amīrs, and every day would go to the houses of the courtiers, and would act the elementary teacher, first of all to the servant of Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ, and at another time to the son of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, and to other children of Amīrs of seven or eight years of age, and even younger, and taught them to point, and to draw straight lines and curves, and even taught them the Alphabet :—

"In the hands of children new to instruction
Do not place a tablet of astronomical calculations.
A horse, which is of Arab breed,
Do not mark with a Grecian brand."[1]

Putting a gun on his shoulder and a belt of ammunition round his waist, like a Runner, he used to accompany the Emperor at his stirrup in the chase, and all the glory of the knowledge, which he had not already lost, he utterly trampled in the dust. But in spite of all this want of dignity, and vileness, and baseness, he practised such heroism in bluff honesty, that no Rustam could have surpassed. The date of his arrival is given by the hemistich :—

"Shāh Fatḥ-ullāh Imām of saints."[2]

One night the Emperor, in Fatḥ-ullāh's presence, said to Bīr Bar; "I really wonder how any one in his senses can believe that a man, whose body has a certain weight, could in the space of a moment leave his bed, go up to heaven, there have 90,000 conversations with God, and yet on his return find his bed still warm!" So also was the splitting of the moon ridiculed. "Why," said His Majesty, 317 lifting up one foot, "it is really impossible for me to lift up the other. What silly stories men will believe!" and that wretch [Bīr Bar] and some other wretches—whose names be forgotten. —said "Yea, Your Majesty is right," and chirped in confirmation. But Fatḥ-ullāh—His Majesty had been every moment looking at him, because he wanted him to say something: for he was a newcomer—looked straight before him, and did not utter a syllable, though he was all ear

[1] That is, what a pity that a man of such attainments should spend his time in teaching children.

[2] 300 + 1 + 5 + 80 + 400 + 8 + 31 + 35 + 41 + 41 + 7 + 30 + 11 = 990.

About this time Mullā Aḥmad of Tat'hah, who was a bigoted Shīah, and had made himself a *ḥakīm* by pure effrontery, came from the Dak'hin and was presented at Court. His ancestors, who resided in Sind, had been very scrupulous orthodox believers, and this wretch used to shower anathemas on those unfortunate persons. But, in accordance with the saying of the Prophet (Peace be upon him!) 'God curses him, who curses his father,' his cursing recoiled on his own head. When, in the time of Shāh Tahmāsp, he associated in 'Irāq with some old Tabarā'īs, he became orthodox. Then he deserted them. When Shāh Ismā'īl the second, becoming an excessive Sunnī in opposition to the opinion held by his father, proceeded to kill and ill-treat the Shī'ahs, Mullā Aḥmad in the company of Mīrzā Makhdūm (who was a *Sharīf*, and a zealous Sunnī, and wrote the *Kitāb-un-nawāqis* in blame of the Shī'ah, which contains the date of its composition), went to Makkah. Thence he proceeded to the Dak hin, and afterwards to Hindūstān, and finding no opposition to the prosecution of his designs, he began to teach his absurd doctrines, and invite converts to the Shī'ah persuasion: but in a short time he met the penalty of his evil deeds. He had as yet had no interview with Shaikh Faizī, and had not yet assumed that air of confidence, with which his intimacy with that minister inspired him, when I saw him one day in the *bāzār*, where some 'Irāqīs took the opportunity of mentioning my name to him in terms of praise. Upon this he addressed me and said: "I see the mark of a Shī'ah stamped on your forehead." I replied promptly. "Just as much as I see 318 Sunnī stamped on yours!" The friends, who were present, all laughed, and were pleased I shall, if God (He is exalted!) will, notice the close of his life in its proper place.

The year 1.000 of the Hijrah era, which is in general use, being now on the point of completion, the Emperor ordered a history of all the kings of Islām to be written, which should in reality supersede all other histories, and directed that such a name should be given to the work as to denote the year of its composition. It was for this reason that the work was entitled *Alfī*. He further ordered the word *rihlat*[1] to be substituted for *hijrah*[2] in the different

[1] Marching.

[2] Flight

dates, and employed seven persons to undertake the compilation from the date of the death of the last of the Prophets (the blessing of God be upon him, and may He give him peace!) up to the present day, and to mention therein the events of the whole world.

He assigned the first year to Naqīb Khān, the second to Shāh Fatḥ ullāh, and so on to Ḥakīm Humām, Ḥakīm 'Alī, Ḥājī Ibrāhīm Sarhindī (who had just then arrived from Gujrāt), Mīrzā Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, and myself. And after that another seven years, and in this way the distribution of 35 years was provided for.

During the time that I was compiling the events of the seventh year, and was engaged on the life of the second true Khalīfah (may God be propitious to him!) one night, when the Emperor heard the account of the foundation of Kūfah, and the building and destruction of Qaçr-ul-imārat, which was narrated in detail together with the cause of its destruction, and the marriage of Amm Kulsūn, daughter of the Amīr-ul-muminīn 'Alī (God be propitious to them both!), as well as the institution of five stated times for prayer, the fall of the city of Naçībīn, and the scorpions big as cocks, which were made use of to effect its capture, he raised great objections and would not accept the truth of it. Āçaf Khān Sālis who is the same as Mīrzā Ja'far, helped me in but a poor way, but Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl and Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī, on the other hand, confirmed my assertions. When I was asked whence I got this information, I replied that I had seen it in
319 books, and had written accordingly, and that it was not my own invention. Immediately the *Rauzat-ul-Aḥbāb* and other historical books were called for from the library, and given to Naqīb Khān to verify the accuracy of the statement, which by God's grace being found correct, I was relieved from the charge of invention.

At the recommendation of Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ the compilation of the work from the thirty-sixth year was entrusted solely to Mullā Aḥmad of Tat'hah, who, however, wrote whatever coincided with his sectarian prejudices, a fact which is well known. The compilation of two volumes was finished up to the time of Chingīz Khān, when Mīrzā Fūlād one night, pretending that the Emperor had sent for Mullā Aḥmad, summoned him from his house, and murdered him in a street of Lāhor, in revenge for some injury which he had suffered at his hands, as well as because he was violently opposed to him in matters of religion. He was put to death in retaliation.

The remainder of the work was done by Āçaf Khān up to the year nine hundred and ninety-seven. In the year one thousand I was ordered to proceed to Lāhor, to revise the composition, compare it with other histories, and arrange the dates in their proper sequence I composed the first two volumes in one year, and entrusted the third to Āçaf Khān.

Among the remarkable events of this year is the translation of the *Mahābhārata*, which is the most famous of the Hindū books, and contains all sorts of stories, and moral reflections, and advice, and matters relating to conduct and manners, and religion and science, and accounts of their sects, and mode of worship, under the form of a history of the wars of the tribes of Kurus and Pāṇḍus, who were rulers in Hind, according to some more than 4,000 years ago, and according to the common account more than 80,000. And clearly this makes it before the time of Adam: Peace be upon him! 320
And the Hindū unbelievers consider it a great religious merit to read and to copy it. And they keep it hid from Musalmāns.

The following considerations disposed the Emperor to the work. When he had had the Shahnāmah, and the story of Amīr Ḥamzah, in seventeen volumes transcribed in fifteen years, and had spent much gold in illuminating it, he also heard the story of Abū Muslim, and the Jāmi'-ul-ḥikāyāt, repeated, and it suddenly came into his mind that most of these books were nothing but poetry and fiction; but that, since they were first related in a lucky hour, and when their star was in the act of passing over the sky, they obtained great fame. But now he ordered those Hindū books, which holy and staid sages had written, and were all clear and convincing proofs, and which were the very pivot on which all their religion, and faith, and holiness turned, to be translated from the Indian into the Persian language, and thought to himself, "Why should I not have them done in my name? For they are by no means trite, but quite fresh, and they will produce all kinds of fruits of felicity both temporal and spiritual, and will be the cause of circumstance and pomp, and will ensure an abundance of children and wealth, as is written in the preface of these books." Accordingly he became

much interested in the work, and having assembled some learned Hindūs, he gave them directions to write an explanation of the *Mahābhārata*, and for several nights he himself devoted his attention to explaining the meaning to Naqīb Khān, so that the Khān might sketch out the gist of it in Persian. On the third night the Emperor sent for me, and desired me to translate the Mahābhārata, in conjunction with Naqīb Khān. The consequence was that in three or four months I translated two out of the eighteen sections, at the puerile absurdities of which the eighteen thousand creations may well be amazed. Two parts were written. Such discussion as one never heard! as, Shall I eat forbidden things? Shall I eat turnips? But such is my fate, to be employed on such works. Nevertheless, I console myself with the reflection, that what is predestined must come to pass.

After this Mullā Sherī and Naqīb Khān together accomplished a portion, and another was completed by Sultān Ḥājī of Thānessar
321 by himself. Shaikh Faizī was then directed to convert the rough translation into elegant prose and verse, but he did not complete more than two sections. The Ḥājī aforesaid revised these two sections, and as for the omissions which had taken place in his first edition, those defects he put right, and comparing it word for word with the original, one hundred sheets were written out closely, and the work was brought to such a point of perfection that not a fly-mark of the original was omitted. Eventually for some reason or other he was ordered into banishment, and sent to Bakkar, and now he resides at his own city. Most of the scholars, who were engaged in this work, have now been gathered to the Kurus and Paṇḍus, and to those who still remain may God (He is exalted!) grant deliverance, and grace to repent, and may He hear the excuse of: "Whoso after he hath believed in God denies Him, if he were forced to it and if his heart remains steadfast in the faith [shall be guiltless]."[1] "Verily He is the merciful Pardoner."[2]

The translation was called the *Rāzm-nāmah*, and when fairly

[1] Al Qur'ān XVI, 108.
[2] Al Qur'ān II, 35 &c.

engrossed, and embellished with pictures, the Amīrs had orders to take copies of it, with the blessing and favour of God. Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, in opposition to the commentary on the *Kursī*[1] verse, which he had formerly composed, now wrote for it a *Khutbah* extending to two sheets—we flee to God for refuge from infidelities and unprofitable words!

The author (may God forgive him!) begs leave here to request, that the reader will excuse him if in the account of the events of this year (which have been introduced as a digression, written down by his rapid pen in an abridged form) he has not observed a strictly chronological order, nor preserved the exact sequence of events.

When the twenty-eighth year from the accession was completed, the new year's day of the twenty-ninth, corresponding to the twenty-fifth of the month Çafar[2] of the year nine hundred and ninety-one (991), was celebrated, and according to the old custom, stalls in the fancy Bāzār were distributed to the different Amīrs, and arranged by them, and all sorts of festivities and amusements were the order of the day. And Shāh Fatḥ-ullāh in his stall exhibited all sorts of skill, such as the dragging about of weights, and other strange contrivances.

At this time His Majesty promulgated some of his new-fangled decrees. The killing of animals on the first day of the week was strictly prohibited, because this day is sacred to the Sun, also 322
during the first eighteen days of the month of Farwardīn; the whole of the month of Ābān (the month in which His Majesty was born); and on several other days, to please the Hindūs. This order was extended over the whole realm and punishment was inflicted on every one, who acted against the command; and his property was confiscated. During the time of these fasts the Emperor abstained altogether from meat, as a religious penance, gradually extending the several fasts during a year over six months and even more, with a view to eventually discontinuing the use of meat altogether.

[1] Al Qur'ān II, 256.
[2] The second month.

A second order was given that the sun should be worshipped four times a day, in the morning and evening, and at noon and midnight. His Majesty had also one thousand and one Sanskrit names for the sun collected, and read them daily at noon, devoutly turning towards the sun; he then used to get hold of both ears, and turning himself quickly round about, used to strike the lower ends of his ears with his fists. He also adopted several other practices connected with sun-worship. He used to wear the Hindū mark on his forehead, and ordered the band to play at midnight and at break of day. Mosques and prayer-rooms were changed into store-rooms and into Hindū guard-rooms. For the word *jamā'at*,[1] His Majesty used *jimā'*[2] and for *hayya 'ala*,[3] he said *yalalā talalā*.[4] The cemetery within the walls was allowed to run waste.

He gave the sum of one *lac* of rupees in ready money, together with some elephants, and precious stuffs and gold and gilded vessels to his illustrious mother, and in the same way to his aunt Gul-badam Bēgum, and to the other Bēgums.

He also issued a general order, that every person from the highest to the lowest should bring him a present.

In this year A'zam Khān, and other great Amīrs were appointed, and went and took possession of Tandah. Khāldī Khān Jabbārī, and Mīrzā Bēg Qaqshāl deserted Ma'çūm Khan Kābulī. and came and had an interview with A'zam Khān. Then Ma'çūm Khān took refuge with some zamīndārs, and the whole province of Bengāl became settled and quiet.

In this year in order to gratify the feelings of the rulers of
323 the Dak'hin, His Majesty gave the governorship of Gujrāt to I'timād Khān, and made Shāh 'Abu-Turāb *Amīn*, and Khwājah Nizam-ud-dīn Aḥmad *Mīr bakhshī*, and Abu-l-Qasim Tabrīzī, brother of Moulānā 'Abd-ul-Qādir, the Emperor's tutor, he made *Dīwān*;

[1] Public prayer congregation.

[2] Cohabitation, copulation.

[3] A phrase which occurs in the form of calling to prayer (*azān*).

[4] A phrase used by drunkards in the height of mirth. *Blochm.*

and a number of people, such as Muḥammad Ḥusain, and Mīr Abu-l-Muzaffar, son of Ashraf Khān, and Mīr Hāshim, and Mīr Çāliḥ Da'ī, and Sayyid Abu-Isḥāq and. others, he ordered to hold *jāgīrs* in that province.

In this year the Emperor who had imprisoned Shahbāz Khān on account of some insolence, having taken a strict account of all his improper and unprofitable behaviour, now set him free from the clutch of the Rajah,[1] and through the intervention and patronage of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl he released him from captivity. On the seventeenth of Jamāda's-sānī[2] the Emperor sent him off to Bengal, with instructions to hand over all that district to the jāgīrdārs, and to drive Ma'çūm Kābulī (of whose movements news had arrived) from the province of 'Īsa,[3] for "when the river of God comes, the river of 'Īsā is useless;" and if in this context for *Nahr-u'-llāh* you read *Shahr-u'-llāh*, the saying is not without point and appropriateness.[4] Meanwhile news arrived that Khān-i-A'zam had sent Shaikh Farīd Bokhārī to Qatlū Afghān Noḥānī,[5] governor of Oṛisā with a view to pacification. Qatlū on account of his confidence in the Shaikh Farīd's holy descent went out to meet him, and assumed the post of servant to him. After this bond of friendship had been tied, Bahadūr Kūr Farah[6] one of the *zamīndārs* of Bengāl who was the main supporter of Qatlū's, coming up very unceremoniously wished to be hale fellow well met with the Shaikh, but the Shaikh assumed *zamīndār-ish* airs. Upon this Shahū, son of Shaikh Rājū

[1] Rai Sāl Darbārī. *Blochm.* p. 400.

[2] The 6th Month.

[3] 'Isā Khān, *zamīndār* of Oṛisā. *Blochm.* p. 352.

[4] In the original proverb (Freytag i. p. 139) the name is Ma'qil, one of the companions of the prophet, Nahr-u-Ma'qil being the name of a river near Basrah. Our author seems to call the *Mahānadī* of Oṛisā the *Nahr-u-'Īsā* after the name of the zamīndār of the place. The month Rajab, which follows Jamāda's-sānī is also called *Shahr-i-Khudā, i. q., Shar-ullāh.* He means that when Rajab came in, Orisā was conquered.

[5] Generally spelt *Loḥānī*.

[6] Another reading is *Kūrdah*. *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Elliot, V, p. 422, has *Gauriya.*

324 Bokhārī, of Sarhind, who was not always just in his behaviour, and some other Bokhārīs, all showed some ill-temper. Bahādur was so enraged that at the time of the Shaikh's return, when Qatlū was travelling in his retinue, he seized the road and opposed his progress by force of arms. Shāhū, with a number of men was killed, and the Shaikh escaped without injury.

In this year Burhān-ul-mulk, brother of Murtazī Nizām-ul-mulk, governor of the Dak'hin,[1] fled from his brother. First he came to Mālwah to Quṭb-ud-dīn Khān. From thence, in obedience to the Emperor's command, he came to Court in the month of Rajab,[2] and did homage. Some time before this an unknown vagabond, who falsely called himself Burhān-ul-mulk, had come to the Court, and had received a *jāgīr* in Oudh. But since he was unable to bring *proof*[3] that he was *Burhān*, he had fled and hid himself among the Jogīs. After the lapse of a week the Emperor detected him from the rest, and had him imprisoned. After these transactions that ignoble fellow was never heard of again, for he lived a donkey, and was a donkey, and died a donkey.

In the same year His Majesty built outside the town two places for feeding poor Hindūs and Musalmāns, one of them being called *Khairpūrah*, and the other *Dharmpūrah*. Some of Abu-l-Fazl's people were put in charge of them. They spent His Majesty's money in feeding the poor. As an immense number of *Jogīs* also flocked to this establishment, a third place was built, which got the name of *Jogīpūrah*.

His Majesty also called some of the Jogīs, and gave them at night private interviews, enquiring into abstract truths; their articles of faith; their occupation; the influence of pensiveness; their several practices and usages; the power of being absent from the body; or into alchemy, physiognomy, and the power of omnipresence of the soul.[4]

[1] That is of Aḥmadnagar. Elphinstone, p. 522.

[2] The seventh month.

[3] A play on the name *Burhān*, which means *proof*.

[4] So *Blochmann*, p. 201. But might not *rīmiyā* be formed from *rīmān* = *Aḥrīmān*, after the analogy of the two preceding words *kīmiya* a chemy, and *ṣimiyā* natural magic, and mean "devilry?"

His Majesty even learned alchemy, and showed in public some of the gold made by him. On a fixed night, which came once a year, a great meeting was held of Jogīs from all parts. This night they 325 called *Sīvrāt*.[1] The Emperor ate and drank with the principal Jogīs, who promised him that he should live three or four times as long as ordinary men. His Majesty fully believed it, and connecting their promises with other inferences he had drawn, it became impressed on his mind as indelibly as though it were engraved on a rock. Fawning court doctors, wisely enough, found proofs of the longevity of the Emperor, and said that the cycle of the moon, during which the lives of men are short, was drawing to its close, and that the cycle of Saturn was at hand, with which a new cycle of ages, and consequently the original longevity of mankind, would again commence. Thus they said, it was mentioned in some holy books that men used to live up to the age of one thousand years while in some of their own Sanskrit books the age of men was described as ten thousand years; and in Tibet there was even now a class of *Lamas*, or devotees, and recluses, and hermits of Cathay, who live two hundred years, and more. For this reason His Majesty, in imitation of the usages of these Lamas, limited the time he spent in the Harem, curtailed his food and drink, but especially abstained from meat. He also shaved the hair of the crown of his head, and let the hair at the sides grow, because he believed that the soul of perfect beings, at the time of death, passes out by the crown (which is the tenth opening of the human body) with a noise resembling thunder, which the dying man may look upon as a proof of his happiness and salvation from sin, and as a sign that his soul by metempsychosis will pass into the body of some grand and mighty king. His Majesty gave his religious system the name of *Tauḥīd-i-Ilāhī*[2]:—

"You want to have this world at your wish,
And also the right Religion:
These two are not compatible,
Heaven is not your slave."

[1] Sanskrit *Śivarātri*, "night of Śiva."

[2] Divine Monotheism.

And a number of disciples, who thought themselves something particular, he called *Chelah*, in accordance with the technical term of the Jogīs. And another lot, consisting of wolves among the sheep, and hunters of the weak,[1] who were not admitted into the palace,
326 stood every morning opposite to the window, near which His Majesty used to pray to the sun, and declared that they had made vows not to rinse their mouth, nor to eat and drink, before they had seen the blessed countenance of the Emperor. And every evening there was a regular Court assembly of needy Hindūs and Musalmāns, all sorts of people, men and women, healthy and sick, a queer gathering and a most terrible crowd. No sooner had His Majesty finished saying the thousand and one names of the "Greater Luminary," and stepped out into the balcony, than the whole crowd prostrated themselves. Cheating, thieving Brahmans collected another set of one thousand and one names of "His Majesty the Sun," and told the Emperor that he was an incarnation, like Rām, Krishna, and other infidel kings; and though Lord of the world, he had assumed his shape, in order to play with the people of our planet. In order to flatter him, they also brought Sanskrit verses, said to have been taken from the sayings of ancient sages, in which it was predicted that a great conqueror would rise up in India, who would honour Brahmans and cows, and govern the earth with justice. They also wrote this nonsense on old looking paper, and showed it to the Emperor, who believed every word of it:—

"Every one to whom thou saidst, Welcome! was welcome."

And some of these different bands, whichever they may be, they called *Aḥadī*, who will in the world of "Monotheism" obtain complete salvation, and in the deluge of water or fire will form an army that will sacrifice themselves:—

"O my heart do not make a boast of offering thyself,
Whenever the Beloved may happen to come.
The doings of every individual will be known,
When the time for action comes."

[1] Instead of از ذال شیاد میاد زبون read از دال شیا و صیاد زبون

In this year also in the State Hall of Fatḥpūr having filled the 10 *square cubits* of the Hanafīs, and the *Qullatain*[1] of the Shāfi'īs and Shī'ahs, and drawn off the water, the quantity of the Hanafīs was greater than that of the others. 327

His Majesty once ordered that the Sunnīs should stand separately from the Shī'ahs, when the Hindūstānīs, without exception, went to the Sunnī side, and the Persians to the Shī'ah side.

But, as we have often said, it is not possible for the most voluble historian to explain fully all the particulars, and minutiæ of his proceedings, and therefore, giving up all idea of so doing, we must take our own course.

When I'timād Khān was appointed to the governorship of the province of Gujrāt,[2] which was the ladder of his ambition, he went to Sārōhī.[3] He severed that district from Sarnāl, and entrusted it to Jakmāl, brother of the Rānā. On the twelfth of the month of Sha'bān[4] of this year he arrived at Aḥmadābād together with the Amīrs, who were appointed to accompany him.

Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān, who was absolute ruler of that place and had repelled all calamities and quelled all disturbances, upon this came out of the town w'h the intention of proceeding to the Court, and encamped at Osmānpūr. Here his lords and attendants, who detested their supersession and removal, deserted him, and together with other malcontents,[5] went to Kāthīwār to seek Muzaffar bin Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī, who had fled from the Court, and taking refuge with his mother's relatives in the mountain districts, kept himself hid by day, and only dared to appear by night. Him they proclaimed Sulṭān.

I'timād Khān, although Shihāb-ud-dīn had the means of quieting these people, would not accept his assistance, but said: "These men have sought their fate from God, and have tried to kill me.

[1] See Blochm. p. 202. *note*.
[2] Text, 322, last line.
[3] A small district of Rājpūtānā.
[4] The eighth month.
[5] Compare Text, p. 249, l. 10.

Now the matter has passed out of my power to pacify, as you and all the kingdom know." So he retired to the town of Karī, which is twenty *cosses* from Aḥmadābād.

One or two persons on the part of I'timād Khān and Nizām ud-dīn Aḥmad went, and tried to quiet those rebels, but without success.

On the twenty-seventh of Sha'bān Muzaffar with the people of Kāt'hīwār and the rebellious Moghuls came to Dholqah, which is twelve *cosses* from Aḥmadābād.

Meanwhile I'timād Khān, and Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad abandoned
328 the city,[1] and together went to Karī with the intention of bringing back Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān, and appeased him by offering to restore to him his old *pargannahs* as *jāgīr* on the same terms as before, and by giving him two *lacs* of rupees in ready-money as a subsidy. They left the care of the town of Karī in charge of Shēr Khān, son of I'timād Khān, and left Mīr Muḥammad Ma'çūm there with a strong force, in order that making that place the base of operations they might rally the scattered troops.

The next day Muzaffar moved from Dholqah, and some of the devotees of Sarkij,[2] which is three *cosses* from Aḥmadābād, took from the tombs of the late Sulṭān's an umbrella, which was ready to hand, and placed it over his head by way of omen, and congratulated him on his Sultanate. Thus, having heard good news from the unseen world, he entered Aḥmadābād.

Two[3] Amīrs, imbecile in their actions, to whom the following verse applies:—

"I and my tutor are two poor old men,
Who want, the two of us, two good tutors."

with twisted reins, and broken crupper:—

"Their body not strong, their heart not patient,
Their fortune not friendly, their intellect not their guide,"

rode by night from Karī with a few followers, and arrived in the morning at Osmānpūr. Muzaffar made his *entrée* without fear or

[1] Aḥmadābād.

[2] Blochm. p. 507 *note*.

[3] I'timād Khān and Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān.

shame, with his troops drawn up as an *istiqbāl*,[1] and stood on the sandy shore of the river of Aḥmadābād. Meanwhile those two old men as a means of scattering the rebels, and with a view to re-encouraging the scattered royalists were occupied in collecting debts, and writing requisitions, and despatching letters! And when things became desperate, not having any confidence in their followers they did not dare to offer battle, but helpless as sheep for the slaughter fled to the town of Patan, which is the same as Nahrwālah, and situated forty-five *cosses* from Aḥmadābād, which they reached in one day. All the goods and chattels of the army were looted, and the wives and families of the soldiers were made prisoners. Muḥammad Sharīf, son of 329
Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad with his soldiers abandoned the protection of house and family, and managed to join his father. The fugitives, together with another body of Amīrs, who had come to their assistance from Fatḥpūr, and amounted to one thousand horse, repaired the fortress of Patan, and made a stand there.

Muzaffar gave all sorts of grand titles to his worthless soldiery, and exciting their hopes of recovering the kingdom, grew so in dignity that, thanks to the power of God![2] he who had been a Court menial with a monthly stipend of thirty rupees, is now lord of thirty thousand clients. And sending for Shēr Khān Fūlādī, who had been formerly governor of Patan, from the province of Sūrāt, where he had been in misfortune, sent him with 4,000 horse against Patan.

The leaders at Patan sent Zain-ud-dīn Kambū, brother of Shahbāz Khān, to Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān requesting him to march on Aḥmadābād from one quarter; while they would do so from the other, and so surround Muzaffar. But Muzaffar was too quick for them, and advancing with his army gave battle to Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān at Barodah. And that person of great hopes and little management, who in comparison with the energy of those two old men, was a paragon of the age:—

[1] A troop of horse which meet a person as a guard of honour. See Atkinson's *Shāhnāmah*, p. 522.

[2] *Nāzam* is from *Nāzīdan* to boast. *Nāzam baqudrat-i-Khudā* is an exclamation in admiration of the power of God, who made an insignificant person rise to so high a dignity.

"There are two fortunate heavenly bodies, the Sun, and the Moon,
And time hath found thy fair cheek a third,"

made but little resistance, and was defeated and shut himself up in the fortress of Barodah. And the chiefs of his army, and his auxiliaries with one consent went over to Muzaffar.

Before this incident Shēr Khān[1] with 5,000 horse, had encamped in the neighbourhood of the village of Miyānah, fifteen *cosses* from Patan. And Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān and I'timād Khān after much hesitation and cowardice determined to flee towards Jālor. But by the exertions of Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad they were restrained and remained at Patan.

The rest of the leaders with some veterans, who did not number
330 more than 2,000, all told, marched with Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, and a great battle took place between the two armies. The breeze of victory and success fanned the banners of Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, and Shēr Khān fled and retreated in haste towards Aḥmadābād. But, however much Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad strove to impress on the Amīrs the importance of following up the victory by proceeding against Aḥmadābād, they would not consent. And this was the very crisis of affairs, for they had not yet received news of the defeat of Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān. In this battle a great deal of spoil fell into the hands of the Amīrs, so that they went to Karī and waited there twelve days waiting for the soldiers, who had gone with the spoil to Patan. Meanwhile intelligence arrived, that Muzaffar had bombarded the fortress of Barodah, which has a wall old as the building of his age, and weak[2] as the sense of Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān. Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān, the foundations of whose life were even weaker than theirs, sent out Zain-ud-dīn to Muzaffar to make terms of capitulation. Muzaffar at a moment's acquaintance treated Zain-ud-dīn as if he had known him for a thousand years. To Khwājagī Muḥammad Çāliḥ, a former Çadr,[3] who had been appointed to accompany I'timād Khān, he from a

[1] Son of I'timād Khān, not Shēr Khān Fūlādi.
[2] We follow the Lakh'nou lithograph, which reads *sost* after *Muḥammad Khān*.
[3] See *Blochmann*, p. 528.

feeling of generosity granted his life, and allowed him to go on a pilgrimage. And to Quṭb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān, the eye of whose penetration was blinded by the injury of fate, and whose bark was foundering through calamity, he gave quarter, and so enticed him out of the fortress. He, little suspecting the treachery of Muzaffar, came out with the greatest weakness, and when he saw him offered him boundless salutations:—

"Fate is a person which has five fingers,
When she wishes to get her will on any one,
She puts two on his eyes, and two on his ears,
And one on his lips, with the words 'Be silent!'"

Muzaffar at the time of their meeting advanced towards him with 331
greatest respect, and gave him a place on his own private sofa, and having treated him in a conciliatory manner he did not wish to take any steps towards his being put to death. At last at the instigation of one named Nawārī, a *zamīndār* of Rājpīplah, and others of the soldiery, he had the ground levelled over his head like his own buried Qārūn treasures.[1] Then going from Parwār to Baroṇch, he took that fort from the wife and dependants of Quṭb-ud-dīn by capitulation. And there he found fourteen *lacs* of rupees from the treasury of Cambay, which I'mād-ud-dīn, the *krorī*, had carried off, together with all the property animate and inanimate, and the immense private treasures of Quṭb-ud-dīn Khān which exceeded 10 *krors;* and collected them together. And as for the other goods and chattels how can one describe them! And, which is very strange, Naurang Khān, the able son of Quṭb-ud-dīn Khān, together with Qulij Khān, and Sharif Khān, and Tulak Khān, and other Amīrs of Mālwah, in these harrowing circumstances[2] did not stir a foot from Nazarbār and Sulṭānpūr, which were very near, and so could not receive any news of his parents:—

"When once you know that Destiny is all tangles,
Nobody is anything to you."

[1] The Arabic name for Korah.
[2] Lakh'nou lithographed edit. reads ﺍﻧﺎﻝ, not ﺍﻧﻠ.

And the army, the number of which has been before mentioned, consisting of Moghuls, Afghāns and Gujrātīs, gathered round Muzaffar. On hearing this news Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad and the other commanders went to Patan, and joined those two[1] renowned Amīrs. There they kept expecting the arrival of Mīrzā Khān, son of Bairām *Khān Khānān*, and all the Amīrs who had been appointed to go from the Court, and were marching towards Aḥmadābād through Jālor and Patan. Mīrzā Khān remained one day at Patan, and then marching on halted at Sarkich[2] And Muzaffar returned from Barodah, and committing the charge of the fortress of Baroṇch to his wife's brother, Naçīr by name, and to a Rūmī named Jarkas,[3] (who was a servant who had fled from the imperial Court,) and having pitched his tent in the neighbourhood of the burial place of Shāh B'hekan (?), (God sanctify his glorious tomb!), which was but two *cosses* distant, he there encamped. The next day a fierce battle took place, and Muzaffar was defeated, and retired to Ma'mūrābād. And Sayyid Hāshim Bārhah and Kizr Aqā the *wakīl* of Mīrzā Khān were stained in the gore of victory,[4] and many men were wounded; and on the side of the enemy, who could number the slain! This action took place on the 16th of the forbidden month of Muḥarram in the year nine hundred and ninety-one (991). And, since Mīrzā Khān before the victory had vowed that if the bride of victory showed her face from behind the veil, he would give all the goods and chattels that might be among the baggage, as a thank-offering for that event,[5] to the poor and needy, with a view to paying this vow he ordered some of his servants to fix a price on all stuffs and horses and elephants and furniture, that he might expend that money in disbursements. These untrustworthy, deceitful, irreligious valuers set such a price on them, that not a fourth, or a fifth or even a tenth of the market-value came to the poor. And some things they gave away in order to

[1] Text 329 last four lines.

[2] Text 328. l. 6.

[3] Possibly a Greek named George, Γεώργιος.

[4] To become the "Rose of Victory" means to be slain in gaining a victory.

[5] *Rūnamā*, "showing of face," "event" a *double entendre*.

bring joy to their own hearts, and to comfort their own hearts, and so it did! And some domestics,[1] who were servants of Mīrzā Khān, such as Daulat Khān Afghān Lodī, Mullā Maḥmūdī, and others, represented to him: "Ever since we have been your attendants, we have not committed a fault. How comes it then that we should be so lorded over and oppressed by the imperial servants, and that they should always take precedence of us at assemblies, when they are really our inferiors with respect to salutations and other points of court etiquette? Mīrzā Khān found these weak and fallacious arguments very agreeable and reasonable, and having got ready some dresses of honour and many horses destined for each one of the Amīrs, and having caused their names to be written on them, 333 he prepared a great *levée*. He himself went into an attiring room, and became engrossed in the occupation of making his guests sit down, and in putting their dresses on them. Then he sent for Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad (who some time during the life of Bairām Khān *Khān Khānān* had married his foster-sister) and put the case before him. He gave the following advice. These followers[2] of yours are possessed by a spirit of wrong-headedness in this matter; if the Emperor were to hear of it, what would he order? As far as salutation on your part is concerned, what reason would there be in his ordering you to salute Shihāb-ud-dīn Khān who is your superior both from the dignity of commanding 5,000 and also from being older in years[3]? and similarly, how would it be right for him to order I'timād Khān, who once upon a time was commander of 20,000 horse, to salute you? And since Pāyandah Muḥammad Khān Moghul has most unmistakably declared himself opposed to it, and the others are not in the least worth considering, you had better ignore the matter altogether. Mīrzā Khān accepted this advice, and gave up the pretension.

[1] See p. 194 note 4.

[2] Lak'hnou ed. reads تابینان a corruption of Ar. تابع with addition of Pers. plural termination.

[3] Since you would do it naturally without being ordered.

Three days after the victory Qulij Khān and the other Amīrs of Mālwah came to Aḥmadābād. And when they heard that Muzaffar had gone to Cambay from Ma'mūrābād, which is on the banks of the river Mahindra, and a company of 2,000 horsemen had gathered round him from the fugitives, Mīrzā Khān with the Amīrs went in that direction in pursuit. Muzaffar betook himself to Barodah, and thence towards Rājpīplah, and Nādot. And Mīrzā Khān having come to Barodah, sent an army against a servant of Muzaffar's, named Daulat, to the gates of Cambay, and brought him out, and then hastened to Nādot; Qulij Khān and the rest of the great Amīrs he appointed to go to the mountain district of the interior, where Muzaffar had taken refuge. And everywhere Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad kept that force continually on the move, which entailed much baggage and munitions requiring heavy dragging about, and showed a gallant perseverance quite exceeding what could be ex-
334 pected of one in his poor position, nay even beyond the limits of human power. At last through his efforts a great battle, like the first battle of Sarkich, took place with Muzaffar. They gained the victory, and Muzaffar's forces were dispersed in all directions. Mīrzā Khān came to Aḥmadābād, and directed the Amīrs of Mālwah, and the rest, to besiege the castle of Baroṇch. After seven months, Jarkas Rūmī, who held the command of that fort on the side of Muzaffar, was killed, and Naṣīr Muzaffar's wife's brother capitulated.

This year after sending Mīrzā Khān and the army of Mālwah to Gujrāt the Emperor started from Āgrah in a boat on a pleasure expedition to Ilāhābād, which is a new erection on the site of Prayāg, an old sacred city of the Hindūs, where they had built several fortresses. On the day of his starting they brought from Makkah the news of the death of Shaikh Badr-ud-dīn, son of Shaikh Islām Chishtī, who had kept a voluntary fast for seven whole days, and in intense ecstacy had made the circuits of the Ka'bah barefooted until his feet were blistered, and violent fever supervened. On the Feast of Qurbān in the year nine hundred and ninety he drank the draught of martyrdom of death, in the path of God from the hand of the cup-bearer of eternal grace :—

"Last night on account of my sincerity and purity of my heart
In the wine tavern that soul-gladdener of my heart
Brought me a cup, saying 'Take and drink,'
I said 'No!' he said 'Do! for my heart's sake.'"

This news the Emperor sent to Ḥājī Ḥusain, the attendant of the monastery of the said Shaikh, and great dismay and distress found its way into that family, and the line of guidance and 335
teaching which he had left was cut short. The Emperor stayed four months there, and sent Zain Khān Kokah, and Bīr Bar, who had formerly been a servant of Rājah Rām Chand B'hatta, on an embassy to Chorāgaṛh. Rām Chand agreed to submit, and after paying Zain Khān all sorts of hospitality, he kept him with him until he came in his company to Fatḥpūr, and did homage there. There he offered 120 rubies, and other jewels in the same proportion as a proper present. And among those jewels was one, the worth of which was 50,000 rupees. He left his son, named Bābā, in the service of the court, and himself after some time obtained leave to go home. And soon after he went to his natural abode—Hell, where he got into hot water.[1] This Rām Chand in his natural disposition was of such high spirit, that he has none equal in our days And among his presents was this: he gave in one day a *kror* of gold pieces to Miyān Tānsingh, the musician. And I have mentioned above,[2] how that he gave to Ibrāhīm Sūr the ensigns of royalty. Miyān Tānsingh did not wish to leave him Finally Jalāl Khān Qurchī came, and brought him back to his sense of duty.

At that time A'zam Khān came in haste from Ḥājīpūr to Ilāhābād and did homage, and receiving leave to depart he went quickly back again to bring his army. And the Amīrs laid in that city the foundations of a great building: and it was determined that thenceforth that place should be the Capital. And they struck a new coinage, and Sharīf Sarmadī, the registrar of outposts of whom some one said :—

"There were two registrars, and both were coarse,
One was Sharīf and not Nafīs,

[1] A pun on *Jaḥīm* and *ḥammīm*.

[2] Vol. I., p. 432, text. Compare Erskine's *Humāyūn*, ii, p. 501.

The other was Nafís and not Sharíf,"[1]

wrote this verse for the coin :—

"Ever may it current be,
Like the gold of sun and moon,
From east to west of the world,
The coinage of Ilāhābād."

About this time Mullā Bindād of Amrohah and Mullā Shīrī attended the Court in order of latter the Emperor; for they had been appointed to *Çadr*-ships[2] in the Duāb of the Panjāb. Mullā Shīrī presented to His Majesty, a poem composed by him, entitled *Hazār Shu'ā'*,[3] which contained 1,000 *qiṭ'ahs* in praise of the Sun. His Majesty was much pleased.

In the month Zī-ḥajjah[4] of this year the Emperor returned thence, with a view to going to Fathpūr to quell the disturbances in Gujrāt; but in the environs of Atāwah news arrived of the victory of Mīrzā Khān.

And in the month Çafar in the year nine hundred and ninety-two (992), when the Emperor returned to the capital gracious *farmāns* were issued to the Amīrs of Gujrāt. To Mīrzā Khān was given the title of *Khān Khānān*, and a horse and a dress of honour, and jewelled girdle and dagger, and a *tumantoq*,[5] and the rank of a commander of 5,000, which was the highest dignity of Amīrs. And to Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, who had been the cause of their persevering in the conquest of that country, he gave a horse and dress of honour, and a rise in rank. And the ranks of the others also he increased, *viz.*, raising them from 10 to 20, or from 10 to 30 according to the circumstances of each.[6]

In this year the Emperor commanded me to make a translation of the *Rāmāyana*, which is a superior composition to the *Mahābhā-*

[1] I suppose the other was called *Nafís* "precious." *Sharíf* means "noble."
[2] See p. 295 of Text.
[3] The thousand rays
[4] The twelfth month.
[5] A standard of the highest dignity. Blochm. p. 50.
[6] These are the three lowest ranks. He means that each was promoted either *one* step or *two*.

rata. It contains 25,000 couplets,[1] and each *çlok*-portion consists of 65 letters.[2] The story is about Rām Chand Rājah of Oudh, whom they also call Rām. And the Hindūs pay him worship as a god in human form. And the sum and substance of it is that a demon with ten heads named Rāvan, ruler of the island of Lankā deceived his wife Sītā and carried her off. And Rām Chand with his brother Lach'hman went to that island. And a great army of monkeys, and bears whose number the intellect cannot count, 337 gathered together, and threw a bridge of the length of 400 *cosses* over the briny ocean. And some of the monkeys they say leapt that distance, and others of the monkeys went on foot. And there are many contradictory idle tales like this, which the intellect is at a loss whether to accept or reject. At any rate Rām Chand mounted on the monkeys passed over the bridge, and for a whole week made a tremendous fight of it, and killed Rāvan and all his children and relatives, and put an end to his family which had lasted a thousand years. And having entrusted Lankā to Rāvan's brother[3] he turned to his own city. And in the opinion of the Hindūs he reigned 10,000 years over the whole of Hindūstān, and then returned to his original abode. And the opinion of this set of people is, that the world is very old, and that no age has been devoid of the human race, and that from that event 100 thousand thousand years have passed. And yet for all that they make no mention of Adam, whose creation took place only 7,000 years ago. Hence it is evident that these events are not true at all, and are nothing but pure invention, and simple imagination, like the *Shāhnāmah*, and the stories of Amīr Hamzah,[4] or else it must have happened in the time of the dominion of the beasts and the *jinns*—but God alone knows the truth of the matter.

[1] *Çloka*.
[2] More accurately 32 syllables.
[3] He joined Rām early in the conflict. His name was Vibhīshaṇa.
[4] An uncle of Muḥammad, who named him *Asad-ullāh* "Lion of God" on account of his courage and valour. His wonderful exploits are celebrated in the *Hamzahnāmah*.

And among the remarkable events of this time was this. They brought a low-caste woman into the Audience hall, and said that she had become a man, and one of the translators of the *Rāmāyana* went out of the company of the translators, and saw her, and came back and testified that she was a woman, who through shame covered her face, and uttered not a word. And the doctors brought forward many proofs confirming this matter, and said that such things often occurred, (glory to God who rules in his kingdom as he will!)

And in this year Mullā Alim of Kābul, who was very learned, and
338 sweet-voiced, and of pleasant conversation, and was the most cheerful fellow imaginable,[1] died, and the date was found to be given by: "*The greedy man's hair is covered with dust,*[2]" and the *Fawātih-ul-walāyat*[3] is his work.

At this time the thirtieth year from the accession, and the *Nouroz-i-Sulṭānī*,[4] which corresponds with the *Nouroz-i-jalālī*,[5] arrived. On the eighth of the month Rabi'-ul-awwal[6] of the year nine hundred and ninety-two (992) the entrance of the Sun into Aries took place. And the customary fancy bazaar and festival was held,[7] and a great concourse came together, and new-fangled customs came into *vogue*, and beards were sent flying. And bells—brazen bulls, like the calf of Sāmarī[8]—were played, and made a great noise. And *bīlan*,[9] which are tents looking like domes, and are an invention of the Europeans, were set up. And they sacrificed their wealth, and life,

[1] *I. e.* by no means a saint. He was no favourite with our author. See Vol. iii, p. 158, Text., and Blochm. pp. 159, 546.

[2] 1 + 300 + 70 + 500 + 9 + 41 + 70 = 991.

[3] First steps towards saintship.

[4] The new year's day of the *Ilāhī* era.

[5] See Blochm pp. 183, 276.

[6] The third month.

[7] See above, p. 3 1 Text.

[8] A relative of Aaron according to Al Qur'ān.

[9] Apparently a mistake for بيلان the Portuguese *Pavelhão*, Pavilion. Lakh'nou edition has پيلان.

reputation, and religion[1] to their friendship for the Emperor. And so many holy souls rushed upon this trial, that they cannot be numbered. And sets of twelve persons, by turns, and in exactly the same way, became disciples, and conformed to the same creed and religion. And instead of the tree-of-discipleship[2] he gave them a likeness; they looked on it as the standard of loyal friendship, and the advance-guard of righteousness, and happiness, and they put it wrapped up in a jewelled case on the top of their turbans. And *Allāh Akbār* was used by them in the prefaces of their writings. And dice-playing and usury were allowed, and other forbidden things in like manner. And gambling houses were set up at the Court, and the Emperor lent money to the players at interest from the treasury. And borrowing on interest, and giving money away to the spectators was looked on as a branch of economy.[3] He forbade girls before fourteen, and boys before sixteen years of age to be married. And the story of the consummation of the Prophet's marriage with *Çadīqah*[4] (God bless him and his family and give them peace!) he utterly abhorred. And all his other heretical attacks on orthodoxy who can speak of! Would that my ears were filled with quicksilver, so that what things would they escape hearing! And the failings of all the prophets (God's blessings, and His peace be on them all!) the Emperor cited as reasons for disbelieving, especially the story of David and Uriah, and the like.
339 And whosoever did not agree with his creed, he considered worthy of death, and a reprobate, and eternally damned, and gave him the nickname of Lawyer and Enemy of the State, but in accordance with the proverb:—

"What a man sows that shall he reap,"

they themselves became notorious throughout the world for the errors of the most infidel religion; and the *Mujtahid* and spiritual director,[5]

[1] The 4 grades of devotion, see above.

[2] Blochm. 203, *note*.

[3] This is a philosophical use of داخل. The word كفايت means "economy," as well as "ability," "sufficiency." The whole is sarcastic.

[4] *I. e.*, *Aishah*, who was only 9 years old at the time.

[5] *Viz.* Abu-l-Fazl.

got the name of *Abu-l-Jahl*, yea "when the ruler is oppressive, the vazīr becomes deceitful." The Emperor considered his secular power as subservient to his spiritual power, and so he considered these affairs the most important of all, and other things as mere accessories. And in order to abolish the stall of the glory of our religion, he ordered the stalls of the *nouroz* to be thrown open from time to time for the amusement of the Bēgums and people of the ḥaram, and the wives or high and low, and on such occasions distributed gold. And the important affairs of those, who were outside the ḥaram, and marriage contracts and betrothals of sons and daughters were transacted in those assemblies. Nothing except an official post, and an eye to the Emperor's friendship, was looked on as worth anything. And, however much the Emperor endeavoured to remove this bond, yet of Hindū infidels, (who are indispensable, and of whom half the army, and country will soon consist, and as whom there is not among the Moghuls[1] or Hindūstānīs[2] a tribe so powerful), he could not have enough. But to other people, whatever they might ask for, he gave nothing but kicks and blows, and utterly disregarded all their devotion, and zeal, and complaisance.

In those days A'zam Khān came by forced marches from Ḥājīpūr [opposite] Patnah in accordance with his promise. And representations arrived from Mīrzā Muhammad Ḥakīm to the effect, that Badakhshān had entirely fallen into the power of Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek, for that Mīrzā Sulaimān, who had come back from a pilgrimage to Makkah, had seized Badakhshān, and that Mīrzā Shāhrukh had fought with the Uzbek, and being defeated by him, they had both of them fled for refuge to Hindūstān.

340 In the first part of the month Ziqa'dah[3] of this year a communication arrived from Mān Singh from the banks of the Indus, saying that Mīrzā Shāhrukh had arrived at the Indus, and that he had gone to meet him, and had offered him as a present 6000 rupees, and much cloth &c., and five elephants, and that Mīrzā Shāhrukh

[1] The then dominant race.
[2] Native Musalmāns.
[3] The eleventh month.

had then crossed the river Indus. This service of his was favourably received by the Emperor.

In this year many of the Amīrs and magnates of the Empire died, and among them was Muḥammad Bāqī Khān, brother of Adham Khān, in the district of Karahkatangah, which was his jāgīr.

Another was Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī, who had obtained leave to go from Ilāhābād towards Oudh, and there he answered to the Apparitor of God. During the latter days of his life he had been so weak, that they used to take him up in a blanket and bring him to the palace. When any one asked him "How are you?", he would answer "Thank God, my appetite for avarice is still hearty!" And to any one of his importunate servants, when he asked him for anything, he used to say: "My God! you will also become a commander of a thousand, for you appreciate my power of getting on."[1] One night in front of the house of Qulij Khān, where a great company had gathered together to break the Fast, he interpreted the Surah "*Innā fataḥnā*."[2] I struck in; he made his statement, and then was angry. I said: "Thank God, that the dispositions of the great ones of the kingdom are becoming known." He said: "Perhaps you may have imagined that this vehemence was for the sake of a *manṣab* of a thousand horse." I said, "So it seems." Many were angry at this. Afterwards by the intervention of Āçaf Khān, *bakhshī*, we read the verse[3] "Peace is best," and that trouble was got over. On another occasion when he was going from Ilāhābād, I had a discussion with Ghāzī Khān for a part of the way on scientific matters and the traditional words of the Shaikhs, and then we took leave of one another, and that was the last time I met him.

And another was Sulṭān Khwājah. He also was one of the elect disciples of His Majesty. After burying him in his tomb 341 which was of a peculiar new-fangled kind, they put a grating facing the light of the sun, so that its rays, which cleanse from sins, might every morning fall on his face. And they say that tongues

[1] That is, you will never lose anything for want of asking for it.
[2] The initial words of Al Qur'ān, XLVIII.
[3] Al Qur'ān, IV. 127. See p. 48 *note* 1.

of fire used to rest on his mouth; but God knows best the truth of the matter. And Mullā Aḥmad of Tattah found out a *mnemosynon* with one unit short :—

"The Sulṭān of heretics."[1]

At the beginning of the year nine hundred and ninety-three (993) which was the end of the thirtieth year of the Emperor's reign, Mīrzā Shāhrukh and Rājah Bhagvān Dās arrived near Fatḥpūr, and having sent the Prince Dāniyāl with Shaikh Ibrāhīm Chishtī, and a number of the Amīrs to meet them, they conducted them to the Court. And the Emperor gave him a *lac* of rupees in ready money, and goods out of the wardrobe, and three Persian horses, and five elephants, and ever so many camels and mules and servants.

Meanwhile the Emperor, in accordance with his established custom,[2] married the Prince Sulṭān Salīm in his sixteenth year to the daughter of Rājah Bhagvān Dās. And going himself to his house the Emperor celebrated the ceremony of marriage in the presence of the Qāzis and nobles. And the sum of two *krors* of *tankahs* was fixed as the marriage settlement. And they performed all the ceremonies, which are customary among the Hindūs, such as lighting the fire &c., and over the litter of the Princess the Emperor ordered gold to be scattered all the way from that house to the palace :—

"From the quantity of jewels and gold, that were scattered,
People's hands were weary of picking them up."

And Rājah Bhagvān gave as his daughter's dowry, several strings of horses, and a hundred elephants, and boys and girls of Abyssinia, India, and Circassia, and all sorts of golden vessels set with jewels, and jewels, and utensils of gold, and vessels of silver, and all sorts of stuffs, the quantity of which is beyond all computation. And to each one of the Amīrs, who were present, according to their station and rank, he gave Persian, Turkish, and Arabian horses, with golden
342 saddles, &c.

And on Thursday the nineteenth of Rabī'-ul-awwal[3] of the year

[1] 60 + 30 + 9 + 1 + 51 + 30 + 600 + 6 + 1 + 200 + 3 = 991.

[2] *Viz.*, of connecting himself with Hindū families.

[3] The third month.

nine hundred and ninety-three, the scouts of the army of spring, and the advance-guard of the *Nouroz-i-Sulṭānī* came up, and according to the writings of Mīrzā Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, who has preserved all the dates in his history, the thirtieth year from the Accession began. But the fact is the beginning of the second cycle from the Accession started in Atak Banāras from 25th of Rabī'ul-awwal of the year nine hundred and ninety-four, as shall be related[1] hereafter if God, He is exalted, will. And at the same time the origin of the mistake on the part of the Mīrzā was forgetfulness of the fact that, on account of the intercalated days, which every three years makes a difference of one lunar month, there is a difference in each cycle of a whole year, between the solar and the lunar years. And I, as I had no almanac with me, allowed myself necessarily to follow the Mīrzā, and the responsibility rests on him (but God knows best!). Moreover the Mīrzā during these years was in Gujrāt, and not with the Imperial Camp.

To return to our story. He kept the festival in the old manner, and held a high feast. And every day he received hospitality from every stall-holder[2] among the Amīrs, and suitable presents, so that even food, and scents, and presents fit for dancing-girls, were admitted into the treasury. And from a commander of 5,000, down to an *Aḥadī* they were all obliged to bring presents and gifts and offerings. And even this worthless atom, who is of no account at all, except that I am called an *Hazārī* on account of my being honoured with 1,000 *bīghahs* of land, followed the example of the old father of Joseph (peace be on him!) and brought my 40 *rupees*,[3] and they had the honour of being accepted :—

"My service is not according to my liking,
Pray give me another service."

At this festival they gave to the eldest prince the rank of commander of 12,000, and to the next 9,000, and to the third 7,000, and

[1] Text, p. 351.

[2] See p. 321, Text 4 *infra*.

[3] Referring to the "small sum of money which Jacob's sons brought to Pharaoh, Al Qur'ān XII, 88.

gave them a separate wardrobe, and royal insignia, and a *tumantogh*,[1] and kettle-drum.

343 And at the beginning of this year Mīr Murtazā, and Khudāwand Khān, the Amīrs of the Dak'hin, who had gone from the district of Berār against Aḥmadnagar, which is the metropolis of Nizām-ul-mulk, were beaten in a battle with Çalābat Khān, the Vazīr of Nizām-ul-mulk. Then they went to Rājah 'Alī Khān to Burhānpūr. And Rājah 'Alī Khān plundered them of all their elephants, sent 150 of them by his son, Ibrāhīm Khān, to the Court, where he arrived at the festival of *Nouroz*. After he had done homage he presented the rest of the goods,[2] which remained over, and stimulated him to conquer the Dak'hin. In consequence of this the Emperor made Shāh Fatḥ Ullāh (whom he afterwards called Mīr Fatḥ Ullāh), with the title of 'Azd-ud daulat and a present of 5,000 rupees, and a horse and a robe of honour, Çadr-in-chief of the districts of Hindūstān, and appointed him to the Dak'hin; in order that looking after Khān-i-A'zam and Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān and the other Amīrs, and leading an army into that district he might become a rallying point for the Amīrs.

And he left his servant Kamālāī Shīrāzī at home as his Deputy, to bring to Court the lackland Aimahdārs, some of whom still remained scattered here and there. And under him the Çadrate reached its acme,[3] but afterwards little by little things reached such a point, that Shāh Fatḥ Ullāh, for all his pomp and circumstance, could not make a grant of 5 bīghahs of land! Nay, after withdrawing the whole of the grants of lands, his duty of collecting[4] from them became a mere phantom. The very land in the same manner became the dwelling-place of wild animals, and of noxious beasts and reptiles, not of *Aimahdārs* and *ryots*. And now those oppressions are chronicled in the books of the acts of the Çadrs, although their names are forgotten :—

[1] See p. 346, note 5.
[2] Instead of *aspānī* the Lak'hnou reads *aṣbābī*.
[3] *Kamāl*, a pun on his name.
[4] See Blochm. 274.

Of all the *Great Çadrs* naught remains
In the heart of the Earth but the *bones* of the *Çadrs*.[1]

In the month of Rajab[2] of this year news arrived from Kābul, that Mīrzā Sulaimān, who after being defeated had gone from Badakhshān to Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakim, had been satisfied 344 with one village called Asālū (?). Then with the help of the Uymāqs[3] he fought a battle with the Uzbeks within the boundaries of Badakhshān, and gained the victory. He put many of them to the sword, and to those whom the sword had spared he gave dresses of honour, and dismissed them. And that district found as it were a second life: "He it is who sendeth down rain, after that they have despaired."[4]

And in the month of Shābān[5] of this year the Khān Khānān, in accordance with orders, came by forced marches from Gujrāt to Fatḥpūr, and Muzaffar once more created a disturbance in Gujrāt. And on account of the great trouble which the Jam,[6] and Amīn Khān Ghorī, governor of Jūnāgaṛh, gave him, and the tricks they had played him, he went and laid siege to the fortress of Jūnāgaṛh. Qulij Khān remained in Aḥmadābād, and Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad sent the Amīrs of that district against Muzaffar, who was not able to withstand them. He crossed the marsh of the Rin[7] (which is separated from the salt sea by a distance of from ten to thirty *cosses*, and entering the sandy desert of Jaisalmīr, there loses itself), and came into the district of Kachh.

At this time Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad wrote a letter to me from Gujrāt, saying that since the Khān Khānān at the time of setting out [for Fatḥpūr] made a promise, that if he got the Emperor's leave he would at this time bring with him Mullā Ilāhdād Amrohah, and

[1] A play on *Çudūr-i 'izām* and *'izām-i Çudūr*.
[2] The seventh month.
[3] Blochm. 371 *n*.
[4] Al Qur'ān, XLII, 27.
[5] The eighth month.
[6] Blochm. p. 516. Elliot. VI, 356; V, 438, and especially I, 495.
[7] The printed text has by accident ز.

yourself[1] from the Court. Consequently it is right that he should treat you both with every proper politeness, and having got leave for you from Court should bring you at once hither. As a wise man has it:—

"And afterwards, whatever may be best."—

So I saw at once the Khān Khānān, when he came into the writing office, which had been set apart in Fatḥpūr as the translation-department. But he, as quickly as possible, was sent off to Gujrāt,
345 and then immediately afterwards Kābul came in the way, and so my hope of employment, which I had looked on as the key of salvation, and a secured provision for life, became clouded over: "wish for nothing, but what God wills."

And the Khān Khānan having arrived within 10 *cosses* of Sarohī, determined to take Sarohī and Jālōr. And Nizam-ud-dīn Aḥmad and Sayyid Qāsim Barhah hastened thither to meet him, and arrived with a large force. The Rajah of Sarohī brought many presents, and gave in his submission. And as for Ghaznīn Khān of Jālōr, although he had an interview with him on this occasion, yet, since before, when the Khān Khānan had gone to the Court, he had exhibited some unpleasing actions, and shown tokens of rebellion, the Khān Khānān made him prisoner and brought him to Aḥmadābād He deprived him of Jālōr, and left his own army in that place.

And some time before this Sayyid Jamāl-ud-dīn, the grandson of Maḥmūd Bārhah, on account of a love affair with one of the dancing-girls of the Court by name Siyāh Yamīn, who may now be called Ahrimanī,[2] had fled from the Court and gone to the skirts of the mountains. There he had collected a force, and kept looting the *pargannas* of that neighbourhood, and robbing on the highways. Afterwards he left the skirts of the mountains, and took refuge at Patan in Gujrāt with his uncle Sayyid Qasim. Some time after the events related above, the Khān Khanān, in accordance with a *jarmān*, demanded him from Patan (which was Sayyid Qāsim's jāgīr) and sent him bound to Lāhōr. And eventually he married Ghaznīn

[1] Lit. a certain person.

[2] A child of the devil, meaning that she was dead and gone to hell.

Khān to the little daughter of Muḥammad Wifā, the late treasurer, and to please Miyān Fatḥullah Sharbatī, his wife's brother, he treated him with great kindness and consideration, and allowed him to remain in attendance at Court. And Sayyid Jamāl-ud-dīn they hung on a stake in the slave market,[1] and shot at him with arrows. So that was the only exaltation he got from love!

And in those days a representation came from Mān Singh and Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn from Atak Banāras to the effect, that 346
Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm had been taken sick, and that Farīdūn having set out from Peshāwar with a caravan with a view to going to Kabul, had had an encounter in the Khaibar pass with the son of Roshanī[2] the heretic (who was a Hindūstānī and possessed of but little knowledge, and has now gained a reputation as a priest of darkness), and being defeated had returned to Peshāwar. By chance the fortress was set on fire, and 1,000 merchantmen's camel-loads were burnt. And Farīdūn having escaped from that firelike smoke[3] went towards Kabul by another route. Seventy persons through thirst, and want of water, perished on that journey.

Meanwhile news arrived that 'Abd'ullah Khan[4] had fitted out an army of superior numbers against Mīrzā Sulaimān, and after a victory, which was as brilliant as a lamp's illumination of a house, had expelled him from Badakhshān, and seized the whole of that country himself. The Mīrzā being unable to withstand that army fled to Kābul.

At this time news arrived from Kabul that Mīrza Muḥammad Ḥakīm through drinking habits had brought on a number of conflicting diseases, and having fallen sick had developed a palsy. And on the twelfth of Sha'bān of the year nine hundred and ninety-three (993) he passed from this dwelling of sadness and deceit, to the world of joy and happiness:—

[1] This meaning of *nakhkhās* is given by Shakespeare.

[2] Elphinstone, p. 517.

[3] A common expression in the Shāhnāmah, and very appropriate in this context.

[4] Uzbek.

"See how many are the revolutions of the spheres,
Which bring from the dust some new fruit.
When that cypress tree is decked in beauty,
The wind dashes it to the ground at one blow."

And on the third of the month of Ramazān messengers brought this mournful news to Court. And the Emperor had to consider to whom he should commit Kābul and Ghaznīn. At first he wished to confirm the government of that country on the children of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. But when the Amīrs represented that the sons of the Mīrzā were still of tender age, and unable to discharge the duties of government :—

347 "Entrust not a hard matter to the young,
For you must not break an anvil with your fist.
Protecting subjects, and commanding an army,
Are not matters of play and joke."

Consequently the Emperor wrote a *farmān* in haste, and appointed the Khān Khānān to Guǰrāt, and sent 'Azd-ud-daulat from the Court to Mālwah and Raisīn to look after the affairs of the Dak'hin, and to help Khān-i-A'zam and Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān, who had been ordered to conquer the Dak'hin. Then he set off in person on the 10th of the month for the Panǰāb, and saw the new moon of Shawwāl in Dihlī. When at the station of Pānīpat he gave a jāgīr in the environs of Lak'hnou to Mīr Abu-l-Ghays of Bokhāra, and dismissed him thither. On the 19th of this month he arrived at the river Satlaǰ. And in those days, in the course of a week more or less, Shaikh Jamāl Bakhtyār, and Khwājah Isma'īl, grandson of Shaikh Islām, who was possessed of the most perfect personal beauty, by reason of perpetual wine drinking and continual debauchery, passed from this transitory world to the eternal habitation: the one at Ludhiyānah, and the other at T'hānēsar: and this enigma was invented to give the date :—

Hemistich.

"The *beautiful Rose* left the *Garden of the World*."[1]

And at 3 *cosses* from Siālkōṭ Mullā Ilāhdād Amrohah,[2] who had

[1] *Bāgh-i Jahān* "Garden of the World" gives 1062. From this take *Zebā Gul* "Beautiful rose," which gives 70, and we get 992. This is one too little.

[2] Vol. III, Text, p. 157.

received a wound in his breast, the fever of which had reached his heart, took a purgative from Ḥakīm Ḥasan, and died in the course of the day. Death is the awakening [from the drunkenness of life]. The draught [of Death] to him was a good friend (God have mercy on him!) :—

"O heart who told you: Cling to earth?
Put this tender soul of yours into security.
Consider, since you came, how many are gone,
At last you are alone, take warning from their going."

And the Emperor sent Ṣādiq Khān from the confines of Lāhōr to the government of Bakkar. And on the 16th of Zi-qa'dah[1] he en- 348
camped on the banks of the river Chanāb. At this station Shaikh 'Abd-ur-raḥīm of Lak'hnou, a friend of Mīr Abu-l-Ghays and Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī (who had come from the Khān-i-Zamān to the Court, and had been raised to the rank of Amīr, and received as *jāgīr* the *pargannah* of Paṭhān in the confines of the mountains, and at this time had developed a temporary insanity) struck himself with a dagger in the tent of Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ. The Emperor bound up his wound with his own hand, and gave orders that he should be taken care of at Siālkoṭ. After a time he recovered, but by reason of his insanity his affairs slipped from his grasp, and now as ever [the verse is true] :—

"A bad habit, that has once fixed itself in the temperament,
Will never leave you till the hour of death."

And on the 27th of this month he crossed the river Behat.[2] At this stage Muḥammad 'Alī the treasurer, who had been appointed to Kābul, represented, that after the death of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥākīm, Farīdūn Khān, and Kaiqabād, and Afrāsiyāb, the sons of the Mīrzā, who on account of their tender age were not allowed to enter into public business, had by the favour of the Amīrs been presented to Mān Singh. And Mān Singh having left his own son, with Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn Khāfī, in Kābul, and having spoken kindly to all those people, came and paid his respects to the Emperor.

[1] The eleventh month.

[2] The river Jhelum.

On the fifth of the month Zi-ḥajjah[1] Rāwal Pindī, which is a town between Atak Banāras and Rohtās, became the Emperor's halting-place. And Mān Singh brought with him the children and servants of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. And the Emperor ordered for each of them gifts and assistance in money, and proper pensions. And from the confines of Atak Banāras he sent Mīrzā Shāh Rukh, and Rājah Bhagwan Dās and Shāh Qulī Maḥram, with 5,000 horse to conquer the country of Kashmīr.

349 And in these days he appointed Isma'īl Qulī Khān, and Rāī Singh Darbārī, against the Balūchīs; and Zain Khān Kokah he appointed with a well-appointed army against the Afghāns of Sawad and Bijor.

On the eleventh of Muḥarram[2] of the year nine hundred and ninety-four (994) Atak became the Emperor's camping-place. Some twenty-five years before this a Hindūstānī soldier had made himself a religious teacher, with the name of Roshanāī, as has been mentioned above. He came among the Afghans and made many fools his disciples, and set up an heretical sect, and gave it currency and lustre. He wrote a work called the Khair-ul-bayān in which he set forth his pernicious tenets. When he went headlong to his own place, his son, Jalālah by name, who was fourteen years old, came in the year nine hundred and eighty-nine (989), when the imperial army was returning from Kabul, to pay his respects to the Emperor, and was favourably received by him. But through his constitutional impudence both hereditary and acquired he fled, and returned to the Afghans, and becoming a bandit, he collected many men around him, and blocked up the roads between Hindūstān and Kābul:—

"If the egg of a black-natured crow
You put under a pea-hen of Paradise;
If at the time of sitting on that egg.
You give it its millet from the figs of Paradise;
If you give it its water from the fountain of Salsabīl.[3]
If Gabriel breathe his breath over that egg;

[1] The twelfth month.
[2] The first month.
[3] One of the rivers of Paradise

In the end the young of a crow is a crow,
And the pea-hen will spend her trouble in vain."

Consequently with a view to repressing this rustic band of Roshanāīs (who are in very truth utter darkness, and hereafter will find their interpretation in darkness[1]) he appointed Kābul as the jagīr of Man Singh, that he might extirpate those rebels.

In the month of Çafar of this year the Emperor sent Sa'īd Khan Gakkh'har, and the accursed Bīrbar, and Shaikh Faizī, and Fatḥ-ullāh Sharbatī, and others, in the train of Zain Khān And 350 after some days he sent Ḥakim Abu-l-fatḥ and another body of men after the first. And these armies having joined Zain Khān spoiled the Afghān, and showed no remissness in making prisoners of their women and children. And when they came down to a Pass called Karākar, a person brought news to Bīrbar, that the Afghāns intended that night to make a sudden attack, and that if they could pass out of that narrow valley, into which they had descended, and which was not more than three or four *cosses* in extent, their minds might be at ease. Night was coming on, when Bīrbar through his wilfulness and stupidity and arrogance, without taking counsel with Zain Khān made an ill-timed march, and resolved to pass through the defile. And the whole of this headless army followed in his track. And, when at evening-tide they reached the narrowest part, the Afghāns appearing in crowds, like ants and locusts, from all sides of the mountains showered down stones and arrows like rain. And in that defile of the district of the cave of death through the narrowness of the way, and the darkness of the night the people lost their way, and in the pits they traversed the valley of death. And being perfectly helpless and separated one from the other, they sustained a great defeat. About 8,000 persons or more were killed. And Bīrbar through fear of his life betook himself to flight, and was killed, and so entered the pack of the hell-hounds, and received a portion of the reward of his base deeds. And some of the Amīrs and chiefs, such as Ḥasan Khan Panī, and Khwājah 'Arab, the

[1] Our author is playing on the word *Roshanāī* which means 'bright.'

Khān Jahān's pay-master, and Mullā Shīrī the poet, and a great multitude were killed in that night. And who can number the captives. And the date was found to be given by "*Alas for Khwājah 'Arab*,[1] with one unit too little. Ḥakīm Abu-l-fatḥ and Zain Khān were defeated on the fifth of Rabī 'ul-awwāl[2] of this year, and with great difficulty escaped to the fortress of Atak. And
351 since they had dared to come after having basely betrayed such a prime favourite as Bīrbar, and their treacheries became confirmed, and proved, for some time they were excluded from the Emperor's sight, but afterwards they attained their former rank, nay rather they rose higher than before. He never experienced such grief at the death of any Amīr as he did at that of Bīrbar. He used to say "Alas, that they could not bring his body out of that defile, that it might have been committed to the flames"! But afterwards they comforted him with these words: "Since he is freed and delivered from all the bonds of mortality, the light of the sun is sufficient purifier for him, although indeed he did not require any purification." And when a rumour arose that the Afghāns were coming against Atak, he sent the prince Murād the next day across the river Indus, and appointed Rājah Todar Mal to accompany him in driving back those rebels. But eventually he recalled his son, and appointed the Rājah to that duty.

In that mountain district he built many forts. In the other direction Mān Singh, who had been appointed to go against the Roshanais, slew and took prisoners a large body of them.

At this time news arrived that Mīr Quraish, the ambassador of 'Abd-ullāh Khān, had arrived with a letter, and that Nazar Bey Uzbek, governor of Balkh, with his three sons had come to pay homage to the Emperor, because they had quarrelled with the Khān. Consequently he sent Shaikh Farīd *Bakhshī*, and a body of the Aḥadīs to meet that caravan. And this body of men on their return conducted them through the Khaibar Pass. The Roshanāīs seized the road, and attacked them, but were defeated.

[1] 8 + 615 + 272 + 98 = 993

[2] The third month.

On the 25th of Rabī 'ul-awwal of this year, the sun entered Aries, and the thirty-first year of the reign began; but according to Nizāmī's reckoning the thirty-second year. And having arranged the public audience-room at Atak the Emperor received on that day Mīr Quraish. And Mān Singh came and did homage at that 352
festival. And Shaikh Faizī composed a *qaçīdah* of welcome, of which the initial couplet is the following:

"May the beginning of the second cycle, O Lord!,
Come from the Source of Vicegerency, a propitious era for fresh conquest."

And let it not be concealed that at this juncture a doubt entered into my mind as to the proper settling of the beginning of the year from the Accession, and the excuse for it has been related above.[1] As a matter of fact the son of the Mīrzā, named Muḥammad Sharīf, who investigated the dates in the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī after the death of his father Mirza Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad must here be acknowledged as the remover of the error.

At this time Mirza Shāh Rukh, and Rājah Bhagwān Das, and Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥrum who had come to the frontier of Kashmīr and reached the Pass of P'hulbās, on account of the arrival of the news of the defeat of Zain Khān, saw the best course of action to lie in pacification. So they made peace with Yūsuf Khān, governor of Kashmīr. And the product of the saffron-crop, of the shawl duty, and of the mint they attached to the royal treasury. And having appointed tax-gatherers they gave back the whole country to Yūsuf Khān; and then took him with them to pay his respects to the Court, for he expressed a very strong desire to do so. And when this peace was not accepted by the Emperor, a number of the Amīrs were denied access to the Court and forbidden to travel abroad. But afterwards on the day of *Sharaf-i-āftāb* he sent for them and allowed them to prostrate themselves. And also on the day of the Sun's entering Aries the ambassador of 'Abd ullāh Khan, and Nazar Bey with his children, came and did homage. Four *lacs* of *tankahs* were given to Nazar Bey which is equal to 500 Persian *tumāns*. Here is a copy of the letter of 'Abd-ullāh Khan * * * * * *[2]

[1] P. 342 of Text.

[2] The letter seems not to have been inserted.

Ismā'īl Qulī Khān and Rāī Singh brought the leaders of the Balūchīs to the Court. Mān Singh was appointed to help Rājah Todar Mal, and so the Emperor's mind became at rest again about that province.

On the 24th of Rabī 'us-sānī[1] of the year nine hundred and ninety-four (994) the Emperor started from Atak for Lāhōr. And from the banks of the river Behat he sent Ismā'īl Qulī Khān in place of Mān Singh to repulse the Afghāns, and Mān Singh he
353 appointed to the government of Kābul. And he kept Sayyid Ḥāmid of Bokhārā in Peshāwar to help Ismā'īl Qulī Khān, and to make a road.

On the 17th of the month Jamāda'-s-sānī he arrived at Lāhōr. Contemporaneously with these events the worthless head of 'Arab Bahādur, who in the neighbourhood of Bahrāich had made war against the servants of Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ, and was killed, [was brought; at least] most say, that he died by a natural death, and that they cut off his head and brought it to Court. And his head came down rolling from the mountains of Kamāon, and found its resting-place on the pinnacles of the fortress of Lāhōr. And thus this disturbance was quelled.

On the 19th of the month Rajab[2] the Emperor married the daughter of Rāī Singh B'hatta to the Prince Sulṭān Salīm.

And at the beginning of the month of Sha'bān[3] Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, *Mīr-baḥr*, and Fatḥ Khān, the Master of the Elephants, and general, started with a number of the Amīrs to conquer Kashmīr. When, before this the Emperor had imprisoned Yūsuf Khān Kashmīrī, who had come under the safe-conduct of Rājah Bhagwān Dās, and wished to have him put to death, Bhagwān Dās in order to save his safe-conduct and sense of honour struck himself with a dagger. But by the advice of Shaikh 'Abd'ur-raḥīm the heretic, he gained his point, and eventually in companionship became a partner with him.[4] When the Amīrs arrived at the Pass of Katrīl,

[1] The fourth month.

[2] The seventh month.

[3] The eighth month.

[4] Probably he means, that Bhagwān Dās became as heretical as Shaikh Abd-'ur-raḥīm.

Ya'qūb the son of Yūsuf, who had been received among the nobles of the Court, and like Muzaffar of Gujrāt had received 30 or 40 rupees a month, and had fled to Kashmīr, and on account of his bigotry for the *Shī'ah* heresy had killed the *Sunnī* Qāzī of that place with his own hand, laid schemes for disaffection, and gathered round him the servants of his father, and considered his father as good as dead. He came to oppose the Amīrs, and having fortified a defile of the mountain, he took up his position there with a large force. As he was altogether a bad fellow part of his men left him, and came over to Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, and some of them in Srīnagar, which is the capital of Kashmīr, raised the standard of revolt. Ya'qūb considering it the most important to stop rebellion in his own house 354
returned to the city. And the Imperial army entered into the heart of Kashmīr without any one to oppose them. Ya'qūb having no power to resist them flew for refuge to the mountains. Thus the kingdom of Kashmīr at one blow came into their power. Again Ya'qūb collected a force and attacked Qāsim Khān, but was defeated. Again he made a night-attack, and gained no advantage. And the Mīrzādah 'Alī Khan was killed in this battle. And when they had driven him up into a narrow corner, and were on the point of making him prisoner, he came abjectly and had an interview with Qāsim Khan, and went with him to do homage to the Emperor. Finally the Emperor sent him before his father to Bihār to Rājah Mān Singh. And Yusuf and Ya'qūb were both of them imprisoned in the cell of affliction, and by the sickness of melancholy and spleen they were released from the prison of the body.

On the 19th of Ramazan[1] Mīr Quraish the ambassador, with Ḥakīm Humām, brother of Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ, and Mīr Ṣadr Jahān the *muftī* of the imperial dominions, an inhabitant of the village Pihānī in the district of Qanouj, were despatched to Transoxiana in order to offer condolence to Sikandar Khān, the father of Abd-ullah Khān. And he sent as a present nearly a *lac* and a half of rupees, and all sorts of gifts of the valuable things of Hindūstan by the hand of Muḥammad 'Alī the treasurer.

[1] The ninth month.

In these days the Roshanāīs with about 20,000 foot and 5,000 horse came against Sayyid Ḥāmid of Bokhārā one of the great Amīrs of the Sulṭāns of Gujrāt. He having withdrawn with the few soldiers that he had, gave battle at Peshāwar, and was killed. And Zain Khān Kokah and Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥrūm, and Shaikh Fārīd *bakhshī* were sent in that direction to repair this disaster. And Mān Singh came out from Kābul with all his force to the Khaibar Pass, and fought a severe battle with the Roshanāīs, and defeated them. And there he held his ground. The next day they made a general onslaught
355 throughout the night and day, and shouting like jackals poured their forces down on them from all sides. At this time his brother Mādhū Singh, who with Ismā'īl Qulī Khān was at the station of Auhand' (?) with a well-appointed army, came to the assistance of Mān Singh, and the Afghāns fled. Nearly 2,000 of them were killed.

At the same time Mīrzā Sulaimān who had fought a battle with the Uzbeks in Badakhshān, and been partly victorious and partly defeated, came from Kābul, and had an interview with Mān Singh in the Khaibar Pass. Thence he went to Hindūstān, and in the month of Rabī'ul-awwal[1] of the year nine hundred and ninety-five (995) he paid homage at Lāhōr.

Among the notable things which happened is the following: Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, son of Shāh Rukh, in the twelfth year of his age, after his father's defeat in battle with the Uzbeks, had been made prisoner, and 'Abd'ullāh Khān had given him in charge to his own teacher and spiritual guide, Khwājah Kalan Beg Naqshbandī, one of the grandsons of Khwājah Ahrār (God sanctify his glorious tomb!), intending that he should include him with the other prisoners, and put him to death. And they say that that holy man punished in his stead a prisoner worthy of death, and set him at liberty and allowed him to depart.

About the time that Sulaimān Mīrzā arrived at Court, he too came *incognito*, together with some beggars from Transoxiana, and paid homage to the Emperor. He received the sum of 1,000 *ashrafī* as a gratuity.

[1] The third month

Thence he went on a pilgrimage, and returned to Badakhshān. There he collected a considerable body of men, and fought several times some gallant battles with the Uzbeks, and beat them. At last he gained possession of the mountain district of that country, and collected the spoil The Emperor sent to him from Lahōr by the hand of Mīr Tughān an *Aḥadī*[1] 2,000 *ashrafī*, and a number of bows, and muskets and other valuable presents. For several years he made head against the Uzbeks; but being defeated by them he retired to Kābul. The issue of his affairs will be related further on, if God, He is exalted, will.

On the eleventh of the month Rabī'-us-sanī of the year nine hundred and ninety-five (995) the celebration of the Imperial New Year's Day, and the commencement of the thirty-second, or according 356
to the Mīrzā the thirty-third, year from the Accession took place And in the manner, which has been before described, the feast was held. And other customs were further introduced. Among them was this, that people should not have more than one legal wife, unless he had no child. In any other case the rule should be one man, and one woman. When a woman had passed the time of hope, and her menses ceased, she should not wish for a husband. And widows, if they wished to marry again, should not be forbidden, as the Hindūs forbid[2] re-marriage. Also a Hindū woman of tender years, who could have got no enjoyment from her husband, should not be burnt. But if the Hindūs take this ill, and will not be prevented, then in case of the wife of one, who had died, one of the Hindūs should take the girl and marry her in that very interview. Another of these customs was, that when the Emperor's disciples met one another one should say "*Allāh Akbar,*" and the other should say "*Jalla jalāluhu,*" and that this was to take the place of "*Salām*" and the response "*Salām.*" And another was, that the beginning of the reckoning of the Hindī month should be from the 28th and not from the 13th[3] (which was

[1] For عهدي the Lak'hnou edition has احدي.

[2] Lak'hnou edition reads مي not نمي.

[3] The 'Vrihaspati Māna' makes New Year's Day always fall in the middle of the lunar month "Chait." Prinsep, *Ind Ant.* ii. 155.

the invention of Rajah Bikramājīt, and an innovation of his), and that they should fix the well-known festivals of the Hindūs according to this rule. But it never attained currency, although *farmāns* went forth to this effect in the year 990 (?) from Fatḥpūr to Gujrāt on one side, and Bengāl on the other. Another was that they were to prohibit the basest people from learning science in the cities, because insurrections often arose from these people. Another was that a learned Brahman should decide the case of Hindūs, and not a Qāzī of the Musalmāns. And that if there was any need of an oath, they were to put a red-hot iron into the hand of the denier, if he was burnt, he was to be known as a liar, but if not, he should be acknowledged as speaking the truth. Or else that he should put his hand into boiling oil; or that, while they shot an arrow and brought it back, he should dive into the water, and if he put his head out of the water before they returned, the defendant should satisfy the claims of the plaintiff. Another was that they should bury a man with his head to-
357 wards the East and his feet to the West: and he always fixed his own going to sleep in this manner.

In this year the Emperor sent 'Abd'ul-Maṭlab Khān to Bangash with a body of men to extirpate the Jalālah Tarīkī.[1] And he defeated him together with the leaders of Afghān tribes, and slew an innumerable number of people. and in retaliation for each prisoner taken from Zain Khan's army he took them men and women to double (and quadruple) the number. And the wrath of God, which is a sore[2] calamity, ensued on the slaughter and capture of these people.[3]

And in this year, which was nine hundred and ninety-five, the birth of Sulṭān Khusrau, son of the Prince Sulṭān Salīm by the daughter of Rājah Bhagvān Das, took place: and the Emperor gave a great feast.

And among lying rumours, which are one step beyond absolute impossibilities, the report was this year promulgated that the accursed Bīrbar was still alive; after that he was safely located in the lowest

1 *I. e.*, Roshanāī. See p. 361, note.
2 Lak'hnou has لاکھ instead of لاکھ.
3 'Abd-ul-Matlab went mad soon after. Blochm p. 403.

grade of Hell. The following is a summary of the matter. When the malignant Hindūs perceived that the inclination of the heart of the Emperor was fixed on that unclean one, and saw that through his loss he was in trouble and distress, every day they circulated a rumour that people had seen him at Nagarkōt, in the northern hills, in company with Jogīs and Sannyāsīs; and that he was walking about. And His Highness believed, that it was not improbable that a cat[1] like him, who had become detached from the attractions of the world, should have assumed the garb of a *faqīr*, and on account of shame for the misfortune he had sustained at the hands of the Yūsufzāīs should not have returned to Court. And the foolish people of the Court believed this report, and told all sorts of stories about him in Lāhōr. But after that an Aḥadī had gone to Nagarkōt and investigated the matter, it turned out that this report was nothing but an idle tale.

And after this they heard that he had appeared at the castle of Kālinjār, which had been in that dog's *jāgīr*. And the Collectors of Kālinjār sent a written report to this effect: "when they were anointing him with oil[2] a barber, who was a confidant of his, recognized him by certain marks on his body. then he vanished." The 358
Emperor sent a *farmān*.[3] The Hindū *Krorī* deceitfully took a certain poor traveller, who had been condemned to death, and treating him as Bīr Bar kept him concealed. And he did not send the barber, but in order to keep the matter secret he made away with the poor traveller, and wrote that he was Bīr Bar, but that death had overtaken him before he had attained the felicity of coming to Court. The Emperor mourned for him a second time. He sent for the Krorī, and others, and kept them for some time in the stocks as a punishment for not having told him before; and on this pretext the Emperor got a good deal of money from him.

In this year Çādiq Khān having gone against the district of

1 *Billī* is Hindī, Sanskr. *viḍālī*. The reference is again to that story in the Anwār-i Sohailī, *ed.* Ouseley, pp. 274 *sqq.*
2 *Tēl* or *tail* Hindī and Sanskrit.
3 That the barber should come to Court.

Tattah, laid siege to the fort Sīhwān, and Mīrzā Jānī Bēg, grandson of Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān, who was commandant of that place, as his fathers had done, sent ambassadors, gifts and valuable presents to the Court. Eventually on the 25th of Zī-Qa'dah[1] the Emperor sent 'Ain-ul-mulk back with the ambassadors, and confirmed the government on Mīrzā Jānī, and issued a *farmān* to forbid Çādiq Khān to molest him.

At the beginning of Rābī'us-sanī Zīn Khān Kokah was appointed to be governor of Kābul, and Mān Singh was sent for from that place. At the end of this month the Khān Khānān, Mīrzā Khān, came from Gujrāt with that paragon of the age Shāh Fatḥ Ullāh of Shīrāz, who was called 'Azd-ud-daulah, in haste to Lāhōr. And on the 27th of the month Rajab[2] Çādiq Khān came from Bakkar.

A summary of the affairs of Muzaffar and the Khān Khānān is as follows: Muzaffar after his second defeat at Nādot fled, by way of Chāmpānīr, to the district of Sūrat, and took up his abode at Kundal,[3] which is 15 *cosses* from Chūnāgaṛh and 3,000 scattered horsemen rallied round him. And he sent a lac of *Maḥmūdīs* 359 and a jewelled dagger and girdle to *Amīn* Khān Ghorī, the governor of Sūrat, and so won him over to his side. And the same sum of money he sent to the Jām, who had a fixed idea in his mind of conquering Aḥmadābād, and so excited his cupidity. Amīn Khān with the finest *finesse* sent him[4] deceitfully to the Jām, Satarsāl by name, telling him "You go with the Jām, and I will come after you." But the Jām, playing his cards well, kept him from his purpose, and delayed his own movements on the pretext of fitting out his army. Muzaffar arrived at a place six *cosses* from Aḥmadābād and there waited for the fulfilment of the promise of Amīn Khān Ghōrī, and the Jām, while the Khān Khānān came in great haste with a strong body of men. And Muzaffar despairing of the help of the faithless[5] Amīn,

[1] The eleventh month.
[2] The seventh month.
[3] Text 333, 7 *infra*.
[4] Muzaffar.
[5] Punning on his name.

and the slippery Jām,[1] returned in confusion to the mountain district, and took refuge in Dwārkā, which is the name of the capital of Sūrat. And the Jām sent his *Wakīl*, and Amīn Khān his son, through the intervention of Shāh Abu Turāb, to the Khān Khānān. The men of the Jām took a band of men for the Khān Khānān into the hill country, and there they seized a great deal of spoil. And Muzaffar with 1,000 horsemen, consisting of Moghuls and Kāṭīs,[2] who were the clan of his mother, went towards Gujrāt. He took refuge in a place called Āsniyah, which is situated on the bank of the river Sārbarmatī and is very much dilapidated, and is in rebellion from the kingdom of Kūlyān (?). And some Amīrs, whom the Khān Khānān by way of precaution, at the time of his going into these dangerous districts, had left for this very emergency, under the command of Sayyid Khān Bārha fought a great battle, and Muzaffar[3] found his name deceptive. And his elephants and parasol fell into the hands of the people of the sun,[4] and many of his people were killed. He himself fled to Kātīwār, which is outside the dependencies of Gujrāt. The Khān Khānān returned from Barodah, and went against the Jām. The Jām, on the other hand, collected a force of 8,000 horse, and 2,000 of his servants (they say), who 360 had forsworn food, and sworn to die for him, came out to meet him. When a distance of 7 *cosses* remained the Jām sent his own son with three elephants, and eighteen Kachī horses, which are like Arabs, and other presents to the Khān Khānān, and tendered his submission.

At this time it was that the Khān Khānān went for the first[5] time in haste in accordance with a *farmān* to Fatḥpūr. And Muzaffar during his absence with the help of the Kātis and other *zamīndārs*, laid siege to the fortress of Chūnāgaṛh. Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad and Sayyid Qāsim Bārhah, with a body of men, by command of Qulij Khān went from Aḥmadābād towards Sūrat, and Muzaffar

[1] Means "cup." Another pun.
[2] *Kāthi*. The name of a tribe inhabiting *Kāthiwār*. Wilson's *Gloss*.
[3] Victorious.
[4] Akbar was a great sun-worshipper, see p. 268.
[5] The second time is mentioned, p. 373.

not being able to withstand them went towards Gujrāt, as has been described before.

After that the Khān Khānān arrived at Aḥmadābād by way of Sarohī and Jālwar, the Emperor appointed Shāh Fatḥ-ullāh 'Azd-ud-daulah, together with Mīr Murtazā and Khudāwand Khān, to govern the district of Berār, and sent them in the escort of A'zam Khān and Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān and the other Amīrs of Mālwah and Rāīsīn, and wrote a *farmān* to the fief-holders of that neighbourhood, whose names cannot be enumerated, to this effect: that they should first take Berār, under the leadership of A'zam Khān, out of the possession of the Dak'hinīs, and afterwards should march in concert on Aḥmadnagar. These armies were collected at Hindia, which is on the confines of the Dak'hin, and behaved treacherously to one another. And A'zam Khān gave vent to an old grudge which he had against Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Khān for the murder of his father, of which he was the instigator, and vexing him and 'Azd-ud-daulah, who was his factotum, he heaped abuse &c. upon him in every assembly, and in spite of the respect due to a teacher made unusual jokes against 'Azd-ud-daulah, till Shihāb-ud-dīn
361 Khān went with a vexed heart to Rāīsīn, which was his *jāgīr*. A'zam Khān went against him, and nearly brought a great disgrace on the reputation of the Empire. And Khwājagī Fatḥ-ullāh *bakhshī* and other upstarts stirred up the flames of strife, and confusion, but through the good offices of 'Azd-ud-daulah it all ended well. Meanwhile Rājah 'Alī Khān, governor of Āsīr and Burhānpūr, looking on the quarrel in the imperial army as a boon to himself, united the army of Dak'hin with his own, and marched against them. 'Azd-ud-daulah went to him and gave him good advice, but he could make no impression on his anvil-like heart:—

"An iron nail will not penetrate a stone."

So he returned thence, and came to Gujrāt, to stir up the Khān Khānān to the conquest of the Dak'hin, and bring him with him:—

"You have managed the affairs of the world so well,
That you now turn your hand to the affairs of heaven."

And Rājah 'Alī Khān with the army of the Dak'hin marched against A'zam Khān, who had not the power to withstand him, and so retreated to Berār. Neither could he stand his ground there, and so having ravaged and laid waste Ilichpūr and not remaining even there, he hastened to Nadarbār. The Dak'hinīs pursued him from station to station. A'zam Khān left his army at Nadarbār, and went alone with only a few men to Aḥmadābād to ask help of the Khān Khānān, who was his sister's husband. The Khān Khānān came out to meet him, and they had an interview at Mahmūdābād at the house of Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad. And having by mutual consent, or by hypocrisy, made common cause, they agreed that Khān-i-A'zam with the Khān Khānān should go to Aḥmadābād to see his sister, and that thence they should set out to repel the Dak'hinīs. And they sent Nizam-ud-dīn Aḥmad with a number of the Amīrs, who were appointed to that district, to go together to Barodah, and those two leaders followed him thither. And 362
thence A'zam Khān went in haste to Nadarbār to collect his army, and the Khān Khānān went to Bahroṇch. A'zam Khān wrote to him, that since the rainy season was at hand they must keep the army for that year in camp. A'zam Khān went from Nadarbār to Mālwah and the Khān Khānān from Bahroṇch to Aḥmadābād, and Rājah 'Alī Khān and the Dak'hinīs went to their own homes again. Five months had passed since this event, when the Khān Khānān sent from Atak Banāras, which he also called Atak Katak,[1] a petition to Court in the following terms: "Since the Emperor has determined to attempt the conquest of Badakhshān, the desire to kiss his feet has possessed me, in order that I may accompany him in this expedition." And after the army came from Atak to Lāhōr a *farmān* was addressed to him, ordering that Qulij Khān and Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad should remain in Gujrāt, and that the Khān Khānān should come to Court. This was the cause of the Khān Khānān's coming a second time[2] in haste to Lāhōr, and of his bringing 'Azd-ud-daulah, as has been already related. During the time of the Khān Khānān's absence the most praiseworthy efforts were

1 Lak'hnou lithograph has *Gang*.

2 *Viz.*, to see the Emperor, the first time is mentioned. p. 371.

made by Nizām-ud-dīn in Gujrāt, which are related at length in the *Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī*.

And in this year Mīr Abu-l-Ghays of Bokhāra, whose praise is beyond the power of the tongue or the pen :—

"How can the description of his praise be made
By a pen more broken than my heart,"

died at Lak'hnou of an attack of colic. His sacred bier was brought to Dihlī and buried in the *Rauzah-i-Ābā-i-kirām*, and the date was found to be given by "The Mīr of praiseworthy disposition." (By the Author) :—

"I went into his cemetery one day to take warning,
I saw a world of sleepers together in its plain.
363 A multitude had gone from this side, but none returned from that,
That I could ask of his state, or news of us reach him.
In that city of the silent there was a multitude of my eloquent ones,
Gone from the palace of the world to become its guests.
Of that number was one pure-natured prince, like Buturāb,[2]
Abu-Ghays, whom the Heaven calls a Ghaus,[3] the pivot of the sky.
Alas! for my lord of worthy disposition, and of as happy fortune,
The nature of Muḥammad was manifest in his smiling face.
A Bokhārāī through whom Dihlī became the *Qubbat-ul-Islām* :[4]
What is become of that Qubbah, and that Islām, and where O God! is its Musalmān ?

[1] 40 + 10 + 200 + 60 + 400 + 6 + 4 + 5 + 60 + 10 + 200 = 995.
[2] A title of 'Alī.
[3] One of the 7 *Abdāl*, mysterious beings which hover round the world.
[4] A title of Basrah, a great place for learned men.

Since he was a derwish as well as a soldier, if I should meet with the dust of his feet,
I would put it on the eye of my fortune, as though it were collyrium of Ispahān.
At his pillow from the candle of my own heart I burnt a taper,
Although the light of his piety was a divine torch.
I made the bed of his tomb wet with my tears,
Although the cloud of Mercy washed him with the rain of Forgiveness."

In this year a new command was issued that all people should give up the Arabic sciences, and should study only the really useful ones, *viz*, Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine, and Philosophy. The date of this given by the words "Decline of Learning."[1]

And in Sha'bān of the said year Mān Singh came to Court. News also came that Abd-ullāh Khān had taken Harī,[2] and slain 'Alī Qulī Khān, commandant of that place, together with an immense number of Turkomāns and inhabitants of the town. and "the taking of Harī"[3] was found to give the date.

In the month Muḥarram[4] of the year nine hundred and ninety- 364
six (996) Mān Singh was appointed to the government of the districts of Bihār, Ḥājīpūr, and Patnah. And on the night of the tenth of this month having offered to him, together with the Khan Khānan, the cup of friendship, His Majesty brought up the subjects of "Discipleship," and proceeded to test Mān Singh. He said without any ceremony: "If Discipleship means willingness to sacrifice one's life I have already carried my life in my hand: what need is there of further proof? If, however, the term has another meaning and refers to Faith, I certainly am a Hindū. If you order me to do so, I will become a Musalmān, but I know not of the existence of any other religion than these two." At this point the matter stopped, and the Emperor did not question him any further, but sent him to Bengāl.

[1] 20 + 60 + 1 + 4 + 80 + 800 + 30 = 995.
[2] Another name for Harāt.
[3] 300 + 20 + 60 + 400 + 5 + 200 + 10 = 995.
[4] The first month.

At this time he gave the government of Kashmīr to Yūsuf Khān Razawī of Mashhad, and sent for Muḥammad Qāsim Khān from that place.

On the twelfth of Çafar[1] of the year nine hundred and ninety-six (996) he sent Muḥammad Çādiq Khān to expel the Yūsuf Zāīs from Sawād-u-Bajōr,[2] and he gave the *jāgīr* of Mān Singh, consisting of Sawālikāt[3] &c. to him. And he sent for Isma'īl Qulī Khān from Sawād-u-Bajōr, and appointed him to supersede Qulij in Gujrāt and sent for Qulij to Court.

In this month Mīrzā Fūlād Bēg Barlās managed to get Mulla Aḥmad the Shi'ah, on some pretext, out of his house at midnight and killed him, because he had reviled the Companions of the Prophet, and "Bravo! the dagger of Steel"[4] gives the date, and another suggested "Hell-fire Pig."[5] And verily when he was at his last breath I saw his face look actually like that of a pig,[6] and other persons also observed this phenomenon, God preserve us from the wickedness of our souls! They bound Mīrzā Fūlād to the foot of an elephant and dragged him through the streets of Lāhōr, until at last he attained the grade of martyrdom. When Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ, sent by the Emperor, asked him: "Can zeal for the
365 faith have been the motive of your killing Mullā Aḥmad?", he answered. If zeal for religion had been my motive, I should have turned my hand against a greater one than he." He brought back this answer to the Emperor, and said, "This fellow is a regular scoundrel, he ought not to be allowed to live." So the Emperor ordered him to be put to death; although on account of his bravery, and the intercession of the people of the harem he wished to spare his life. The murdered man went to his own place three or four days after his murderer. The Shi'ahs at the time of washing the corpse, are said to have, according to the rules of their sect, put a nail into his anus, and plunged him several times into the

[1] The second month.

[2] Text, p. 349, l. 2, and 381.

[3] Called in the maps Sealcot.

[4] 7 + 5 + 10 + 600 + 50 + 3 + 200 + 80 + 6 + 31 + 4 = 996.

[5] 600 + 6 + 20 + 60 + 100 + 200 + 10 = 996.

[6] See *Blochm.* p. 206, *n.* 2.

river.[1] After his burial Shaikh Faizī and Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl set guards over his grave, but in spite of all precaution in the year when His Majesty went to Kashmīr the people of Lāhōr one night took up his gross carcass, and burnt it.

On the twenty-second of Rabī-us-sānī of the year nine hundred and ninety-six the New Year's day of the thirty-third, or thirty-fourth year from the Accession took place. The Emperor, in order to beguile the common people, had the public audience-hall which consists of one hundred and fourteen porticos, decorated with all sorts of ornamentations, such as valuable stuffs and embroidered curtains. And all sorts of edicts contrary to the Law were issued, and "Publication of Heresy"[2] gives the date.

At this time Qulij Khān came from Gujrat to pay homage, and brought all sorts of presents. And a command was issued, that he in conjunction with Rājah Todar Mal (who had become a very imbecile old man, and whom one night about this time a rival had lain in wait for, and wounded with his sword, and grazed his skin) should conduct the administrative and financial concerns of the Empire. In this year the Rājah of Kamāūn, who had never, nor his father or grandfather before him, (God's curse be on them!) seen an Emperor even in imagination, came from the Siwālik hills to pay his homage to the Emperor at Lahōr. He brought all sorts of rare presents, amongst which were a Yak, and a Musk-deer, which through the heat of the atmosphere died on the way. I saw 366
it, and it was in form like a fox, and two small tusks projected in front, and instead of horns it had an elevation, but since the lower half was wrapped up, it could not be seen. They said also that there were men in that country, who had wings and feathers, and could fly; and also in that kingdom a mango-tree which gives fruit all the year round. They told the tale, but God knows if it is true!

In these days Ḥakim 'Ain-ul-mulk arrived with the ambassadors of Mīrzā Jānī,[3] and brought all sorts of presents and became the recipient of His Majesty's kindness.

[1] See *Blochm.* p. 207, *n.* 1.

[2] 300 + 10 + 6 + 70 + 40 + 70 + 80 + 10 + 10 + 400 = 996 معصیت is spelt with only one ی but to make the date right it must be written with *tashdīd*.

[3] See p. 370.

In the month Jamāda'-l-awwal of the year nine hundred and ninety-seven (997) I finished the translation of the Rāmāyana, which had taken me four years. I wrote it all in couplets, and brought it to the Emperor. When I wrote at the end of it the couplet:—

"We have written a story, who will bring it to the Emperor?
We have burnt our soul, who will bring it to the Beloved?"

it was much admired The Emperor asked me, "How many sheets does it contain?" I answered, "The first time, when written concisely it reached nearly 70 sheets, but the second time, when written more at length, it was 120 sheets." He commanded me to write a preface to it, after the manner of authors. But since it was no such great recovery from my former falling out of favour, and a *khutbah* would have to be written without praising God and the Prophet, I dissimulated. And from that black book, which is naught like the book of my life, I flee to God for refuge. The translation of atheism is not atheism, and I repeat the declaration of faith in opposition to heresy, why should I fear (which God forbid!) that a book, which was all written against the grain, and in accordance with a strict command, should bring with it a curse. O God! I verily take refuge in Thee from associating anything with Thee, and I know, and I beg Thy forgiveness for that which I know not, and I repent of it, and say: "There is no God but Allāh, and Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh." And thus my penitence is no penitence caused by fear. May it be accepted at the Court of The Gracious and Liberal!

At this time they brought an impostor Shaikh Kamāl Biyābānī
367 by name from the banks of the river Rāwī and affirmed that in the midst of conversation he had in the twinkling of an eye gone over to the other side and called out "So and so go home!". So the Emperor took him privately to the banks of the river and said: "We are fond of investigating this sort of thing. If you can show us this miracle, all the wealth and dominions that we possess are yours, and we will become your property." When he made no sort of answer the Emperor said: "Very well then we will bind you hand and foot, and cast you from the top of the Castle. If you come out of the water safe and sound, well and good, if not,

you will have gone to hell." Being brought to bay he pointed to his stomach and said: "I have done all this merely for the sake of filling this hell of my own!" The impostor had a cunning son, who lived at Lāhōr. While he was speaking, his son at the time of evening prayer, went to the other side of the river, and using the name of the person addressed, shouted out in a voice like that of his father: "So and so go!", while the impostor on the pretence of performing the ablutions had gone down to the edge of the river and hidden himself in the stream. Another time, when the Emperor had sent him to Bakkar, he there also set up a claim to working miracles, and performed in the presence of the Khān Khānān, and Daulat Khān, his *wakīl*, a hundred similar wonders. On Thursday evenings, dressed as a juggler, he used to show a hand, and head, and foot, all separated.[1]

He made Daulat Khān Afghān, who was the Khān Khanān's factotum and *âme damnée* his disciple:—

"A common person, if raised in rank above the sky,
Is but a common ass, and he that believes in him is less than an ass."

The Khān Khanān also became a believer, and swallowed the deception. And that cunning lad, having taken a golden ball from the Khān Khānān for the sake of that impostor of a Shaikh, said: "Elijah (peace be on him!) has sent you a request, and requires this ball in the water. By deceit and fraud he threw a brazen ball into the river Indus in the sight of the Khān Khānān, and the golden ball he carried off by his trickery." 368

In this year the Emperor called to mind my gift of the book, which I was translating, and one day he ordered Abu-l-Fath to give me a shawl from the privy wardrobe, and a horse and my expenses. Then he said to Shāh Fath-ullāh 'Azd-ud-daulah: "the whole of Basāwar is hereby given to you as *jāgīr*, with all its charity-lands," and mentioning my name he said, "There is a certain man of *Badāūn*, we have of our own will changed his *madad-ma'āsh* without abatement from Basāwar to Badāūn.

1 See Price's Memoirs of Jahangueir, p. 99.

Shāh Fatḥ-ullāh presented in a bag an offering of 1,000 rupees, which by oppression and secret false accusations he had tyrannously exacted from the wretched widows and orphans of the *aimah*-holders of Basāwar, saying that his collectors had saved it from the charity-lands. The Emperor made him a present of it. Not three months elapsed after this event, when Shāh Fatḥ-ullāh died.

When my *farmān* was signed, I took a year's leave, and went first to Basāwar and then to Badāūn. Thence I had in my mind to go to Gujrāt to see Mīrzā Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, but adverse circumstances occurred, which prevented my carrying this intention into effect:—

"I am not vexed that my affair
Turns out not well, but ill;
If it happen, let it happen; if not, acquiesce,
[Who knows] what will happen!"

In this year Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān *Jokān Bēgī*, and Mīrzādah 'Alī Khān, who were of the most esteemed Amīrs, died in Kashmīr in the following circumstances. Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān on the twelfth of the month Rabī' ul-awwāl[1] cooked some food in the name of the Soul of the Prophet (God bless him, and his family, and give them peace!), and gave some gold to the poor, and having sincerely repented of his sins went out hunting with Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, and caught a fever, and gave up his soul to the Beloved.
369 And Mīrzādah 'Alī Khān was killed one year before this, on the night when Ya'qūb made a sudden attack on Muḥammad Qāsim Khān:—

Alas! for the friends of spiritual insight,
With whom we were but a short time together.
Alas! for our friends of earthy composition,
Who have left this dust heap like the wind.
Alas! that this blood-weeping eye of mine,
Sees not now a trace of them

[1] The third month.

They spake for a little while, they are now silent,
They are vanished from the memory of their friends
Of all those consolers not one remains.
I and grief are left, for all my friends are gone.
How shall I lay my drowsy head on the pillow,
When my friends have made their pillow on the clay.
My heart desires the corner of solitude,
I have no desire for the companionship of any one.
Alas! that those, who now sit behind the veil of secrets,
Are not gone to a place whence they can return.
When in confusion on that bed of sorrow
I fell like clay, and settled like dust,
Over that mortal-clay I raised many a cry:
To my ear no answer came from any.

On the twenty-second of Jamāda'-s-sānī[1] of the year nine hundred and ninety-seven the Emperor set out from Kābul for Kashmīr, which he called his private garden. He left the ladies of his *ḥaram* with the young prince Sulṭān Murād at Bhimbar, where the road to Kashmīr begins, and went on by forced marches. When he had visited that beautiful country, he sent a *farmān* to the Prince ordering him to take the *ḥaram* on to Rohtās and there await the Emperor's arrival.

At this time that wonder of the age Shāh Fatḥ-ullah of Shīrāz developed a burning fever in Kashmīr, and since he was himself a skilled physician, he treated himself by eating pottage, and however much the Ḥakīm 'Alī forbade it, he would not be prevented. So the exactor Death seized his collar and dragged him off to the eternal world. He was buried on Takht-i-Sulaimān, which is a mountain near one of the cities[2] of Kashmīr, by the side of the 370
tomb of Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān Jokān Bēgī. And that king of poets Shaikh Faizī wrote as an elegy on him a *tarkībband*,[3] of which the following verses form a part:—

[1] The sixth month.

[2] *Viz.*, Srīnagar, *i. e.*, Kashmīr the Capital.

[3] See Gladwin's *Dissertations, &c.*, p. 30.

"Again that time is come when the world falls out of gear,
On the world of Intellect at midday the banner of evening falls.
All the treasures of prosperity fall into the hands of the base,
All the blood-tears of adversity fall into the cup of the generous.
Truth loses the clue of the investigation of its object,
Meaning deserts eloquence, and logic falls out of speech,
The tongue of folly wags heedlessly in talk,
Propositions are falsely stated, and proofs are inconclusive
The heart of those who in the world seek perfection remains in eternal defect,
Like unripe fruit which falls suddenly half-ripened from the branch.
The spiritual child of the precious mothers[1] of excellence
Was the father of the fathers of spiritual insight, Shāh Fatḥ-ullāh Shīrāzī,
Two hundred Bu-naçars[2] and Bu-'alīs[3] passed away before he appeared.
Many a dealer of this kind does Fate hold beneath its shop.
Sometimes with the camel-litter of the Peripatetics he went round the world,
Sometimes in the train of the Platonists he traversed the heavens.
The age was proud of his perfect nature.
In the time of Jalāl-ud-dīn Akbar Ghāzī.
The Emperor of the world had his eyes full of tears at his death,
371 Alexander wept tears of regret because Plato left the world!"

On the twenty-seventh of Ramazān of this year the Emperor intending to go to Kābul went by way of Pak'hlī to the fortress of Atak. During this journey Ḥakīm Abu-l-fath died at the halting-place of Damtūr,[5] and was buried in Ḥusn Abdāl:—

[1] In امهات and آبا there seems to be an indirect reference to the "four elements" and the "nine heavens."
[2] A name of Al-Fāryābī a great Arabic Doctor who died 343 A. H.
[3] A name of Ibn Sina (Avicenna) who died 428 A. H.
[4] The ninth month.
[5] See Blochm. p. 524

"The caravan of the Martyr has passed on before:
Consider ours too as past, and reflect.
To outward reckoning we have lost but one body,
But in the reckoning of the Intellect more than thousands."

And "May God give him his reward"[1] was found to give the date.

And outside of Atak, where the camp was, the Prince with the *ḥaram* met the Emperor. From this halting-place Shahbāz Khān was appointed to go and repel the remnant of the Yusūfzāī Afghāns. On the twenty-second of Zī-qa'dah[2] of this year the Emperor arrived in Kābul. At this time Ḥakīm Hamām and Çadr Jahān returned from being with 'Abd-ullāh Khān, and brought a book of 'Abd-ullāh Khān's treating of Union and Conjunction.

In the year nine hundred and ninety-eight Rājah Todar Mal, and Rājah Bhagwān Dās *'Amīr-ul-umarā*, who had remained behind at Lāhōr hastened to the abode of hell and torment, and in the lowest pit became the food of serpents and scorpions, may God scorch them both! And they found the *mnemosynon:* "One said: *Todar and Bhagwān died;*"[3] and another made these verses on him:—

"Todar Mal was he, whose tyranny had oppressed the world,
When he went to Hell, people became merry.
I asked the date of his decease from the Old Man of Intellect:
Cheerfully replied the wise Old Man: *He is gone to Hell.*[4]

On the twentieth of Muḥarram of the year nine hundred and 372 ninety-eight (998) having assigned the government of Kābul to Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, Commander-in-chief by land and sea, the Emperor returned towards Hindūstān. He appointed A'zam Khān

[1] 600 + 4 + 1 + 10 + 300 + 60 + 7 + 1 + 4 + 5 + 1 + 4 = 997.
[2] The eleventh month.
[3] 2 + 5 + 20 + 6 + 1 + 50 + 400 + 6 + 4 + 200 + 6 + 40 + 200 + 4 + 50 + 4 = 998.
[4] 6 + 10 + 200 + 80 + 400 + 204 + 3 + 5 + 50 + 40 = 998.

to the government of Gujrāt, and sent a *farmān* ordering him to remove from Mālwah to that place, and sent for Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad to return to Court. He gave Jounpūr to the Khān Khānān instead of Gujrāt, and Mālwah was given to Shihāb Khān. And A'zam Khān to spite Shihāb Khān laid Mālwah waste, and levelled it all to the ground.

At this time Khudāwand of the Dak'hin, the heretic, to whom the sister of Abu-l-Fazl had been married in accordance with the Emperor's command, and who had received the town of Karī in the district of Gujrāt, when to the abode of Hell. And the *mnemosynon* was found: "Khudāwand of the Dak'hin is dead."[1]

And on the fourteenth of Jamāda-l-awwāl[2] of the aforesaid year the entrance of the Sun into Aries, which began the thirty-fifth year from the Accession, took place. And the Emperor sent orders for the decoration and reparation of the Dīwānkhanah of Lāhōr, and on the second day of *Nouroz* that city became the royal camping-place. And on the third day Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad having travelled six hundred *cosses* in twelve days, with a body of camel-riders, arrived and did homage. The Emperor ordered that all the camel-riders should enter the city just as they had arrived; and it was a wonderful sight, and led to boundless favours from the Emperor.

At this time, after the death of Bhagwān Dās, the Emperor gave to Mān Singh the title of Rājah, and sent him a *farmān* of condolence, in which were written kind and gracious messages beyond all bounds, and sent with it one of his own dresses of honour, and a body-guardsman's horse. And on the day of the "Honouring of the Sun" the compiler of this epitome came from Badāūn to Court, and met Mīrzā Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad after a separation of seven years.

373 In this year A'zam Khān went from Gujrāt to conquer the countries of Sūrat and Jūnāgaṛh. And the Jām Satr Sāl, and Daulat Khān the son of Amīn Khān Ghorī, who had succeeded his

[1] Read دكهن instead of دكهني and we get the correct date, *viz.*, 600 + 4 + 1 + 6 + 50 + 4 + 4 + 20 + 55 + 40 + 200 + 14 = 998.

[2] The fifth month.

fathe , being beguiled by temerity and the number of his retinue, came to meet him with a body of men amounting to nearly twenty thousand, and a great battle took place:—

"Though that army be as numerous as ants or locusts,
The ant will be killed when it falls on the road."

A'zam Khān divided his army into seven sections, and fought such a battle that anything approaching it has never been described. Khwājah Rafī' Badakhshī leader of the left wing, who was a youth distinguished for his valour and courage, and Muḥammad Ḥusain Shaikh, who was one of the old Amīrs, attained the felicity of martyrdom. And of the division of the vanguard Shāh Sharaf-ud-dīn, brother's son to Abu Turāb, was also martyred. And of the infidels four thousand men went to Hell in the company of the son of the Jām, who was his father's vicegerent:—

"The stock which was drunk through the passing of the *cup*,[1]
Behold now it is desolate and with his cup broken![2]
The king of the world is drunk with the joy of wine,
Because the Jām is come into the king's hand."

This victory took place on the first day of the week, the sixth of Shawwāl[3] of the year nine hundred and ninety-eight (998), and Shaikh Faizī found the date to be given by "A glorious victory."[4]

In this year at Aḥmadābād that Pattern of learned and profound sages, the author of comprehensive works, the wise unto God, Shaikh Wajīh-ud-dīn answered, "*Adsum*" to God's lictor's call, and "*Shaikh Wajīh dīn*" was found to give the date:[5]

[1] There is a pun on the name *Jām* which also means "Cup"; also on *dawr* "passing" and "age."

[2] That is, has broken up the assembly.

[3] The tenth month.

[4] 80 + 400 + 6 + 8 + 1 + 400 + 70 + 7 + 10 + 7 + 10 = 999, which is one too many.

[5] 300 + 10 + 600 + 6 + 3 + 10 + 5 + 4 + 10 + 50 = 998.

"May God have mercy on him, abundant mercy!"

In this year too Shaikh Chāyan Ladah[1] successor to Shaikh 'Abd-ul-azīz of Dihlī, who was the chief orthodox religious teacher in the
374 town of Sīhnah departed this life, and one of his pupils found the date "Truth of religious poverty."[2]

At this time the Emperor took away Jounpūr from the Khān Khānān and gave him the government of Multān and Bakkar, and appointed him to subdue the kingdoms of Sind and Balūchistān. and to settle the hash of Mīrzā Jānī. And in the month Rabī'us sānī of the year nine hundred and ninety-nine (999) the Emperor despatched to that quarter the Khān Khānān, with a number of renowned Amīrs, such as Shāh Bēg Khān, and Sayyid Bihā-ud-dīn Bokhārī and Mīr Muḥammad Ma'çūm Bakkarī and others, and a hundred elephants with them. And the prince of poets Shaikh Faizī found the date "On for Tatah!"[3]

In this year came from Mālwah the news of the death of Shihāb-ud-dīn Khān, and "I am Shihāb Khān"[4] was found to give the date; and another was "Base of disposition."[5]

At this time the Emperor ordered me to rewrite in an easy style the history of Kashmīr, which Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād, who was a learned man, and a collector of all learning from both traditional and logical sources, had translated according to orders into Persian. I made a compendium in the course of two months, and wrote this verse at the end of it:—

"In the course of one or two months,
In accordance with the Shāh's command,
This book was written in black,
Like the down on the cheeks of the fair."

[1] Our author in Vol. III, p. 110 says that Ladah Suhnah is a town about 18 *cosses* from Dihlī.

[2] 8 + 100 + 10 + 100 + 400 + 80 + 100 + 200 = 998.

[3] 100 + 99 + 4 + 800 + 5 = 999.

[4] 300 + 5 + 1 + 2 + 600 + 1 + 50 + 40 = 999.

[5] 700 + 40 + 10 + 40 + 1 + 30 + 1 + 6 + 90 + 1 + 80 = 999.

I presented it, and it was put into the Imperial library, and it is read as a sample.

In this year Shaikh Ibrāhim Chishtī died a natural death at Fatḥpūr, and having bid adieu to a world of wealth, went to give an account of it to his Creator. Of all this a sum of twenty-five *krors* of ready money together with elephants and horses and other chattels were appropriated by the Imperial treasury, and the remainder became the portion of his enemies, who were his sons and his agents. And since he was noted and notorious for avarice and vice, and was accursed, "Base of disposition,"[1] and "Vile Shaikh"[2] 375
became the *mnemosynon* of his death.

In this year many of the chief men of Lāhōr died. Of this number were Khanjarī Turk, who died of emerods; and Shaikh Aḥmad the younger brother of Shaikh 'Abd-ur-raḥīm by a fatal accident with an elephant; and Mullā 'Urfī of Shīrāz, the celebrated poet, of an ordinary[3] bodily ailment. And at the moment of departing he uttered the Rubā'ī:—

"'Urfī! it is the last breath, and still thou art intoxicated,
After all of what value are the goods thou hast packed?
To-morrow the Friend with the ready-money of Paradise in his [hand
Will ask for your wares, and thou wilt have an empty hand."

And since he had said a great many impolite words against the doctors, both ancient and modern, they found out this *mnemosynon* for his death:—

Said "'*Urfī: O Death thou art but a young hand:*"[4]

And another "Enemy of God."[5]

[1] See above, p. 386, *n.* 5.

[2] 300 + 10 + 600 + 30 + 10 + 10 + 40 = 1000, one too many.

[3] Punning on his name.

[4] 70 + 200 + 80 + 10 + 3 + 6 + 1 + 50 + 5 + 40 + 200 + 20 + 300 + 4 + 10 = 999.

[5] 4 + 300 + 40 + 50 + 600 + 4 + 1 = 999.

At this time Ḥakīm Hamām praised the book *Mu'jam-ul-buldān*,[1] which is comprised in some two hundred sheets, and represented to the Emperor that it should be translated from the Arabic into Persian, since it contained a host of strange stories and wonderful sources of profit. Accordingly he assembled ten or twelve men of learning, both Persian and Indian, and apportioned the book among them, and the amount of ten sheets fell to my portion. I translated it in the course of one month, and presenting it before any of the others, made it an excuse for asking leave to go to Badāūn, and it was accepted.

On the twenty-fourth of the month Jamāda'l-awwal of the year nine hundred and ninety-nine the Assembly of the New Year was arranged as in former years. This was the beginning of the thirty sixth year from the Accession. And among the different
376 edicts, which were fixed in this year, is the forbidding of flesh of cows and buffaloes and sheep and horses and camels. Another was that, if a Hindū woman wished to be burnt with her husband, they should not prevent her; but she should not be forced against her will. And that they should not circumcise a boy before twelve years of age, and then he could choose for himself, whether it should be done or no.

And another was that if any one should eat with a butcher they should cut off his hand, but if he belonged to the butcher's relatives, they should cut off only his little finger.

In this year Ḥajī Mīrzā Bēg Kābulī, who had gone to 'Alī Rāī, ruler of Little Tibet, brought his daughter and married her to the eldest prince.

And[2] a treatise was written concerning the manners and customs, and religious sects of those people from the account of Mīrzā Bēg, and Mullā Ṭālib Içfahānī, who had gone there a second time as ambassadors. Those who wish for a full account had better refer to the book. If not he can read the *Akbarnāmah*, in which is a description of the cities of Hindūstān and Kabūl, and Tibet and Kashmīr.

[1] Blochm. p. 106.

[2] The Lak'hnou text has ؛ instead of ؛.

Towards the end of Shabān[1] of this year the Emperor allowed Mīrzā Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad to go to the *parganna* of Shamsābād, which had been given him as his *jāgīr*. And the son of his maternal aunt, Muḥammad Ja'far by name, a very able young man indeed, and a regular Bahādur in fighting and friendship fell in action at that place, and the following *mnemosynon* was found for the date:—

"When Ja'far attained the diploma of martyrdom from the Court of the Judge,

The date of his year was: *Ja'far is become a pure martyr.*"

The Emperor gave Mīrzā Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad five months' leave of absence. And when the aforesaid Mīrzā represented that my mother was dead, and asked leave for me to go and comfort my brothers and kindred, the Emperor reluctantly gave me permission. And when the Çadr Jahān repeatedly told me to do *sijdah*, and I did not do so, the Emperor said: 'Get along then.' So he was vexed with me and gave me nothing. At any rate I went with the Mīrzā to Shamsābād, and there I fell ill, and going to Badāūn and 377
visiting my relatives they occupied themselves in preparing plasters and cures. The Mīrzā hastened to Lāhōr. And on account of the book *Khirad-afzā*, which had disappeared from the Library, and concerning Salīmah Sultān Bēgum's study of which the Emperor reminded me, (and though many messengers consisting of my friends started for Badāūn, on account of certain hindrances they never arrived,) an order was issued that my *madad-ma'āsh* should be stopped, and that they should demand the book of me *nolens volens*. And the aforesaid Mīrzā (may he be steeped in God's mercy,) did me many acts of kindness in secret. But Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl did not lay my repeated representations before the Emperor, so that no refutation at all should reach his ears.

In Shawwal[2] of this year four persons of the confidential servants of the Court were sent on an embassy to the four rulers of the Dak'hin.

[1] The eighth month.

[2] The tenth month.

Shaikh Faizī was sent to Rājah 'Alī Khān ruler of Asīr and Burhānpūr. And Amīn-ud-dīn, who was formerly called Muḥammad Amīn, and at his own special request got the name of Amīn-ud-dīn, was sent to Burhān-ul-mulk, who had left the Court, and with the help of friendly Amīrs had raised himself to the Sultanate and assumed absolute power in Aḥmadnagar, which was the place of his ancestors. And one, Mīr Muḥammad Amīn by name, who was a former servant of Çādiq Khān, was sent to 'Ādil Khān ruler of Bījāpūr. And Mīr Munīr was sent to Quṭb-ul-mulk the ruler of Golkandah. The order was that Shaikh Faizī should deliver his letter to Rājah 'Alī Khān, and then go on to Burhān-ul-mulk. And there the friendship between the Shaikh and Amīn-ud-dīn came to an end, and ended in a quarrel.

In this year the Emperor's constitution became a little deranged and he suffered from stomach-ache and colic, which could by no means be removed. In this unconscious state he uttered some words which arose from suspicions of his eldest son,[1] and accused him of
378 giving him poison, and said: "Bābā Shaikhū[2] Jī since all this Sultanate will devolve on thee, why hast thou made this attack on me:—

> To take away my life there was no need of injustice,
> I would have given it to thee, if thou hadst asked me."

And he also accused Ḥakīm Humām, in whom he had the most perfect confidence, of giving him something. The eldest Prince appointed some of his own confidants to watch the movements of the Prince Murād. In a short space of time the Emperor's sickness was changed into health, and the people of the harem and the Shāhzādah Murād told this incident to the Emperor.

[1] Prince Salīm, afterwards *Jahāngīr*.

[2] *Jahāngīr* says in his Memoirs (*Tūzuk*, p. 1) that his father always called him by this name *Shaikhū* is the vocative plural in Hindūstānī.

On this account on the twentieth of Zī-ḥajjah[1] of this year the Emperor gave the government of Mālwah to the Prince Sulṭān Murād, who was entitled *Pahārī*[2]. On appointing him to this government he granted him a pennon, kettle-drum, martial music, and a royal standard,[3] and all the paraphernalia of royalty, and he conferred on him a royal sleeveless dress of honour, which is an honour conferred only on princes. And he appointed Ismā'īl Qulī Khān as his *wakīl*, and other great Amīrs he appointed as his attendants, and sent them with him, in order to set the distance between East and West between the two brothers, and that they might remain safe from the vain troubles of Empire. With the hope of further victories numbers of persons from every side gathered round the Prince, whom on the plea of the "golden mean"[4] they thought superior to the other princes in majesty and pomp. Having gathered together an immense army from the environs of Āgrah, Qannauj, and Gwālyār, he fought in the neighbourhood of Narwar several engagements with Madhukar[5] the *zamīndār* of Ūṇḍchah,[6] who was distinguished above all the Rājahs of Hind for his retinue and army, and had raised a rebellion in those parts; and defeated him. He fled and betook himself to the mountains and jungles, where he infested the roads, and killed many people, and took heavy black-mail from the caravans. The army of the Prince were put to the greatest straits by his robberies, and deserted 379
him in every direction. But at that time Madhukar died a natural death, and went to Hell. His son came with fitting offerings, and had an interview with the Prince, who sent him with Yār Muḥammad, the son of Çādiq Khān, (who acquired the title of Yār, and is still known by that name) to do homage at Lāhōr.

The Prince took up his abode at Ujjain, and numbers of the men, who were appointed as his retinue, on account of his bad conduct in all relations of life, and court and ceremonial, and in his over-weaning pride and arrogance, in which he imitated his illustrious Father, and

[1] The twelfth month.

[2] Because he was born in the mountain district. See *Tūzuk*, p. 26 (Trans.).

[3] See Blochm., plate 9, 4.

[4] The three princes were Salīm, Murād, and Dānyāl.

[5] Means "Bee," "honey-maker."

[6] Spelt in our maps *Oorcha*.

which he carried beyond all conception, boasting of being a ripe grape when he was not yet even an unripe grape, with leave or without leave they left him; and it became known that all that transient pomp and circumstance was caused by his ignorance rather than his knowledge.

At this time Daulat Khān, son of Amīn Khān Ghorī, governor of Jūnāgaṛh, who had been wounded in battle with the Jām, died A'zam Khān had gone to try and reduce that fortress, and the Amīrs of Amīn Khān under the leadership of the son of Daulat Khān for some days held out against him, but at last they asked for quarter and gave up the keys of the fortress on the fifth of Zī-qādah[1] in the aforesaid year.

And on the twenty-sixth of Muḥarram[2] of the year one thousand (1000) corresponding to the thirty-sixth year from the Accession, the Khān Khānān fought with Jānī Bēg for a whole night and day continuously. On both sides great valour was shown. The Khān Khānān slew two hundred of Jānī Bēg's troops and defeated him. Jānī Bēg after this defeat entrenched his army in the island, and the Khān Khānān blockaded him for two months. Then the Emperor sent one lac and fifty thousand rupees at one time, and one lac of *mān* of grain, with one hundred cannon at another time by water, and by way of Jasalmīr many gunners and Rāī
380 Singh, who was one of the Amīrs of four thousand, to the assistance of the Khān Khānān. And Jānī Bēg, after a most valiant resistance was at last conquered and reduced to extremities, so that he submitted and gave his daughter to the son of the Khān Khānān. After the conquest of Kashmīr he came with the Khān Khānān (as will be related) and did homage to the Emperor.

On the fifth of Jamad'as-sānī[3] of the year one thousand the Sun entered Aries, and the beginning of the thirty-seventh year from the Accession took place, and they diligently shaved their beards, and this hemistich was found to give the date :—

[1] The eleventh month.
[2] The first month.
[3] The sixth month.

"They used to say that: *ever so many scoundrels*
Have given their beards to the wind."[1]

The rules and customs and observances on the occasion were the same as usual, with the addition of some new ones on the old lines. Of them are the following. The *Dirhams* and *Dinars* which had been coined with the stamps of former Emperors were to be melted down and sold for their value in gold and silver, and no trace of them was to be left in the world. And all sorts of *Ashrafīs* and *Rupees*, on which there were his own royal stamps whether old or new, should all be set in circulation, and no difference of years was to be regarded. And Qulij Khān being very diligent, every day sought at the bankers, and took bonds from them and inflicted fines on them, and many were put to death with various tortures. But for all that they would not desist from uttering counterfeit coins. The Emperor wrote and sent *farmāns* into the uttermost parts of his dominions, containing stringent orders with regard to this matter. But it had no effect. At last by the care of Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn Khawāfī the Chief *Dīwān*, that command was really put in force.

On the day of *Sharf-i-Āftab*, which was the 19th degree of Aries, Ja'far Bēg, whose title was Āçaf Khān *Bakhshī*, the Emperor appointed to march against Jalālah the *Roshanāī*, who had got in advance of 'Abd-ullāh Khān and was marching on Kābul, that with the help of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, the commandant of Kābul, he might exterminate those rascals. And Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad 381
he appointed to the post of paymaster-general. And at the end of Sha'bān[2] he appointed Zain Khān Kōkah to help Āçaf Khān to exterminate the remnant of the Roshanāīs and to colonize the district of Sawād-u-Bajūr, which had been completely desolated. In the middle of the month Shavvāl[3] of this year Ḥāfiz Sulṭān Rakhnah of Herāt, who was a most excellent person, of whom a host of worthy traces are remaining, notably the garden and buildings of Sirhind, which

[1] 200 + 10 + 300 + 5 + 1 + 2 + 200 + 2 + 1 + 4 + 4 + 1 + 4 + 5 + 40 + 80 + 60 + 14 + 3 + 50 + 4 + 10 = 1000.
[2] The eighth month.
[3] The tenth month.

have no parallel in Hind, passed in his ninetieth year from this lodging of deceit to the abode of happiness. The date was found by way of riddle in the following verse :—

"A fissure came into the garden,
And the water flowed away."[1]

And Faizī of Sirhind found two lines to give the date :—

"The garden became without water,"

And another :—

"Since he was buried in a corner of the garden,
Seek his date from the corner of the garden."[2]

And another :—

"O Hāfiz."[3]

On the twenty-fourth of Shavvāl [news of the rebellion of] Yād gār Kal, nephew of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Razwī, who had left him as his deputy in Kashmīr and set off to the Court, arrived. And the Emperor having left Qulij Khān to settle some affairs in Lāhōr, himself crossed the river Rāwī in the middle of the rainy season, and joining his eldest son advanced, hunting as he went, as far as the river Chenāb. At this place the news became current that Yādgār had fought a battle with Ḥusain Bēg[4] Shaikh 'Umrī Badakhshī, who was collector of the revenues of Kashmīr, and had come off victorious; and that the Kashmīrīs had cut off the ears and nose of Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī, the enemy of the *aimahdārs* (who held the post of *Dīwān* of Kashmīr, and had brought forward accounts wide of the truth, and containing absurd details and so vexed the soldiery and
382 the ryots), and had stuck his pen through the lobe of his ear,

[1] His name *Rakhnah* means "fissure." The verse may also be rendered "Rakhnah went to Paradise, and glory departed." The numerical value of *bāgh* "garden" is 1003 that of *āb* "water" is 3, take 3 from 1003 and you get the date 1000.

[2] *I. e.*, from غ 1000 which is at the end of the word غل "garden."

[3] 11 + 8 + 1 + 80 + 900 = 1000.

[4] Ḥusain Bēg and Qāzī 'Alī had been sent by Akbar to Kashmīr to look into the revenue. Blochm , p 346.

and sent him back again; and this *mnemosynon* was found for the date :—

"When Qāzī 'Alī Baghdādī
Brought the anger of Yādgār upon him,
The pen of the Munshī of Fate wrote
The date of his death, *the obnoxious one is dead.*"

After this Yādgār in accordance with the ancient customs of the place set a jewelled turban on his bald[2] head and borrowed the name of Sulṭān :—

"The crown of empire, and diadem of royalty
How shall it come to every bald man, God forbid!"

They say that the custom of Kashmīr is that on the day of the Accession they stand drawn up in two ranks holding their naked swords over the new king's head. They say that on this account Yādgār at the time of the reading of the *khutbah* fell into a tremor, and fainted, and did not recover for some time. One of the incidents which occurred is the following. The very same day that he found a posy for his seal, and ordered it to be cut in his presence, a splinter from it came off and struck him in the eye. He rubbed his eye for a long time and cried out. From these omens they perceived that his rule would not be a long one :—

"Empire which comes quickly, lasts not long;
That is true empire, which comes gradually."

Ḥusain Bēg Shaikh 'Umrī fled, and thinking half a life a great gain left the passes of Kashmīr as quickly as possible, and reaching Rājūrī,[3] which is between Kashmīr and the end of his journey, he there waited for orders. Yādgār gave *manṣabs* and *jāgīrs* to his men, and giving them all sorts of titles appropriated the treasures and horses and arms of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān And his wives and

[1] 46 + 700 + 10 + 40 + 200 + 4 = 1000.

[2] His name *Kal* means "bald."

[3] On the frontier of the Panjāb and Kashmīr.

family, after taking away all the gold and ornaments and useful female slaves, he mounted on small horses, and sent out of Kashmīr with the greatest ignominy, together with the disagreeable sons, the very counterpart of the disposition and nature of their father Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, of whom the following verse would be a good descrip-
383 tion:

"All your Amīrs are babblers
And all their sons are disagreeable."

The Emperor, suspecting Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, who was in the camp, consigned him for some days to the charge of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl. Meanwhile he sent forward Shaikh Farīd *bakhshī* with Shaikh 'Abd-ur-raḥīm of Lak'hnou and another army, and himself awaited the Prince's arrival on the banks of the Chenāb. At B'hambar, which is the beginning of the passes and mountainous country, news arrived, that Yādgār had come out of the city of Kashmīr with a large force intent on fighting, and that he had alighted at a pass called Hīrāpūr, and at night with the greatest carelessness had given himself up to debauchery in his tent. In the middle of the night some of the servants of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, together with a band of Afghāns, attacked him and put him to death. They brought his treacherous head after three days to Court.

This victory so quickly gained was a lesson to men They reckoned that from the accession of Yādgār to the day that his head was brought into the camp was forty days. His head came into the army like a ball in a game at tennis, and afterwards was exalted to the battlements of the fortress of Lāhōr.

When in the month of Zī-ḥijjah[1] of this year the Author came from Badāūn[2] to the Camp in accordance with orders, Ḥakīm Humān represented to the Emperor at the station of B'hamoar, that I wished to pay him homage. The Emperor asked how long I had been absent from my post? He replied, Five months. The Emperor asked, On what pretext? He replied, On the score of sickness. And he brought a petition from the grandees of Badāūn, and

[1] The twelfth month.

[2] See p. 389 [?].

a report from Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk to the same effect from Dihlī. When the Emperor had read them all, he said: "A sickness won't last for five months." And so he did not give me permission to make the *Kūrnish*. So I remained repulsed, grieved, and disappointed in the camp, which was left with Prince Dānyāl at 384
Rohtās. But I made my fortress the reading through of that impregnable castle, *viz*., the words of the Best of the Prophets (God bless him, and his family and give them all peace!) and the repetition of the *Qaçīdah-i-bordah*,[1] and He who answers the prayer of the distressed accepted this my sad and humble petition, so that after five months the occasion of His Majesty's return from Kashmīr to Lāhōr rendered him favourably disposed towards me, and on the pretext of my making a translation of the *Jāmi'-i-Rashīdī*,[2] which is a very huge volume, some kind and true friends, such as Mīr Nizām ud-dīn &c., mentioned my name confidentially at his private audience. And so a command was issued that I should wait upon him After his return from Kashmīr on the day of *Bahman-khur*,[3] of the festival month of Bahman, the divine month,[4] which corresponded with the seventeenth of Rabī ul-ākhir[5] of this year the Emperor granted me an audience. I offered him an *ashrafī*, and approached him with the greatest respect, and so the removal of that cloud of alienation and suspicion became facilitated, thank God for it! An order for making an epitome of the Jāmi'-i-Rashīdī was with the approval of 'Allāmī Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl issued to me. Of this whole book I took the genealogical tree of the Khalifs of the Abbāsides and of the Omaiades of Egypt, which is traced to The Prophet (God bless him, &c.,) and thence down to Adam (peace be upon him!), and also the pedigree of the other prophets I translated in *extenso* from Arabic into Persian, and presented it to the Emperor, and it was put into the imperial library.

[1] A famous ode in praise of the Prophet by Abu 'Abd-ullāh Muḥammad Sharf-ud-dīn.

[2] Morely, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp, 1-11.

[3] The month of January was called *Bahman*, and so too the 2nd days of every month, but of that month in particular, on which day they eat *bahman* saffron.

[4] That is, according to the *Ilāhī* reckoning.

[5] The fourth month of the Muhammadan year.

But to return to the history of the Emperor. On the sixth of Muḥarram[1] of the year one thousand and one, he arrived in Kashmīr, and having spent a whole month minus two days in enjoying himself in that "his private garden," and having committed the government of that province to Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, on the sixth of the month of Çafar[2] of the year one thousand and one he embarked in a boat on his way back, and reached Bārah
385 Mūlah on the confines of Kashmīr and at the end of the road to Pakhalī.

On the road he came to a lake, which is known as Zain-lankā,[3] and enjoyed himself there. This lake, which is between two mountains, one on the east and one on the west, has a circumference of thirty *cosses*, and is very deep. The river Behat[4] flows through it. Sulṭān Zain-ul-'ābidīn, whose history has been written succinctly in my abridgment of the history of Kashmīr, had a *jarīb* of stones thrown into the water and built thereon a stone throne, so lofty and grand that the like of it has not been seen in all the provinces of India.

Among the wonders which the soldiers saw in the country of Kashmīr is a sensitive tree in the village of Khānpūr, the width of its stem is two *arash* [5] and its height more than a *gaz*. and its branches are like an inverted Bēd-i-Majnūn,[6] and for all that if a child do but take hold of one of its branches and shake it, the whole tree trembles and shakes. And some of the wonders of that country have been described by the late Shāh Fatḥ-ullāh Shīrāzī, and his account has been inserted in the Akbarnāmah by 'Allāmī Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl.

During the first part of the month Rabī'-ul-awwal[7] of this year His Imperial Highness took up his abode at Rohtās. On the fifteenth of this month he returned to that abode of delights Pa-

[1] The first month.

[2] The second month.

[3] According to the Tūzuk (Sayyid Aḥmad's Text, p. 45, last two lines) it was the building which was called *Zain-lankā* The lake was called *Ulur*.

[4] Jhelum or Hydaspes.

[5] A cubit. *Vullers.*

[6] Weeping willow.

[7] The third month.

shāwar, and on the sixth of the month Rabī'-us-sānī[1] he took up his abode in that city which is the city of all arts. At that time news came, that Bahādur Kodrah, a little account of whom has already been given, after the death of Qutlu Loḥānī[2] governor of Orissa, had fought a great battle with Sakat Singh the son of Mān Singh, and defeated him. When Mān Singh marched against him, he was not able to withstand him, but fled and hid himself in the deserts and mountains, and the kingdom of Bengāl to the sea shore was brought entirely into the power of Mān Singh.

On Sunday the seventeenth of Jamāda's-sānī[3] of the year 386
one thousand and one (1001) the passage of the Sun from Pisces into Aries took place, which was the beginning of the thirty-eighth year from the Accession. More new regulations were published.

On the twenty-fourth of Jamāda's-sānī the Khān Khanān and Mīrzā Jānī came to Court, and became the recipients of the Emperor's bounty. He distinguished the Amīrs, who had been with the Khān Khānān on service, each according to circumstances with additions to their *manṣabs* and *jāgīrs*. At first, Multān was fixed as the *jāgīr* of Mīrzā Jānī, after some time he was transferred to Thathah, and Multān was given to Mīrzā Rustam, as shall be hereafter narrated, if God, He is exalted! will.

At this time came news that, when the Khān-i-A'zam took possession of Sūrat Muzaffar Guzrātī, who was in that neighbourhood, fled to Kangār the *zamīndār* of the province of Kach'h and took refuge with him. Then A'zam Khān went against Kangār. And he with a view to preserving his name and reputation came and had an interview with Khān-i-A'zam. The son of Khān-i-A'zam took Muzaffar Khān[4] prisoner unawares, in the place where he was, and sent him to the Khān-i-A'zam. And Muzaffar on the journey on the plea of a call of nature sat down with his canopy over him, which he always carried about with him together with his other property, and cut his throat and died. And, not being able to

[1] The fourth month.

[2] Or *Nohānī*.

[3] The sixth month.

[4] The text here is very much confused; but I think I have given the right sense.

do anything else, they sent his head to the Khān-i-A'zam, and he sent it on to Court:—

"Heaven turns away its face
From every one who turns from it:
You should not turn your face from it,
That it turn not its face from you."[1]

At this time Rājah Mān Singh sent from Bengāl the 120 elephants, which had fallen into his hands at the conquest of Oṛīsah.

In this year in accordance with the decree that all the Amīrs of the frontier at the end of a certain fixed period should come to Court, which was a very wise and politic provision, a *farmān* was issued to
387 A'zam Khān, who for a period of six years had absented himself, ordering him to repair to Court. The Emperor took away from him Jūnāgaṛh,[2] which he had conquered, and gave it to Rājah Rāī Singh. On the last occasion, when he came from Bengāl to Fatḥpūr, he had let fall some harsh words concerning the sect and creed, and in his bigotry had brought the names of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl and Bīrbar before the Emperor, and carried his speech to wonderful excesses, so that he became the common talk of high and low. Eventually on account of this affair he was looked very much askance at, and so [he left Court] on the pretext of letting his beard grow, which he had vowed in his war with the Jām, and concerning which the Emperor had written to him, saying: "Is your beard not yet grown, that you do not come?" and he had written a long and rude letter in reply, which made an impression on the Emperor's mind. Some of the hypocrites about Court told tales of him, and got him removed from his post On this account he put his children and his wives and treasures into a boat on the first of

[1] For the sentiment compare the saying of Rabban Gamliel, son of Rabbi Simeon (Mishnah, *Aboth* ii. 4) "Make His will thy will, that He may make thy will His will." And for the "turn" of the verse, compare Rapin's line on the Marigold:

Oalthaque, solis amans, solem dum spectat amatum,
Ducit eum, quem fert, ipso de sole colorem.

[2] The capital of Sūrat.

Rajab[1] of the aforesaid year he left Jūnāgaṛh and went to the port of Dīū intending to make a pilgrimage to Mākkah, and the following *mnemosynon* for the date, which is one too many, was composed:—

"To the place of the *upright* Khān-i-A'zam went,
But in his despite of the king he went *wrong*,
When I asked of my head the date of the year,
It said: *Mīrzā Kōkah is gone on a pilgrimage.*"[2]

And this affair of his,[3] which they compared with that of the chief of anchorites Ibn Adham,[4] after all was all the same to him whether he accomplished the journey or not. On the arrival of the news a *farmān* was sent to the Prince Sulṭān Murād in Mālwah that he should become governor of Gujrāt, and the Emperor having appointed Muḥammad Çādiq Khān, in the place of Isma'īl Qulī Khān as his *wakīl*, allowed him to leave the Court. And the province of Sūrat and Baroṇch, on account of the removal of Qulij Khān, was fixed as his *jāgīr*. In this year Zain Khān Kōkah and Āçaf Khān who had been appointed to punish the Afghāns of Swāt and Baj̱ūr, and to extirpate Jallālah the Roshanāī, killed many of them, and captured 388
the wives and family of Jallālah, and his brother Waḥdat 'Alī with their relatives and brethren to the number of nearly 14,000, and sent them to Court. And of the rest of the prisoners who can take account!

On the twenty-ninth of Zi-l-qa'dah[5] of this year the government of the district of Mālwah was given to Mīrzā Shāh Rukh. And Shahbāz Khān Kambū, who had been kept in confinement for three years, and had paid a fine of seven *lacs* of rupees, the Emperor sent for

[1] The seventh month.

[2] 40 + 10 + 200 + 7 + 1 + 20 + 6 + 25 + 2 + 8 + 3 + 80 + 200 + 400 = 1002. The date is therefore 1001.

[3] He went with all his children and a tremendous suite.

[4] Abu Isḥaq bin Adham a great saint, died 166 A. H. He made a very famous pilgrimage alone to Makkah. See D'Herbelot *sub voce* "Adhem." He is well-known from Leigh Hunt's poem.

[5] The eleventh month.

from Kāngaṛh and set him free. He was then appointed to manage the affairs of Mālwah, and to be *wakīl* to Mīrzā Shāh Rukh.

On the seventeenth of Zī-qa'dah of this year the learned Shaikh Mubārak[1] departed from this world. At his funeral his sons shaved their heads and beards and moustaches and eyebrows as people do the beard. And Faizī, the king of poets, found the date: *Pride of perfection*[2]; and I found the date: The *perfect Shaikh*.[3] And *A new law*[4] gives the date on which these people had their hair, beard, moustaches, and eyebrows shaved.

On the eighth of the month Muḥarram[5] of the year one thousand and two (1002) Mīrzā Rustam bin Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā bin Bahrām Mīrzā bin Iṣma'īl Ṣafawī, who himself held the government of Zamīndāwar and its environs, and whose elder brother Mīrzā Muzaffar Ḥusain held the government of Qandahār and the Garmsīr,[6] being angry with his brother, came to Court with his children, wife, family and brother-german. The Emperor sent Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk and others to meet him, and take to him a private pavilion, and an audience tent, carpets and other paraphernalia of the *farrāsh khānah*,[7] and a belt and jewelled dagger. And at four *cosses* from Lāhōr he ordered the Khān Khānān, and Zain Khān Kōkah, and the other great Amīrs to go and meet him. After he had done homage the Emperor made him a present of the sum of a *kror* of *tankahs* in small change,[8] and enrolled him among the Amīrs of five thousand, and appointed
389 Multān as his *jāgīr*.

At this time, coming four months after the king of poets Shaikh Faizī,[9] the other ambassadors arrived from the rulers of the Dak'hin

[1] Father of Faizī and Abu-l-Fazl.

[2] 80 + 600 + 200 + 31 + 40 + 30 + 20 = 1001.

[3] 300 + 10 + 600 + 21 + 40 + 30 = 1001.

[4] 300 + 200 + 10 + 70 + 400 + 3 + 4 + 10 + 4 = 1001

[5] The first month.

[6] The temperature in Persia, India &c., depends more on elevation and soil, than on latitude. The higher and cooler regions are called *sardsīr*, the hotter *garmsīr*. See Belfour's *Alī Hazin*, p. 100, *n.*

[7] See Blochmann, p. 53.

[8] It was the custom to keep bags of *1000 dam* at hand ready for distribution Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Dehli*, p. 421, *n.* 1.

[9] See *supra*, p. 377.

having succeeded in their negotiations; and paid their respects. And since Burhān-ul-mulk[1] had not sent any acceptable present on the twenty-first of Muḥarram the Emperor appointed the Prince Dāniyāl to this service, as *wakīl* to the Khān Khānān, and Rāī Singh (whom I should rather call Sag),[2] and other Amīrs with 70,000 specially assigned troops.

The Emperor married the Prince Dāniyāl to the daughter of the Khān Khānān, and gave a great feast, and received such a quantity of presents of gold, and all sorts of precious things, that he was able to equip the army therefrom. And having given the ensigns of Royalty and insignia of pomp and dignity to the Prince, he sent him off. He himself immediately afterwards went out to the chase; when he had reached the banks of the river of Sulṭānpūr, which is twenty-five *cosses* from Lāhōr, he changed his mind and ordered the Prince to return. In order to take counsel with the Khān Khānān, who had got as far as Sirhind, he sent for him. He made him turn back to go and meet the leaders of the army with orders to abandon the enterprise, and again dismissed him, and himself returned to Lāhōr.

On Friday the seventeenth of Jamāda's-sānī[3] of this year Miyān Shaikh 'Abd-ullāh the lawful heir of his reverence Miyān Shaikh Dā'ūd (God sanctify his spirit!) passed to the eternal world, and *The Pure Spirit of Shaikh Dā'ūd*[4] gives the date. "God knows what is best, and to Him do we eventually return."

Let not the intelligent reader be ignorant of the fact that as to that which has been written up to this point the source of the greater part of it is the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī Shāhī*, the date of which I, this erring author, after much thought found to be *Nizāmī*.[5] 390
Having persuaded the said author to allow me, I wrote a part of the book myself, and so from this point onwards the events of the two following years will be chronicled in a compendious style.

On Monday the twenty-eighth of Jamāda's-sānī[6] of the year one

[1] King of Aḥmadnagar.

[2] *I. e.*, Dog.

[3] The fifth month.

[4] I cannot make it give more than 992.

[5] 50 + 900 + 1 + 40 + 10 = 1001.

[6] The sixth month.

thousand and two (1002) the sun passed out from the extremity of the sign of Pisces into the commencement of the sign of Aries. And this was the beginning of the thirty-ninth year from the Accession. These eighteen days were spent, as were those of the years preceding, in feasting and jollity of all sorts. New decrees were promulgated. Of this number are the following:

The chief police officer was to take cognizance of the streets and houses of the city one by one, and to require of the heads and chief persons of every street a bond that he would perform the following duties To keep a close watch on every one who came in or out, of whatever degree he might be, whether merchant, soldier or otherwise. Not to allow troublesome, and disorderly fellows, or thieves to take up their abode in the city. That if he saw any one whose expenditure was greater than his receipts, he should follow the matter up, and represent to the Emperor through the chief police officer, that all this extravagance of his was probably paid for with money, irregularly acquired. That he would inform the Chief of Police of all rejoicings and feasts, and mourning, and lamentation which might take place, especially marriages, births, feasts[1] and such like. That he should have continually in his employ in every street, and lane, and bazar, and at every ford of the river a person, whom he could trust, to keep him informed of everything that went on, whether good or bad. And that he would so manage the roads, that no one who had lost his way, or who was a fugitive should be able to get out of reach, and that no merchant should be able without an order to take away a horse, nor to bring in a pack from Hindūstān.

The price of gold, silver, and precious stuffs was to remain fixed, and they were to be bought at the imperial tariff. A fixed profit was to accrue to the imperial treasury.

An inspector and registrar of the effects of those who died or disappeared was to be appointed. So that if any one who died had an
391 heir, after it had been proved that he did not owe anything to the imperial exchequer, and was not a *krorī* (tax-gatherer), or a banker receiving deposits, the heir might take possession of it; otherwise it

Or خون may mean "bloodshed"; but I have taken it as the Arab. pl. of the Persian خوان a table, food.

passed into the imperial treasury; and until they got a receipt from the treasurer, they were not to bury the deceased.

In order to show respect to the Sun the Emperor ordered, that [the coffins] should be placed in the grave-yard on the eastern side of the city. If any of the disciples called *Darsaniyyah*[1] died, whether male or female they were to hang some uncooked grain and a burnt brick round the neck of the corpse, and to throw it into the river. Then they were to take out the corpse and burn it in a place where no water was; or else after the manner of the inhabitants of Cathay[2] to bind it to a tree. This order is based on a fundamental rule, which His Majesty had defined, but which I have not room to mention here.

No son or daughter of the common people was to be married until they had gone to the office of the Chief of Police, and been seen by his agents, and the correct age of both parties had been investigated. In this way a host of profits and perquisites surpassing all computation, guess, or imagination, found their way into the pockets of those in office, especially certain police officers, and effete Khān-lings.[3] and other vile oppressors.

Another rule was this: If a woman was older than her husband by twelve years, he should not lie with her. And if a young woman were found running about the lanes and bazars of the town, and while so doing either did not veil herself, or allowed herself to become unveiled, or if a woman was worthless and deceitful and quarrelled with her husband, she was to go to the quarter of the prostitutes, and take up the profession.

Another rule was this: A father or a mother might, if forced by hunger and extreme misery, sell their child, and afterwards when they had the means to pay, might buy it back again from servitude.

If a Hindū, when a child or otherwise, had been made a Musalmān against his will, he was to be allowed, if he pleased, to go back to the religion of his fathers.

[1] So called, because they came to feast their eyes on the Emperor every morning at his first public appearance called "Darsan." See Blochmann, *Āīn-i Akbarī*, p. 157. *Darçana* is Sanskrit for "sight," Gr. δέρκομαι.

[2] Colonel Yule in his edition of Marco Polo mentions the custom of exposing the dead as current in Cathay, (vol. II, pp. 117, 118).

[3] *Khānū* is a diminutive, from *Khān*. See Vuller's *Inst. ling. pers.*, p. 235.

No man should be interfered with on account of his religion, and any one was to be allowed to go over to any religion he pleased.

392 If a Hindū woman fell in love with a Musalmān and entered the Muslim religion, she should be taken by force from her husband, and restored to her family.

If any of the infidels chose to build a church, or synagogue, or idol-temple, or Pārsī "tower of silence," no one was to hinder him.

All these laws, of which I have given a short account, refer to matters of religion, and it is not in the power of the compiler of these pages to include them all. But the laws of government and finance and households, and the mint, and the army, and the agriculturists, and the merchants, and the custom-house, and the chronicle-writing, and the *krorīs*, and the *dāgh-u-mahall*, and the fights[1] between elephants, and deer and cheetas, and tigers, and birds, and goats and dogs, and boars, and of observing established rules on the part of the dependants of a householder, and of the disposition of one's time in the matter of eating and drinking and sleeping and waking, and other actions and functions, how can they possibly be described! for the intellect is incapable of attaining to it, and to recount them all, would take a life-time of more than the human span:—

"Every day Heaven brings forth a new event,
The like of which Thought cannot fathom:
It requires an intellect[2] brighter than the Sun
To solve the difficulties of this age."

Some of these may be found in the second volume of the *Akbar-nāmah* which was composed by the very learned Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl and forms a large book.

On the day the "Eminence of the Sun," the compiler of this compendium completed the first volume of the *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, which consists of three volumes, of which two are by Mulla Aḥmad of Thathah, the Heretic, (be on him what may) and the third by Āçaf Khān. And an order had been issued to me to revise and

[1] See Blochmann, p 218.

[2] I propose to read راى instead of راهى which might, however, be rendered "a method"

collate it, in conjunction with Mullā Muçtafā Kātib[1] of Lāhōr, who is a worthy friend of mine, and is become one of the Aḥadīs. I presented it, and it obtained the honour of the Emperor's approval. And since the second volume contained much bigotry, the Emperor commanded me to revise it also. In the course of one year I sufficiently collated it, but on account of my own taint of "bigotry," I did not interfere with the book, except as regards the order of 393 the years, and did not alter the original, but laid the blame on my state of health; and may it not, God grant! be a cause of any further injury. My condition with regard to these books was like that of one who eats dates together with the stones, and another says to him, "Why don't you throw away the stones?" and he answers, "They have apportioned me only just this amount."[2]

At this time Shaikh Faizī, the king of poets, finished the commentary on the Qur'ān,[3] which is altogether without diacritic points, and is of the thickness of seventy-five *juz'*. And he found nine lines without diacritic points which gave the date of its completion. And some sheets he sent into 'Irāq that it might become generally known. And now he is occupied with *Amrār-i-sānī*[4] which also gives the date of its revision and collation. And the learned men of the age wrote their *imprimatur* on it Thus Shaikh Ya'qūb of Kashmīr wrote an *imprimatur* in Arabic; and Miyān Amān-ullāh Sirhindī found the verse of the Qur'ān:"[5] There is nothing green nor sere, but is noted in the Perspicuous Book;"[6] and Mīr Muḥammad Ḥaidar Mu'ammāī, the whole of *Sūrat-al-ikhlāç*[7] without the "*bismi'llah.*" And the author of these pages found, "One of the

[1] See Text, p. 317.

[2] He means that he could not afford to reject work for which he was paid.

[3] Called *Sawāṭi'ul ilhām.* The rays of inspiration. See Blochmann, p. 549.

[4] 1 + 40 + 200 + 1 + 200 + 500 + 1 + 50 + 10 = 1003.

[5] Al Qur'ān, VI, 59.

[6] [Translation of Editor's note.] Be it known that the sum-total of the numerical values of letters of the verse "There is nothing green &c." is 1099 and that of the line "Praise be to God! &c." is 973, and that of the line "O God &c." is 1031. Thus each of the lines gives a different date. [This being the case we leave it to our more patient readers to discover the solution of the enigma. Tr.]

[7] Al Qur'ān, chap. CXII. The whole *surah* added does give 1002.

best of commentaries, is the *Bismi'llah* in the name of the Compassionate, and the banner of the Qur'ān" to give the date. And a copy of an *imprimatur* shall soon be given in its proper place (if God will). And some of the thirty lines, giving the date of the composition, which were written by me from the hunting-ground
394 at Lāhōr are the following:—

"Thanks to God who grants desire, he has finished the *Sawāṭi'-ul-ilhām*.

O God the unique writer has not erased The Word.

The limits of the secrets of the Word of God, who revealed the pearls of the thrones.

The thrones are lofty, the pearls are sublime."

And the remainder are similar.

In the month Çafar of the year one thousand and two (1002) Khwājah Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Aḥadī, who was one of the author's particular friends, departed this life. And Khwājah Ibrāhīm Ḥusain[1] (God have mercy on him!) was found to give the date.

This same year God (He is praised! glorious is His Majesty!. granted this scribe grace to write a copy of the Glorious Word) When I had written it in clear legible *naskh* hand-writing, with the pages and marginal lines perfect in their way, I presented it, as an offering at the luminous shrine of his holiness that Ghaus of mankind, orthodox teacher, and asylum, Miyān Shaikh Dā'ūd Jhanī Wāl[2] (God sanctify his tomb!), in the hopes that it having removed the infidelity of former books, which is black as the record of the deeds of the author, may be his friend throughout life, and his intercessor after death: "and this would not be too hard for God."[3]

On the seventeenth of Zī Qa'dah[4] of this year Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Mīr Baḥr, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān, who was one of the sons of Shāh Rukh Mīrza, were killed in Kābul. It happened as follows: When Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā came to Badakhshān, after returning from his pilgrimage, the inhabitants of Badakhshān

[1] 600 + 6 + 1 + 3 + 5 + 1 + 2 + 200 + 1 + 5 + 10 + 40 + 8 + 60 + 10 + 50 = 1002.

[2] Jhannī is near Lāhōr. He died in 982. Blochm., p. 539.

[3] Al Qur'ān, 14, 23.

[4] The eleventh month.

were in despair at the oppressions of the Uzbeks. They made him Commander-in-chief, and hoping continually for help from Hindūstan, they carried on a brave resistance, and continually held their own against the enemy. But when their hopes were not realised, and the Uzbeks brought

"A host more numerous than ants and locusts"

against Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, he resisted and withstood them for some years to the best of his power and ability, but in the last throw he was worsted, and being no longer able to stand his ground, he made for Hindūstān in company with some 14,000 or 15,000 horse, and 395 arrived in the neighbourhood of Kābul But through the instigation of certain persons he conceived some seditious disaffection, and repented of his intention. He was taken prisoner by some followers of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, commandant of Kābul. Muḥammad Qāsim Khān treated him with the greatest respect and honour, and presenting every one of his followers with a horse, and a robe of honour, and money for expenses, appointed 150 horsemen to accompany him, and wished him to depart for Lāhōr. Meanwhile some of the confidential servants of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, who were Badakhshīs and Kābulīs, having made friends with the Mīrzā, broke into the house at midday and entered the bed-chamber of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān by force. They put him to the sword, and sent him to his last resting-place Muḥammad Hāshim, son of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, who had a house outside the citadel of Kābul, got certain gunners, and servants of his father to join with him, and besieged Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān. For one night and a day he kept the fire of battle alight, and then slew the Mīrzā, and sent his head to Court.

The Emperor appointed Muḥammad Qulij[1] Khān, who for some time had been manager-in-general,[2] to be commandant of Kābul, and dismissed him to go to his command. He appointed Shams-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khawāfī[3] to the office of superintending the affairs of State and finance, and made him absolute *Dīwān*. At this time the Emperor sent Āçaf Khān,[4] *Bakhshī*, to Kashmīr to look into the affairs of the military and civilians of that country.

[1] *Qulij* properly *Qūlūj*, means in Turkī *a sword*. Blochm., 355, *n*.

[2] *Jumlat ul Mulk*, see Blochm., p. 349.

[3] See p. 290, *n*. 1.

[4] *Viz.*, Ja'far Bēg, see Blochm , 528.

In this year God (praise be to Him!), when the successive blows of misfortune, and the scourges of vicissitudes were battering me, graciously granted me repentance from some follies and transgressions with which I had been afflicted, and opened my eyes to the vileness of my actions, and the baseness of my deeds:—

"Ah! if I remain so, ah!"

396 And by way of good omen "Rectitude"[1] was found to give the date. And the king of Poets (Faizī) composed this verse:—

"My Shaikh has indeed repented of sinning:
His date is *Excelling in penitence*.[2]
The thought of wine and beloved has left my head,
The sound of lute and tambourine has left my heart."

In the first part of the blessed month of Muḥarram[3] of the year one thousand and three (1003) Shaikh Farīd Bukhāri, who was associated with Āçaf Khān in the duties of *Bakhshī*, received orders to repair to the mountain district of the north, and reduce to obedience the rebellious Rājahs of those districts, and having made a settlement of their holdings, to bring back suitable presents to the Emperor.

In the beginning of the month Çafar[4] of this year the Emperor crossed over the river Rāwī, and spent twenty-five days in amusement and hunting in the neighbourhood, and then returned.

At this time the king of Poets[5] was ordered by the Emperor to compose the *Panj-ganj*, and in the short space of five months, more or less, he finished the *Nal u Daman* (who were a lover and his beloved, the story of whom is famous among the people of India,) and comprised it in 4,200 verses odd, and presented it to the Emperor as a gift together with some *ashrafīs*. It was very much approved by the Emperor, and he ordered it to be transcribed and illuminated

[1] 1 + 60 + 400 + 100 + 1 + 40 + 400=1002.
[2] 60 + 1 + 2 + 100 + 1 + 30 + 400 + 6 + 2 + 400=1002.
[3] The first month.
[4] The second month.
[5] Faizi.

and read as an example by Naqīb Khān (? cf. *text*, p. 374, 17). The first couplet of the book is the following:—

"O in the search of Thee from the beginning
The 'Anqā of sight is soaring high."

And verily it is a *Masnavī*, the like of which for the last 300 years since Mīr Khusrū no poet has composed.

At this time Mīrzā Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad[1] fell out with Qulij Khān, and was continually in opposition to him and gained a great ascendancy over the mind of the Emperor, and had entered on 397
affairs with great energy and activity. He became the focus of all sorts of favours from the Emperor, and the recipient of his perfect trust with regard to his ability, good sense, sincerity, honesty and perseverance. And this to such an extent, that the Emperor appointed Qulij Khān and other courtiers, who had always been attendants at Court, to out-lying provinces. The Emperor considering this matter as but the forerunner of his patronage, and the beginning of his favour, had all sorts of bounties laid up for him in the treasury of his heart, and wished to bring forward his exalted ability, which was capable of growth, into the arena of notice. Suddenly at the very acme of his eminence, and the height of his activity, to the disappointment of the hopes of friends and strangers a dreadful blow was received from Fate, and at the age of forty five he succumbed to a burning fever, and left this transitory world taking nothing with him but a good name. A host of friends and companions, who had been witnesses of the excellence of his qualities, and had entertained great hopes of him, and especially the poor author (who cherished for him a kind of religious unanimity, and a sincere friendship free from all worldly motives), poured tears of regret from their eyes, and beat their bosoms with the stone of despair, and in the end had no resource left, but patience and endurance, which is a characteristic of the pure, and a quality of the pious. I looked upon this event as the greatest misfortune, and took therefrom a perfect warning, so that I never afterwards formed a friendship with any human being, but regarded the corner of obscurity as best suited to me:—

[1] Author of the *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*

"The discourse that preaches of thy departure is mere vanity,
The death of thy companion is sufficient preacher for thee."

This event took place on the twenty-third of Çafar of this year. They carried his bier from the camp to Lāhōr and buried him in his own garden. There was scarcely any one of high or low degree in the city, who did not weep over his bier, and recall his gracious 398 qualities, and gnaw the back of the hand of regret :—

"Death grants perpetuity to no human being,
The rigorous King shows no respect of persons.
The decree of Death is common to all earth's habitants,
He issues not this decree to me or thee alone."

And this *qiṭ'ah* was composed to give the date :—

"Mīrzā Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad is departed,
Brisk and beautiful went he towards the other world.
His spirit on account of its sublimity
Became the protégé of the Lord Most High.
A clever man found the year of the date,
A pearl without price has left the world."[1]

At this time Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī, who had been sent[2] to reduce the State of the Sawālik mountain district to order, was sent for to administer the affairs of the office of *Bakhshī*, which had been committed exclusively to him. The Emperor appointed Qāzī Ḥusain Qazwīnī to succeed him [in the Sawālik mountains]

At this time A'zam Khān returned from Makkah, where he had suffered much harm at the hands of the Sharīfs, and throwing away the blessing which he had derived from the pilgrimage, joined immediately on his return, the Divine Faith, performing the *sijdah*, and following all other rules of discipleship; he cut off his beard, and was very forward at social meetings, and in conversation. He learnt the rules of the new faith from his reverence 'Allāmī,[3] and received Ghāzīpūr and Ḥājīpūr as *jāgīr* :—

[1] 20 + 6 + 5 + 200 + 12 + 2 + 5 + 1 + 7 + 4 + 50 + 10 + 1 + 200 + 80 + 400 = 1003.

[2] See p. 396.

[3] *I. e.*, Abu-l-Fazl, see p. 201.

"I have spent my life at this learning.
And am still learning the Alphabet;
I don't know when I shall become
So proficient in the letters as to find my way in his Dīwān."

And the saying about repressing one's whims came true.[1]

On the ninth of the month of Rajab[2] of this year the entrance of the Sun into Aries took place, and the fortieth year from 399 the Accession began. The customary assembly was held in the same manner as in former years. Two days before the entrance of the Sun into Aries, the Emperor called to me to come from the window in the public and private audience-chambers; and said to Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, "We thought that so and so" (meaning the writer of these pages) "was an unworldly[4] individual of Çūfī tendencies, but he appears to be such a bigoted lawyer that no sword can sever the jugular vein of his bigotry." He enquired, "In what book has the author thus written, that your Majesty says this of him?" He replied, "Why, in the *Razm-nāmah*" (which is a name for the *Mahābhārata*) "and last night I called Naqīb Khān to witness of this matter." Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl admitted that it was a fault. I was obliged to make my appearance, and humbly stated, that I was a translator, nothing more, and that whatever the sages of India had represented therein, I had translated without alteration but that if I had written it myself, I should have been to blame, and should have acted wrongly. The Shaikh supported me, and the Emperor was silent. The cause of this *contretemps* was as follows: I had translated in the *Razm-nāmah* a certain story in which it is narrated, that one of the teachers of the people of India, when on the point of death, said by way of advice to those present: "It is right that a man should step out of the limits of ignorance and negligence, and should first of all become acquainted with the peerless Creator, and should pursue the path of knowledge; and not be satisfied with mere knowledge without practice, for that yields no fruit, but should choose the path of virtue, and as far as in him lies withdraw his

[1] The text here seems corrupt.

[2] The seventh month.

[3] See *Blochm.* p. 337, *n.* 2.

[4] See بیدل in De Sacy, *Pendnamah*, p. liv.

hand from evil actions, and should know for a certainty that every action will be enquired into." And on this passage I wrote this hemistich :—

"Every action has its reward,
And every deed its recompense."

400 This passage he considered as referring to Munkir and Nakīr[1], the general Resurrection, and the Last Judgment, &c. things contrary to his own fixed tenets, who never talked of anything but metempsychosis, and so suspected me of theological bias and bigotry :—

"How long reproach me for my weeping eyelashes,
Let me for once have also the sympathy of thy dark eye."

Eventually I impressed upon all the courtiers the fact, that all the people of India speak of the reward and punishment of good and bad actions. Their belief is as follows: When a person dies, the scribe, who writes the chronicle of the deeds of mankind throughout the course of their lives, takes it before the angel, who is the Seizer of Souls, and is called the King of Justice. After he has examined into their good and bad actions, and has seen which has the preponderance, he says, "This person has his choice." Then he asks him: "Shall I first for thy good actions take thee to Paradise, that thou mayest there enjoy to the full delights in proportion to thy good actions, and after that send thee to Hell to expiate thy sins; or *vice versâ?*" When that period comes to an end, then he gives orders that the person should return to the Earth, and entering a form suitable to his actions should pass a certain period. And so on *ad infinitum*, until the time when he attains absolute release, and is freed from coming into and leaving the world. So that affair passed off well. On the day of *Sharaf-ush-shams* the Emperor said to Çadr Jahān, without any one's having suggested it to him: "How would it be if I were to appoint so and so[2] to the guardianship of the blessed tomb of his holiness the Khwājah of Ajmīr, which is without a guardian?" He answered, "It would be a very good thing."

[1] The judges of the dead.

[2] *That is*, the Author.

So for the space of two or three months I did much running about in the service of the Court, all the time hoping for a release from this confusion. And for a time I wrote some formal petitions, to which I got no answer, and so it became necessary that I should take my 401 departure. And the Inward Monitor said this :—

"If thou put thy hand to anything,
I will put a chain on thy hand.
I will drown thee in a butt of wine,
If thou mention the name of sobriety.'

On the night of the last of the blessed month of Ramazan[1] of this year, when Çadr Jahān asked the Emperor, what order should be given with respect to my dismissal? he replied: "He has business to do here, and every now and then I shall have some service for him to perform, produce me some one else." But the omniscience of God (praise be to Him Most High!), and His will (glorious is His Majesty!) did not coincide with this intention, and I do not know what is best to do in this uncertainty and very gadfly's condition :—

"Thou takest me from thine own door to the door of the rival,
Then thou sayest, why dost thou go to the door of the rival?
I have wandered for years in search of thy good face,
Show thy face, and deliver me from this wandering."

Contemporaneously with these events he one day said to Abu-l-Fazl in my presence: "Although the guardianship of Ajmīr suits so and so very well, yet since, whenever I give him anything to translate, he always writes what is very pleasing to me, I do not wish that he should be separated from me" The Shaikh and others confirmed His Majesty's opinion of me. That very day an order was issued that I should translate and complete the remainder of those Hindū lies, part of which had been translated by the command of Sulṭān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, king of Kashmīr, and named the *Baḥr-ul-asmār*,[2] while the greater part had been left untranslated. I was commanded to finish the last volume of that book, which was of the

[1] The ninth month.

[2] "The Sea of Tales." It is probably the *Rājatarangiṇī*, "The Ocean of Kings," the only piece of History in Sanskrit. The Kathā Sarit Sāgara could hardly be meant.

thickness of sixty *juz'*, in the course of five months. At this time also one night he called me into his private bed-chamber to the foot
402 of the bed, and till the morning asked for stories out of each chapter, and then said: "Since the first volume of the *Baḥr-ul asmār*, which Sulṭān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn had translated, is in archaic Persian, and difficult to understand, do you translate it afresh into ordinary language, and take care of the rough copy of the book, which you have translated." I performed the *zamīnbos*, and heartily undertook the commission. I began to work, and after showing me a great deal of favour he presented me with 10,000 *tankahs* in small change, and a horse. If God (He is exalted!) will, I hope to have this book well finished in the course of the next two or three months, and that it will obtain me leave to go to my native country (which is the grave). But He is the right one to give permission, and He hath power over the wishes of his servant.

During this year reports came from Hakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk, and Shahbāz Khān from the confines of Hindiah, that they had put to death Burhān-ul-mulk on account of his bad conduct, and had set up his son, who was twelve years old, as his heir

The Emperor sent a *farmān* to the prince Sulṭān Murād, and another *farmān* to the Khān Khānān ordering them to set out with haste, and proceed to the subjugation of the Dak'hin.

During the first part of the month of Zi-ḥajjah[1] of this year Shāh Bēg Khān Kābulī went to Qandahār, and Mīrzā Muzaffar Husain, commandant of Qandahār, came to Court in company with Qarā Bēg *Mīr-shikār*, and brought valuable jewels with other precious things as a present to the Emperor. The Emperor treated him with special favour and kindness.

Shāh Bēg Khān fought a battle at Zamīn Dāwar with a great army of the Uzbeks, and defeated them. He slew most of their leaders, and to those whom the sword spared, he gave dresses of honour and released them. Another body of them fled to a fortress, and were besieged there. He bombarded the fortress and took it by storm. Then he continued his advance and took the Garmsīr.

403 The Emperor conferred the province of Chītōr on Mīrzā Rustam, and took away the district of Sambhal from Abu-l-

[1] The twelfth month.

Fazl and gave it as *jāgīr* to Mīrzā Qandahārī.[1] And Multān, which had become completely desolated by the tyranny of Mīrzā Rustam, he converted into Crown property.

At this time Sa'īd Khān Moghul came from Bangālah to Court, and brought an elephant and much money and precious products of that country from 'Isā Khān the *Zamīndār* as a present to the Emperor.

In this year Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī, who had the *takhulluç* of Çarfī,[2] had obtained permission to leave the Court, and return to his native country, when he died: "Verily we belong to God, and verily unto Him do we return"[3]:—

"All our friends are gone, and have taken the road to the Ka'bah,
We with tipsy foot remain at the door of the wine-seller.
Not a word of the points we proposed has been solved,
We are left beggars, without this world or the next."

On the night of the twenty-seventh of Zī-ḥajjah of this year Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk, who had gone on an embassy to Rājah 'Alī Khān, and had returned thence to Hindiah (which had been appointed as his *jāgīr*), after an illness of five months departed to the other world. Extolled be the perfection of God! our acquaintances and friends one by one withdraw their heart from our companionship, and lightly hastened, and still do hasten, to their everlasting home, while we in this sadness and despair drag on an existence in folly and forgetfulness of our end:—

"O heart, since thou art aware that death follows existence,
To what end this desire for length of days?
Thou did'st make a pact with Fate,[4] not Fate with thee,
Why then this cry, that Fate is treacherous?"

[1] The Mīrzā Muzaffar Ḥusain mentioned above.
[2] See Vol. III, p. 148 of Text.
[3] Al Qur'ān II, 151.
[4] Referring to the well-known verse of the Qur'ān, vii, 171.

On the third of the month of Muḥarram of the year one thousand
404 and four (1004) Ḥakīm Ḥasan Gīlānī, who was of a very dervish-like character, and kind, and possessed of excellent qualities, departed this life:—

"If a Rose were possible without a Thorn,
Every moment in this world would be a new delight;
We should be happy enough in this old caravansarai of Life,
If Death were not always at the door."

At this time Shaikh Mūsā Gīlānī Qādirī, son of the Master, Shaikh Ḥāmid (God sanctify his tomb!), younger brother of Shaikh 'Abd-ul Qādir[1] who is a devotee at Uchh, chose to do homage to the Emperor, and was raised to the rank of Commander of five hundred.

During this month Çadr Jahān, the *Muftī* of the imperial dominions, who has been appointed to a commandership of One Thousand, joined the Divine Faith, as also his two foolish sons; and having taken the *Shaçt*[2] of the new religion, he went into the snare like a fish, and so got his commandership of One Thousand. He even asked His Majesty what he was to do with his beard, when he was told to let it be. On the same day Mullā Taqī of Shustar joined, who looks upon himself as the learned of the learned, and is just now engaged in rendering the *Shāhnāmah* into prose in accordance with the Emperor's orders, and whenever the word 'Sun' occurs he uses such phrases as *jallat 'azamatuhu* and *'azza shānuhu*.[3] Among others that joined was a Shaikhzādah, one Gosālah Khān by name, of Banāras, (but what good can be expected from a *zādah!*)[4] and Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābād, and Çūfī Aḥmad musician of the Masnad-i-Çād of Dihlī, who claimed to belong to the progeny of his holiness Ghaus-us-saqalain (God be favourable to him!):—

[1] He had been deprived of this grant, and had returned to Uchh. *Blochm.*, p. 544.

[2] *Shaçt* was the symbol which the Emperor presented to each novice of his Divine Faith (*Blochm.*, 166). It also means *a fish-hook.*

[3] Because Muslims use such phrases after the name of God.

[4] Literally "There is no good in *bān*, and *zādah*." A possible explanation of this saying is, that some words expressive of contempt, such as *ḥarāmzādah* bastard, and names of menial servants, such as *pīlbān* &c., end in *bān* and *zādah*

"A lion's cub is like it;
How art thou like a prophet? say!"

They all conformed to the four degrees of the Faith, and received appointments as Commanders of from One Hundred to Five Hundred. They gave up their beards in the earnest pursuit of the new religion, and became hairless and beardless, and "Some shavers!" was found to give the date. These new-religionists behaved like Hindūs turned Musalmāns, and like one who is dressed in red clothes, and in his conceit looks at his relatives, who say to him:— 405

"My little man, these rags will be old to-morrow,
But the Islām will still remain on your neck."

Aḥmad "the little Çūfī" is the same who claimed to be the pupil, or rather the perfect successor of Shaikh Aḥmad Bikrī of Egypt. He said, that at the express desire of that religious leader of the age he had come to India, and the Shaikh had frequently told him, to assist the Sulṭān of India, should he make a slip, and to lead him back from his place of danger. But the opposite was the result:—

"A boastful spider said: I am so very clever,
That it would be only right if to-morrow I were made "Weaver by appointment to the Houris."
Hast not heard what another spider said to him?
Brother, why boast? first weave, then boast!"

The issue of the affair of Gosālah Banārasī, who was a catamite of "a calf in bodily shape, and lowing,[1]" was as follows: Through the intervention of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl he was brought into proximity to the Emperor, and by deceit and trickery getting himself made *Krorī* of Banāras he managed to leave the Court. He in company with Aḥmad the little Çūfī set his eyes on a certain prostitute, and having left a considerable sum of money with her appointed a guardian over her, and went away. When the overseers of the prostitutes and dancing-girls represented this to the Emperor, one night at the New

[1] 40 + 6 + 400 + 200 + 1 + 300 + 3 + 50 + 4 = 1004.
Al Qur'ān vii. 146. *Gosālah* is Persian for "a calf."

Year's assembly he allowed the matter to transpire, and took away the jāgīr of Two-Hundred from Aḥmad Sufīl,[1] and Mullā Shāh Muḥammad, which they held conjointly in the skirts of the mountains, and recalled Gosālah of Banāras.

On the tenth of the month of Çafar[2] of this year the King of Poets, Shaikh Faizī, after suffering for a long time from conflicting diseases, *viz.*, from the trouble of a difficulty in breathing, and from dropsy and swelling of the hands and feet, and from a vomiting of blood, which he had borne for six months, passed from this world. And since he had, in despite of Musalmāns, associated and been mixed up with dogs day and night, they say that at the moment
406 of death they heard him bark like a dog. And through his bigotry in the matter of heresy and denial of the religion of Islām, he involuntarily at that moment even in the presence of men of learning, lawyers and ascetics, uttered meaningless words and such foolish gibberish, and stuff and nonsense, and unbelief in religious matters, as he was accustomed to, and in which he had formerly so persisted. At length he went to his own place, and a *mnemosynon* for the date is "Woe to the heretic, and Shi'ah, and natural-philosopher, and the worldly man;" and another "The pillar of heresy is broken."[3] And one of his friends invented this *mnemosynon* :—

"Seest thou what a number of tricks the Heaven plays,
The bird of my heart out of its cage became a nightingale.
That bosom, which treasured in itself a whole world,
Became too contracted to draw half a breath."

At the time of his last agony the Emperor came in the middle of the night and took up his head and caressed it. Several times he cried out and said: "O Shaikh Jī I have brought Ḥakīm 'Alī[4] with me, why do you say nothing?" But since he was unconscious no voice or sound proceeded from him. When the Emperor had repeatedly

[1] The title *Sufīl* "base" seems to be given him in contempt instead of *Çūfī*.

[2] The second month.

[3] 100 + 1 + 70 + 4 + 5 + 1 + 30 + 8 + 1 + 4 + 300 + 20 + 60 + 400 = 1004.

[4] See *Blochm.* p. 466.

questioned him, he cast his turban on the ground.[1] And after he had given some words of sympathy to Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl the Emperor went away. Just about this time news was brought that Faizī had breathed his last.—"O God make us firm, make us to die and raise us again in the Faith and Islām!"

A few days after this event Ḥakīm Humām died on the sixth of Rabī'-ul-awwal,[2] and on the seventh Kamālāī Çadr passed away. The riches of both of these were at once [confiscated and] locked up in chambers, so that they were too poor to afford themselves a shroud

These are some of the events of various dates, which in the month of Çafar (may God conclude it in happiness and success!) of the year one thousand and four (1004) of the era of the Hijrah, which 407
corresponded to the fortieth from the Accession, were written down in a concise form by the *shikastah* pen of this broken-hearted one, and without reservation have been strung unceremoniously on the string of narration. But, although with respect to details it is but as a bubble from the sea of Umān,[3] or like a drop from the clouds or the rain, everything that I have written is as far as I am conscious deliberately guarded from every trace of error, unless (God's will be done!) in the case of some years a postdating or antedating, or inversion or alteration may have crept into the original sources, which is not the business of the compiler. And if my span of life give me a little assistance, and the divine grace be my companion, and my brain have leisure from other occupations (if the glorious God will) I will write also a compendium of the events of the years to come. And if not, any one, who is an inhabitant of India, can after us compose a rough epitome, for such has always been the Law of God :—

"My object has been to give good advice, I have spoken,
I commit it to God, and go my way."

[1] In extreme grief or vexation. *cf.* p. 53; and *Masnawī*, "Merchant and Parrot."

[2] The third month.

[3] The sea between India and Africa.

[FINIS.]

NOTES.

Page 10, ll. 12-14. These lines should be,

"Is life's one lesson to the wise;
That man an arrant fool doth live
Who *leaves* his money when he dies."

P. 14, ll. 5, 6. These lines should be—

"Of earth or man there was no trace upon the board of life,
When in love's school my soul from thee first learned its passion's art."

P. 24, note 3. *Instead of* "Probably the *Dīvān-i-Ḥāfiz*, for" *read* "Our author means the *Dīvān-i-Ḥāfiz*. Ouseley in his *Lives of the Persian Poets* says that the terms *lisān-i-ghaib*, and *tarjumān-ul-asrār* were first applied to Ḥāfiz by Jāmī."

P. 37. For note[2] substitute, "the phrase *dar wādi i* means 'in the subject of,' see *text*, p. 185, l. 3, *infra*, p. 187, l. 4 and 14, p. 305, l. 10."

P. 45. Add to note[5] "the passage may refer to the *zikr-i arrah*, a mode of saying *haqq* without moving the tongue, see Vullers, i 984 *a*."

P. 53. Add to note[2]—"Compare *infra*, p. 294, note"

P. 73. ll. 1—5. This passage should run:

"In this year the Shaikh-ul-Islām, Fatḥpūrī Chishtī,—who in the year 971 had returned from Makkah and Madīnah, and for the date of whose return the author of this history had discovered two *mnemosyna* and included them in an Arabic letter which he wrote and sent him from Badāūn, which will be given in its proper place if God, He is exalted, will,—laid."

P. 105, l. 29. See *supra*, p. 67.

P. 118, l. 22. This line may mean:

"Who brought news to Sorrow? Who gave warning for Misfortune to come?"

P. 125, ll. 14—16. Rather,

The coming of a son would add to the adornment of a king, if
The incomparable Lūlū would add to the adornment of the royal Pearl;"
I. e., each is in itself incapable of receiving an addition of splendour.

P. 126, l. 6. "Onslaught,"—reading هجوم for نجوم.

P. 129, l. 3. In the text here (p. 125, l. 7) گذر should probably be read گذار.

P. 138, l. 11. Our author should have written Maḥmūd for Muḥammad as he has done below.

P. 150, l. 17. There is something wrong in the text here.

P. 157, ll. 8—17. This passage should run thus: "the next day they came to the abode of Shaikh Fatḥ-ullah Tarīn, who was one of the renowned deputies of Shaikh-ul-Islām Fatḥpūrī, and sat in council and considered it advisable that all of us together with Tolak Khān Qūchīn and Bēg Nūrīn Khān and Raḥman Qulī Khān and Kākar 'Alī Khān and the other Amīrs of the *jāgīr* of the neighbourhood of Dihlī (who were come to repulse the Mirzā and were waiting for us in the *pargana* of Āhār on the bank of the river Ganges) should carry out whatever plans they might fix upon, as soon as a junction should have been effected."

P. 162. Add to note.[3] "This is a Turkī word and means a servant but not a royal one."

P. 169, l. 17. Add after "to rest." "On the ninth day, they marched from thence without stopping to within 3 *cosses* of Ahmadābād."

P. 170, l. 26. On *wādī* see note *supra* on p. 37.

P. 174, l. 26. Probably for "the Emperor" we should read "the Saint."

P. 178, last l. Add note, "perhaps تکرار may mean disputations."

P. 181, l. 14. Rather "who relishes this *fresh* new wine?" reading تازه

P. 182, last l. Add in note after *Gajpati*,

"See Blochmann, Transl. *Āīn-i Akb.*, pp. 399, 400."

P. 185, ll. 1—3. These lines should run,

"He swam over the river Panpan on horseback, and hastening on by forced marches, arrived at Daryāpur on the bank of the Ganges, distant 26 *cosses* from Patna. About 400 elephants fell into his hands."

P. 189, l. 28. This line should rather run,

"Gog, as they say, is where thy army is."

P. 192, l. 9 after "measured" add as a parenthesis the following omitted couplet:

"In the eye of the experience of the jesting man
A two-headed snake is better than the surveyor's measuring-line."

P. 195, l. 7. This son's name is given in the text as Habārī, but Blochmann, p. 370, gives it as Jabārī.

P. 216, l. 1. "In the hot air" should perhaps rather be "in his intense fervour."

——— ll. 9—12. This passage should rather run:

"In this year a learned Brāhman, Shaikh Bhāwan, who had come from the Dak'hin and *nolens volens* turned Musalmān, came to visit his Majesty and was admitted to great intimacy; and his Majesty gave him the order to translate the Atharva Veda, which is one of the four well-known sacred books of the Hindūs. Several of the religious precepts of this book resemble the laws of Islām. I was appointed to render it from Hindī into Persian.

P. 217, l. 12. Walī Ni'mat Bēgum was Mīrzā Sulaimān's wife, see *sup.* p. 61, l. 9.

P. 230, ll. 18—21. These lines come from Ḥāfiz, see lithogr. ed. with comm. p. 136.

P. 234, ll. 9, 10. These lines are prose; the whole passage should run,—"The Emperor replied, "If God (He is exalted) will, thou shalt return the bearer of news of victory," and he repeated the Fātiḥah with all earnestness and devotion." [Partly incorporated in the reprint.]

P. 245, l. 27. This may mean "to spare his life would be to incur the risk of future revolts."

P. 258, l. 30. Instead of Multān, the Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī calls it Mulathān, see Elliot, v. 406.

P. 268, l. 13. Can مشهور mean "certain men who had been brought over to his views!"

P. 276, l. 19. Bījāgarh should be Bījānagar if the Persian text is correct, but it no doubt refers to Bījāpur.

P. 284, *l. l.* Instead of "and to God" it should rather run, "and God has made the same encroachments on his empire."

P. 293, l. 1. This is a hard passage, and its meaning is very doubtful.

P. 298, l. 5. *Patnah* should be *Pannah*, see Blochm. p. 425, note.

P. 308, l. 18. We should read باسعارض for بمعارض, and translate it "with my opponent I will enter into it," instead of "in the presence of his Majesty we will pass through it."

P. 312, l. 8. This passage should probably be translated, "would proudly rush forward to carry on the game."

P. 315. Dele note[1] see note *supra* on p. 37; and read in ll. 1, 2, "who were become a very proverb in all departments of pleasantry and in the realm of poetry, used to take dogs to their table and eat with them."

P. 320, l. 4. For *Khabīsah* read *Khabīṯah Bahādur*, see Blochmann, p. 356, note.

P. 325, l 12. For "discovering treasures" we should probably read "moving heavy weights," cf. p. 331, l. 19.

P. 327, l. 9. Perhaps we should read بتراثیان for تبراثیان as Butrīyah is the name of a Muhammadan sect. "He became orthodox," of course means sarcastically "according to their views."

P. 330, ll. 10—13. Blochmann (p. 105) translates this, "the Emperor took exception to my translation and called me a *Harāmkhur* and a *turnip-eater* as if that was my share of the book." But the truth is that it refers to a Persian proverb in Roebuck, p. 192, and should run "What objections did I not have to hear, and I learned the full force of the proverb,—am I to eat forbidden food and be content with turnips after all?"

, . 24—27. This passage more probably means, "If the Hindūs take this ill and will not prevent it, the wife of some Hindū who has died shall take her as a daughter and shall adopt her in that interview."

P. 368, ll. 23, 24. This should be "to quadruple the number," (cf. p. 157, l. 19.) See Defrémery, Mirchond, *Samanides*, p. 10, l. 17.

P. 373, l. 24. This should be "to Atak Banāras, which is also called Atak Katak;" Blochmann, p. 374, *note*, says that Atak was so named because it rhymes with Katak.

P. 378, l. 13. The translation rests on a conjectural reading انتعاش for انتياش.

P. 385, ll. 15, 16, for تته read تته and translate,

Tatah which was drunk through the passing of the cup,
Behold now it is desolate and with its cup broken!"

P. 389, l. 20, for the *Khirad-afzā*, see, *supra*, p. 186.

P. 399, l. 20—32. Read this passage as follows: "and Muzaffar sat down during the journey on the plea of a call of nature, and with a razor which he always carried about with him together with his implements, cut his throat and died."

P. 411, l. 1. The phrase در مثل is obscure, cf. p. 374, l. 17 (*text*), could the line mean "he ordered Naqīb Khān (the translator) to take it as a mode"?

INDEX

TO

MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWĀRĪKH.

VOLUME II.

(The numbers refer to the pages; *n* stands for footnote.)

A.

Aaron of Scripture, 348 *n* 8.

'Abbāsides, the, 397.

Abbott, 270 *n* 1.

Abdāl, the Forty —, holy men who should always be on earth, 318 *n* 3.

Aōdāl, the Seven—, spirits which hover round the world, 200 *n* 1, 374 *n* 3.

'Abdulawwal, Mīr,—a heretical writer, 254.

'Abdul'azīz of Dihlī, Shaikh,—a Muhammadan saint and religious teacher, 109, 294, 386.

'Abdul Hādi, infant son of al-Badāonī, 259.

'Abdu-l-Ḥay Khawwās, son of Qāzī Qadru-d-dīn Sambhalī, 291.

'Abdu-l-Ḥayy, Mīr,—a learned man in the Court of Akbar, 64.

'Abdu-l-Jabbār Hamadānī, Qāzī,—a religious teacher, 266 and *n* 1.

Abd-ullāh Bakhshī, Mīr,—an officer of Akbar's Court, 20.

'Abd-ullāh Khān Chogān Bēgī, Sayyid. See under 'Abd-ullāh Khān, Jokān Bēgī.

'Abd-ullāh Khān Chongān Bēgī, Sayyid. See under 'Abd-ullāh Khān, Jokān Bēgī.

'Abd-ullāh Khān Jokān Bēgī, Sayyid,—Governor of Biyānah and Bajūnah, 183, 197, 198, 243, 244, 245, 249, 250, 251, 380, 381.

'Abd-ullāh Khān, the Uzbek,—Governor of Kālpī, 6, 44, 48, 66, 67, 68, 75. See the next.

'Abd-ullāh Khān Uzbek, son of Sikandar Khān,—chief of the Uzbeks in Transoxiana, 278, 302, 350, 357, 362, 363, 365, 366, 375, 383, 393. See the above.

'Abd-ullāh, Khwājah, grandson of Khwājah Aḥrār,—one of the generals of Akbar, 197, 235

'Abd-ullāh Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, Mullā, —of Sulṭānpūr, 85. See also under Makhdūm-ul-Mulk.

'Abd-ullāh Marwārīd of Hirāt, Khwājah,—the Wazīr, 48.

'Abd-ullāh, son of Murād Bēg,—an officer of the army, 103.

'Abd-ullāh Niyāzī, the Sarhindī, Shaikh, 204.

'Abd-ullāh Sulṭānpūrī, Mullā,—the Makhdūmu-l-Mulk, 13, 39, 154, 205. See also under Makhdūmu l-Mulk.

'Abd-ul-Laṭīf, son of the author 'Abdul-Qādir al Badāonī, 130.

'Abd-ul-Laṭīf, Mīr,—one of the Sayfī Sayyids of Qazwīn, 24, 32, 85, 235

'Abd-ul Majīd Harawī, Khwājah,—the Āçaf Khān, Governor of Dihlī, 38, 62. See also under Āçaf Khān.
'Abdu-l-Malik Khān,—a relative of Mīr Muḥammad Atkah, the Khān Kalān, 53.
'Abdu-l-Maṭlab Khān, son of Shāh Budāgh Khān, 46, 80, 82, 83, 96, 151, 249, 398 and *n* 3.
'Abdu-l-Muṭlab Khān. See the above.
'Abdul Nabī. See under 'Abdu-n-Nabī.
'Abdu-l-Qādir Gīlānī Qādirī, Shaikh, —a devotee of Uchh, 418.
'Abdu-l-Qādir Jīlānī, Shaikh Muḥī-ud-dīn,—the celebrated Imām and Shaikh, 200.
'Abdu-l-Qādir Tabrīzī. Moulānā,—Akbar's tutor, 332.
'Abdu-l-Qudūs of Gangōh, Shaikh,—one of the greatest Shaikhs of Hind, 70.
'Abdu-l-Wāsi',—husband of a daughter-in-law of Shaikh Badah, Lord of Āgra, 59, 60.
'Abdu-n-Nabī, Shaikh, grandson of Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Qudūs of Gangōh, —the Shaikhu-l-Islām and chief Çadr of Hind, 70, 85 and *n* 5, 102 *n* 1, 123, 128, 176, 201, 206, 210, 211, 213, 233, 234, 243, 244, 258, 261, 262, 275, 278, 281, 292, 283, 284, 321.
'Abdu-r-Raḥīm of Lak'hnou, Shaikh, 359, 364 and *n* 4, 387, 396.
'Abdu-r-Raḥīm, Mīrzā, 34. Same as Mīrzā Khān, son of Bairām Khān, the Khān Khānān.
'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Bēg. See under 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, son of Mu'ayyad Bēg.
'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Bēg, son of Jalālu-d-dīn Bēg,—a military commander, 249.
'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, Maulānā, 207. See also under Jāmī.
'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, son of Mu'ayyad Bēg—a military commander, 15, 16, 17, 249.
'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, son of Sulṭān Sikandar, the Afghān, 11.
'Abdu-r-Rasūl, Sayyid,—head-man of 'Abdu-n-Nabī the Shaikhu-l-Islām, 208, 233.
'Abdu-sh-Shahīd, Khwājah, grandson of Khwājah Aḥrār,—one of the saints of Hind, 166, 174, 187.
'Abdu-sh-Shukur Gūldār, Mullā,—Qāzī of Jounpūr, 285.
'Abdu-s-Samī' of Miyānkāl of Transoxiana,—the Qāzi-l-Quzāt of Hind, 324.
Ābōth (Mishna), 287 *n* 2, 400 *n* 1.
Abu 'Abd-ullāh Muḥammad Sharafu-d-dīn,—author of Qaçīdah-i-bordah, 397 *n* 1.
Abu Bakr,—the first of the four early Khalīfahs, 36 *n* 2.
Abū Ḥanīfah an-Na'mān ibn Thābit, Imām, 212 and *n* 2.
Abu Isḥāq Ibn Adham. See under Ibn Adham.
Abu Isḥāq, Mīr, son of Mīr Sayyid Rafī'ud-dīn Muḥaddis, 289.
Abu Isḥāq, Sayyid,—a *jāgīr*-holder of Bengal, 333.
Abu Lahab,—the infidel uncle of the Arabian Prophet Muḥammad, 23 and *n* 6, 281.
Abu-l-Fatḥ Bēg, son of Fazā'il Bēg, the lieutenant of Māh Jūjak Bēgum, 54, 55.
Abu-l Fatḥ of Gīlān, Ḥakīm,—Çadr of the metropolis of Hind, 214, 271, 276, 286, 289, 290, 294, 304, 313, 325, 326, 328, 359, 361, 362, 364, 365, 376, 379, 382.
Abu-l-Fatḥ Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Pādshāh Ghāzī, 279. See under Akbar.
Abu-l-Fatḥ, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Badah,—one of the nobles of the Court of Akbar, 102.
Abu-l-Fazl 'Allāmī, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgor,—Wazīr of Akbar and author of the Āīn-i-Akbarī, 25 *n* 2, 38 *n* 5, 46 *n* 1, 49 *n* 4, 57 *n* 4, 94 *n* 6, 176, 200, 201, 202, 205, 207, and *n* 3, 209, 212, 214, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271 *n* 1, 273 *n* 4, 280, 283, 286, 299, 305, 309, 314 *n* 4, 316, 326, 328, 331, 333, 334, 349 *n* 5, 377, 384, 389, 396, 400, 402 *n* 1, 406, 413, 415, 416, 419, 421. See also under 'Allāmī Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl.
Abu-l-Fazl Naqshbandī, Khwājah,—an attendant of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, 302.
Abu-l-Fazl, Sayyid, son of Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad *Mīr'adal*,—governor of Bhakkar, 252.
Abu-l-Ghais Bokhārī. See the next.
Abu-l-Ghays Bokhārī of Dihlī, Mīr, —a Saint and a soldier, 14, 252, 313, 358, 359, 374.
Abu-l-Jahl,—a nickname given to Abu-l-Fazl 'Allāmī, 350.
Abu-l-Ma'ālī. See under Shāh Abul-l-Ma'ālī.
Abu-l-Ma'ālī. Qāzī, the son-in-law of the Prince of Bukhārā,—a learned doctor, 45
Abu-l-Muzaffar, Mīr, son of Ashraf Khān,—a *jāgīr*-holder of Bengal, 333.
Abu-l-Qāsim,—the twelfth of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ahs, 36 *n* 2.
Abu-l-Qāsim, Mīr Sayyid, son of Mīr Sayyid Çafāīī, of Bhakkar, 252.
Abu-l-Qāsim Mīrzā, son of Kamçān Mīrzā, son of Bābar the Emperor of Hindustān, 5.
Abu-l-Qāsim Tabrīzī,—brother of Maulāna 'Abdu-l-Qādir, Akbar's tutor,—Dīwān of Bengal, 332.
Abu l-Qāsim, Tamkīn, Mīrzā,—an officer of the Army, 196.
Abu Muslim,—hero of a story of adventures, 329.
Abu Naçr of Farāh,—author of the Niçābu-ç-çibyān, 316 *n* 1.
Abu Sa'īd Moghūl, Sulṭān,—of the House of Hulākū, 31, 60.
Abu Sa'īd, Mullā, nephew of Mīyān Pānipātī,—an author, 286.
Abu Turāb. See under Shāh Abu Turāb.
Abyssinia, 352.
Abyssinians, the, 168, 170, 171.
Āçaf Khān,—title of Khwājah 'Abdu-l-Majīd of Harāt, the Governor of Dihlī, 38, 62, 65, 66, 76, 77, 78, 86, 87, 89 and *n* 2, 94 and *n* 4, 97, 98, 105, 107, 169.
Āçaf Khān Mīr Bakhshī Sānī,—title of Mīrzā Ghiyāsu-d-dīn 'Alī Qazwīnī,—Dīwān of Gujrāt, 173, 205, 233, 236, 237, 238, 241, 246, 247, 249, 251, 252, 270, 296, 322, 351.
Āçaf Khān Sālis,—title of Mīrzā Ja'far or Ja'far Bēg, nephew of Mīrzā Ghiyāsu-d-dīn 'Alī Qazwīnī, 322, 328, 329, 393, 401, 406, 409 and *n* 4, 410.
'Adalī, Muḥammad Shāh Sūr 'Ādil,—the nominal Emperor of India at the time of Humāyūn's invasion, 5 and *n* 8, 6, 10 25 and *nn* 1 and 2, 26, 28, 44, 62, 65, 159.
Adam of Scripture, 184, 329, 347, 397.
Ādam G'hakkar,—Sulṭān of the G'hakkars, 3, 13 and *n* 3, 52 and *n* 3.
Ādampūr, 192.
Aden, 217.
Adham Khān, son of Māhum Ankah,

the nurse of Akbar,—one of the Amīrs of the Empire, 29, 42, 43, 46, 49 and *n* 4, 50, 51, 59, 64, 101, 351.

Adham, Mīr,—colleague of Rāi Patr Dās, Dīwān of Bengal, 276.

Adhan of Jounpūr, Shaikh,—Saint and religious teacher, 273, 309.

Adhem, more correctly Adham. See under Ibn Adham.

'Ādil Khān,—ruler of the Dakhin, and reigning prince of Bījāpūr, 257 and *n* 2, 276, 325, 390.

'Ādil Muḥammad Khān, son of Shāh Muḥammad Khān Qandahārī, 108.

'Ādil Shāh,—title of Shāh Walī Bēg Atkah, 55.

Afghān Tarbanī, or Tarbatī, 157 *n* 1. See under Shaikh Fatḥ-ullāh Tarīn.

Afghāns, the, 8, 12, 17, 18, 23, 37, 77, 80, 89, 105, 139, 144, 145, 167, 168, 170, 181, 183, 184, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 217, 232, 235, 245, 274, 342, 360, 361, 362, 364, 366, 368, 396, 401.

Afrāsiyāb,—an ancient King of Tūrān, 47 and *n* 4, 137.

Afrāsiyāb, son of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, son of Humāyūn the emperor of Hindustān, 359.

Africa, 227 *n* 3, 421 *n* 3.

Afrīdūn, or Farīdūn,—an ancient King of Irān, 199.

Aghā Khān,—the treasurer of Akbar, 218.

Aghnagh, signification of the word, 15.

Āg-Maḥall,—name of a place between the Ganges and the mountains, 235.

Āgra, 4, 6, 15, 19, 20, 25, 26, 28, 29 and *n* 5, 31, 39, 44 and *n* 3, 46, 51, 52, 53, 56, 57, 59 and *n* 1, 60 and *n* 5, 61, 62, 69, 74, 84, 86, 88, 89, 92, 94, 96, 102, 103, 104, 108, 114, 114, 118, 119, 122, 124, 127, 139, 150, 153, 155, 172, 173, 175, 176, 178, 182, 185, 187, 195, 204, 213, 216, 218 and *n* 3, 224, 225, 230, 244, 285, 293, 310, 324, 344, 391.

Aḥadīs, the, [Monotheists] followers of the religion of Akbar, 335, 407.

Aḥadīs, the,—one of the classes into which Akbar divided his army, 194, 303, 353, 362, 367, 369.

Aḥādīs, or the Traditions of the Prophet, 207 and *n* 1, 262.

Ahār,—a parganna on the bank of the Ganges, 157, 158, 424.

Ahl-i-Jamā'at, the,—signification of the term, 267.

Ahl-i-Kitāb, the,—signification of the term, 265 and *n* 1.

Aḥmad, little, 251.

Aḥmad, another name of the Arabian Prophet Muḥammad, 35 *n* 4, 324.

Aḥmad Bēg,—a relative of Ḥusain Qulī Khān, 56 and *n* 2, 58 and *n* 4.

Aḥmad Bikrī of Egypt, Shaikh,—a religious leader, 419.

Aḥmad, the Qūfī,—musician of the Masnad-i-Qāḍī of Dihlī, 418, 419. See also under Aḥmad Sufī.

Aḥmad Khān Bārha, Sayyid,—governor of the fortress of Patan, 144, 151, 152, 233, 236, 237 *n* 4, 240.

Aḥmad-i-Razawī, Mīr,—father of Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī, governor of Kashmīr, 96 *n* 1.

Aḥmad, Sayyid,—editor of the text of the Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, 398 *n* 3.

Aḥmad, Shaikh,—one of the chief men of Lāhor, 387.

Aḥmad, the Shī'ah, Mullā, 376. See under Aḥmad of Tat'hah.

Aḥmad *Sufī*,—a title of contempt given to Aḥmad the Qūfī, 420 and *n* 1.

Aḥmad of Tat'hah, Mullā,—a bigoted Shī'ah, 327, 328, 352, 376, 406.

Aḥmadābād, capital of Gujrāt, 110, 144, 145, 146 and *n* 1, 150, 151, 152 and *n* 4, 153, 167, 168, 169, 173, 174, 188, 249, 256, 321, 337, 338 and *n* 1, 339, 340, 342, 344, 355, 356, 370, 371, 372, 373, 385, 424.

Aḥmadnagar, 145, 147, 152 *n* 4, 167, 334 *n* 1, 354, 372, 390, 403 *n* 1.

Aḥrār, Khwājah,—a Muḥammadan Saint, 57, 166, 174, 235, 275, 366.

Ahrīmān,—the Evil One of the Parsis, 334 *n* 4, 356 and *n* 1.

Aimah-dārān, the, 207 *n* 4. See under the Aimahs.

Aimahdārs, the, 354, 394. See under the Aimahs.

Aimahs, the, or holders of grant-lands, 207 and *n* 4, 208.

Āīn-i-Akbarī, the,—of Abu-l-Fazl 'Allāmī, 2 *n* 3, 7 *n* 5, 22 *n* 4, 24 *nn* 2 and 3, 54 *n* 1, 63 *n* 4, 65 *n* 3, 79 *n* 1, 85 *n* 3, 176 *n* 3, 219 *n* 2, 233 *n* 3, 247 *n* 2, 280 *n* 2, 315 *n* 1, 405 *n* 1, 424.

'Ain ul-mulk Shīrāzī,—Ḥakīm,- an officer of the Imperial Court, 175, 224, 257, 286, 322, 370, 377, 397, 402, 416, 417.

'Āishah, favourite wife of the Arabian Prophet Muḥammad, 318 *n* 2, 349 *n* 4.

Ajmīr, 46, 57 and *n* 2, 108, 127, 129, 137, 143, 153, 162, 168, 173, 174, 175, 176, 188, 200, 203 *n* 2, 215, 232, 233, 236, 245, 246 and *n* 2, 258, 262, 275, 280, 281, 283, 291, 297, 309, 320, 414, 415.

Ajodhan,—generally known as Patna, which also see, 137, 265.

Akbar, 1, 2 and *n* 4, 5 and *n* 1, 9, 11 and *n* 1, 12, 24 *n* 3, 49 *n* 4, 54 *n* 2, 61 *n* 3, 70 *n* 4, 79 *n* 2, 88 *n* 2, 94 *n* 2, 96 *n* 1, 100 *n* 3, 108 and *n* 2, 125, 127, 136, 149, 166, 175 *n* 1, 180, 201 *n* 3, 202 *n* 1, 217 *n* 3, 218 *n* 1, 227 *n* 1, 241 *n* 2, 255 *n* 2, 281, 314, 371 *n* 4, 382, 394 *n* 4.

Akbarnāmah, the,—of Shaikh Abu-l Faẓl 'Allāmī, 12 *n* 6, 32 *n* 3, 34 *n* 5, 52 *n* 5, 57 *n* 2, 58 *n* 1, 68, 78 *n* 2, 301 *n* 3, 388, 398, 406.

Ākhtah-bēgī,—the officer in charge of the geldings, 54 and *n* 1.

Alāhābād, 100 and *n* 3, 103. See also under Illāhābād.

Alāhābās. See the above.

'Alam-ul-hadā ['Alam-ul-Hudā?] of Baghdād,—author of the Nahju-l-balāghat, 64.

'Alā-ud-daulah Qazwīnī, Mīr,—author of a Biography of the Poets, 108 and *n* 2.

'Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī, Sulṭān, 193.

'Alā-ud-dīn Lārī, Maulānā, 53.

Alexander the Great, 137, 178 *n* 2, 189, 382.

Alfī, 327. See also under the Tārīkh-i-Alfī.

Alhādī. See under Hādī.

'Alī, son of Abī Ṭālib,—the first of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ahs, 11 *n* 4, 36 *n* 2, 102 *n* 2, 172, 255, 274, 295, 374 *n* 2.

'Alī 'Ālam Shāhī, Mīrzā,—an army officer, 197.

'Alī Baghdādī, Qāzī, grandson of Mīr Qāzī Ḥusain Maibazī,—Dīwān of Kashmīr, 261, 282, 283, 296, 394 and *n* 4, 395.

'Alī Bēg Sildūz,—Governor of the fortress of Chītor, 26. See also under Mihr 'Alī Bēg Sildūz.

'Alī of Gīlān, Ḥakīm,—a relative of Ḥakīm-ul-mulk of Gīlān, 273, 276, 328, 381, 420.

'Alī Hazin, Belfour's translation of, 35 *n* 3, 402 *n* 6.

'Alī Khān, Governor of Kashmīr, 276. See the next.
'Alī Khān, Mīrzādah, 365, 380. See the above.
'Alī Khān, Rājah,—Governor of Āsīr and Burhānpūr, 251, 257, 260, 274, 364, 372, 373, 390, 417.
'Alī, Mihr. See under Mihr 'Alī.
'Alī Muḥammad Asp,—one of the Emperor's Courtiers, 55, 303.
'Alī Murād Uzbek,—an army officer, 236, 247, 251.
'Alī Mūsā Rizā,—the eighth of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ahs, 36 *n* 2, 80 *n* 3. See also under Rizā.
'Alī Qāzī, 233 *n* 3. See also under Qāzī 'Alī Mīr Bakhshī.
'Alī Qulī Khān,—commandant of the town of Harī or Hirāt, 375. See the next.
'Alī Qulī Khān Uzbek, the Khān Zamān, son of Ḥaidar Sulṭān Uzbek-i-Shaibānī, 4, 5, 12 *n* 3, 44 *n* 4, 76 *n* 2, 84 *n* 1, 95 *n* 2, 101. See the above.
'Alī Rāī,—ruler of Little Tibet, 388.
Alīm of Kābul, Mullā,—author of the Fawātiḥ-ul-wilāyat, 348.
Alīābād. See under Alābād.
'Allāmī Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl, 397, 398, 412 and *n* 3. See also under Abu-l-Fazl 'Allāmī.
Almuzill. See under Muzill.
Alqāhirah. See under Qāhirah.
Altamsh-corps,—explanation of the term, 197 and *n* 2.
Alwar,—a town about sixty cosses S.S.W. of Dihlī, 6 and *n* 5, 9, 40, 108.
'Amād-ul-mulk ['Imād-ul-mulk ?], maternal grandfather of Amīr Khusrū the poet, 38 *n* 4.
Amān-ullāh Sarhindī, Miyān,—one of the learned of Akbar's time, 407.
Ambēr or Jaipur,—one of the three great Rājpūt States, 45 and *n* 8, 242 and *n* 2.
Ambīr,—a town in the district of Multān, 258.
Ambit'hī,—a town in the confines of Lak'hnou, 167 *n* 1.
Amīn Diwāna. See under Muḥammad Amīn Dīwānah.
Amīn Khān Ghorī,—Governor of Jūnāgarh or Chūnāgarh, 152, 355, 370, 371, 384, 392.
Amīnā, Khwājah. See under Khwājah Amīnā.
Amīn-ud-dīn, formerly called Muḥammad Amīn,—one of the confidential servants of the Court, 390.
Amīn-ud-dīn Maḥmūd of Harat, Khwājah, known as Khwājah Amīnā, 20 *n* 3, 232. See also under Khwājah Amīnā.
Amīr Khān Ghorī, 152, an error for Amīn Khān Ghorī, which see.
Amīr-ul-umarā,—title of Rājah Bhagwān Dās, 383.
Amm Kulsūn, 328,—an error for Umm Kulsūm, which see.
Amrār-i-sānī, the,—by Shaikh Faizī, the poet, 407.
Amrohah,—in the neighbourhood of Lakh'nou, 156, 158, 284, 304, 346, 355, 358. See the next.
Amrūhah, 224. See the above.
Āmul,—a town on the Jīḥūn [Oxus], 252, 295 *n* 1.
Anagah,—signification of the word, 49 *n* 4.
Andarī, town of, 29.
Andarī-Karnāl, town of, 70.
Anjū, town of, 209.
'Anqā,—a fabulous bird said to dwell in the mountains of Qāf, 272 and *n* 3, 411.
Anka or *Ankah*, signification of the word, 49 *n* 4.

Antichrist, 189 and *n* 2, 253, 268, 323.
Anūptalao,—name of a tank and a palace in the capital, 204 and *n* 3, 212, 219.
Anwār-ul-mashkūt [Mishkāt ?], the, —name of a book, 205.
Anwār i-Sohailī, the,—of Mullā Ḥusain ibn 'Alī al-Wā'iz al-Kāshifī, 59 and *n* 5, 369 *n* 1.
'Aqā'id-i-Nasafī, the,—name of a book, 53.
'Aqīl Ḥusain Mīrzā, son of Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā,—of the family of Taimūr, 87 *n* 1.
Āra, town of, 242 *n* 1, 244.
'Arab Bahādur,—one of the Amīrs of Bihār, 284, 289, 292, 293, 298, 304.
'Arab, Khwājah. See under Khwājah 'Arab.
Arabia, 210.
Arabia deserta, 32 *n* 1.
Arabia felix, 32 *n* 1.
Arabia petræa, 32 *n* 1.
Arabs, the, 269.
Arail, parganna of,—in Allāhābād, on the bank of the Jumna, 124.
Ārām Jān,—name of a dancing-girl of Jounpūr, 15, 16, 17.
Arash,—signification of the word, 398.
'Ārif Çafawī Ḥusainī, 68.
Aristotle, 21 *n* 2, 325 *n* 2.
Arrian, 178 *n* 2.
'Arsh,—signification of the word, 74 *n*.
Asad-ullāh, or Lion of God,—title of Ḥamzah, the uncle of Muhammad, 347 *n* 4.
Asālū,—name of a village, 355.
Asfid Shāh Sultān, 307.
Āsh-i-ḥayat,—explanation of the term, 315.
Ashqī Khān, Mullā,—*Vakil* of Qāzī Çadru-d-din of Lāhor, 276.
Ashraf Khān, Mīr Munshī,—a Courtier and an army officer, 5, 7, 75, 76, 84, 85, 110, 113, 149.
Asia, wife of Pharaoh, 59 *n* 4.
Asiatic Society of Bengal, 212 *n* 1, 302 *n* 2, 314 *n* 2
Asīr,—a town in Khāndesh, 46 and *n* 4, 251, 257, 372, 390.
'Askar Khān, Mīr Bakhshī, also called Lashkar Khān, and Astar Khān, 196. See also under Lashkar Khān.
Aslīm Shāh, Sūr,—of the Afghān dynasty of Dihlī, 10, 37, 63. Variously called Islām, Islem and Salīm Shāh, which see.
Āsniyah,—a place on the bank of the Sūrbarmatī, 371.
Asp Julāb Sīstānī,—Governor of the *parganna* of Sarūt, in the Doāb, 52.
Assam, 166 *n* 5.
Astar Khān, Mīr Bakhshī, also called 'Askar Khān and Lashkar Khān, 196. See also under Lashkar Khān.
Atak or Attak, town of, 360, 362, 363, 364, 373, 382, 383, 426. See also the next.
Atak Banāras, 301, 353, 357, 360, 373, 426. See also the above and the next.
Atak Katak,—another name of Atak Banāras, 373 and *n* 1, 426. See also the two above.
Atāwa, or
Atāwah, town of, 6, 340.
Atbēgi,—name of a title, 54 *n* 1.
Atgah,—signification of the word, 49 *n* 4.
Atgah-clan, the. See under the Atkah-clan.
Atgah family, the, 94. See also the Atkah-clan.
At'harban, the,—name of one of the sacred books of the Hindūs, 216. See the next.

Atharva Veda, the, 424. See the above.
Atka or *Atkah*,—signification of the word, 49 *n* 4.
Atka Khān or Atkah Khān, Shamsu-d-dīn Muhammad, surnamed A'zam Khān, 5 and *n* 5, 12, 13, 35, 36, 38, 49 and *n* 4, 52 *n* 2, 72 and *n* 2. See also under A'zam Khān and Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Atkah Khān.
Atkah-clan, the, 72, 109, 153. See also the Atgah family.
Atkah Khāns, the, 92 and *n* 4, 98.
Atkinson's Shāhnāmah. 339 *n* 1
Attak. See under Atak.
Auhand, town of, 366.
Aukāf, See under Auqāf.
Auqāf,—signification of the term, 22 *n* 4, 49.
Avicenna, 382 *n* 3.
Awēsar, Rājah,—a brigand and rebel, 155.
'Aymah, or grant lands, 261.
'Aynu-l-mulk, Hakīm. See under 'Ainu-l-mulk Shīrāzī.
Ayodhya, the Sanskrit name of Oudh, 75 *n* 7.
Ayyūbpūr, 192.
A'zam Khān, Mīrzā 'Azīz Kokah, so of Atgah Khān, 98, 137, 145, 15 152 and *n* 1, 153, 167, 218, 307, 309 320, 332, 345, 350, 372, 373, 383. 384, 385, 392, 399 400, 412. See also under Khān-i-A'zam and Mīrzā Kokah.
A'zam Khān, Shamsu-d-dīn Muhammad Atkah Khān, 49, 50, 52 *n* 2. See also under Atkah Khān, and Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad Atkah Khān
A'zampūr, Parganna of, 87, 93, 154.
'Azdu-d-daulah,—title of Shāh or Mīr Fatḥ-ullāh Shīrāzī, the Çadr and Chief of Hindūstān, 354, 358, 370. 372, 373, 379. See also under Shāh Fatḥullāh and Fatḥullāh of Shīrāz.
Azīz Kokah, Mīrzā, son of Atgah Khān, 218 *n* 1. See also under the A'zam Khān, Khān-i-A'zam and Mīrzā Kokah.
'Azīz-i-Miçr,—title of the Kings of Egypt, 45 *n* 3.
'Azīz-ullāh of Mashhad, Mīrzā, 110

B.

Bābā, son of Rājah Rām Chand B'hattā, 345.
Bābā Bēg, *Diwān* of Gujrāt, 256.
Bābā Khān Qāqshāl,—a nobleman of the Court of Akbar, 98, 146. 288. 289, 291.
Bābā Shaikhū Jī.—the name by which Akbar called his eldest son prince Salīm. afterwards 'Jahāngīr, 390 and *n* 2.
Bābar,—the emperor of Hindūstān and grandfather of Akbar, 54 *n* 2, 65 *n* 1, 216, 217.
Bābar, Erskine's, 65 *n* 1.
Babbal Khān,—a *ghulām* of 'Adali the emperor of India, 25 *n* 2.
Bād.—a sarāī in the neighbourhood of Fatḥpūr, 300.
Badah, Shaikh. See under Shaikh Badah.
Badakhshān. 5 and *n* 2. 6. 57, 61, 62, 72, 91, 185. 204, 217, 219, 220, 222, 276, 278, 302, 350, 351, 355. 357, 366, 367, 373, 408.
Badakhshees, the, or
Badakhshīs, the, 61, 71, 409.
Badnagar,—a town in the district of Ranā Udai Singh, 173 and *n* 1.

Badāon. See under Badāūn.
Badāonī, 'Abdu-l-Qādis, son of Mulūk Shāh,—author of the Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh, 7 *n* 5, 11 *n* 2, 207 *n* 4.
Badāūn, town of, 73, 88, 130, 139, 142, 143, 154, 175, 182, 223, 243 *n* 1, 379, 380. 384, 388, 389, 396, 423.
Bādāwar,—one of the seven treasures of Khusrou, 85 *n* 1.
Badru-d-dīn, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Islām Chishtī, 215, 344.
Baeotians, the, 253 *n* 1.
Baghdād, 64, 210, 212, 282.
Baglāna, district of, 151 and *n* 1.
Bahādur Khān, Muhammad Sa'īd Shaibānī, son of Haidar Sultān Uzbek-i-Shaibānī, and brother of the Khān Zamān, 4, 18 and *n* 2, 29, 32, 44, 76, 77, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 89, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 103, 104.
Bahādur Khān Sarwānī. See under Pahār Khān Sarwānī.
Bahādur Kodrah,—or
Bahādur Kūrdah,—or
Bahādur Kūr Farah,—a *Zamīndār* of Bengal, 333 and *n* 6, 334, 399.
Bahādur, son of Sa'īd Badakhshī,—Governor of Tirhut, 307.
Bahādur Shāh, title assumed by Bahādur, son of Sa'īd Badakhshī, 307.
Bahādur, Sultān,—a usurper of the sovereignty of Bengal, 18.
Bahādurn-d-dīn Sultān, son of Asfīd Shāh Sultān. See under Bahādur Shāh.
Bahār. See under Bihār.
Bahār-Jiv,—Rājah of the district of Baglāna, 151.
Bahār Mal, Rājah, *Wakīl* and *Wazīr*, 154, 158.
Bahat, the. See under the Behat.
Bahāu-d-dīn Bokhāri, Sayyid,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 386.
Bahāu-d-dīn Naqshbandī, Khwājah, 72 *n* 4.
Bahāu-d-dīn Zahīr [Zuhaīr?],—an Arab poet, 48 *n* 1.
Bahāu-d-dīn Zakaryāī of Multān, Shaikh,—a Doctor of Law, 212.
Bahman,—the name of January in the Ilāhī era, 397 and *n* 3.
Bahman-khur,—the 2nd day of January in the Ilāhī era of Akbar, 397 and *n* 3.
Bahraich, town of, 364.
Bahrām Mīrzā, son of Ismā'īl Çafawī, 402
Bahroṇch, town of,—in Gujrāt, 151, 168, 173, 257, 285, 341, 342, 344, 373, 401.
Bahr-u-Kuzah, the,—a work by Sharīf of Āmul, 254 and *n* 4.
Bahru-l-asmār, the,—or the Sea of Tales,—name of a book, 415 and *n* 2, 416.
Bairām Khān, the Khān Khānān, 1, 2, 3, 4, 7 *n* 5, 36, 41, 49 *n* 4, 216, 241 *n* 2, 243. See also under the Khān Khānān and Muhammad Bairām Khān Turkomān.
Bait-ullāh,—the sacred mosque of Mecca, 40 *n* 2.
Bajaunah, town of, 250. See also under Bajūnah
Bajhōrah, town of, 196 and *n* 3.
Bajūnah, town of, 183. See also under Bajaunah.
Bajūr district of, 401.
Bajwāra or Bajwārah,—a town in the neighbourhood of the River Satlaj, 10, 51.
Bāk'hōr, town of, 242
Bakhshī, office of,—the third of the four highest officers of the empire, 70 *n* 4, 410, 412.

Bakkar, town of, 4, 93, 138, 179, 189, 207, 214, 224, 226, 252, 287, 308, 309, 330, 359, 370, 379, 386. See also under Bhakkar.
Bakkar-ites, the, 138.
Balbhūnd, the,—a river, 185.
Bāliyānah, village of, 168.
Balkh, 90, 217, 253, 362.
Balochīs, the. See under the Balūchīs.
Balqīs,—the Queen of Sheba, 12 and *n* 8.
Balūchīs, the, 360, 364.
Balūchistān, 386.
Banāras or Banares, 27, 103, 104, 170, 185, 418, 419, 420.
Bangālah, 417. See also under Bengāl.
Bāngarmou, town of, 141.
Bangash,—a district in the province of Karmān, 368.
Banjārah, signification of the term, 240 *n* 3.
Banjārās, the,—the caste of grain-merchants, 240 and *n* 3. See also the next.
Banjārs, the,—carriers of grain, 182. See also the above.
Banj'hū, Shaikh,—a musician and disciple of Shaikh Adhan, 273.
Bāns Barēlī, town of, 156, 257.
Bānswāla or Bānswālah, town of, 249, 250.
Bāqī Khān, brother of Buzurg Adham Khān, and son of Māhum Ankah, Akbar's nurse, 59. See the next; see also under Muḥammad Bāqī Khān.
Bāqī Muḥammad Khān, 83. See the above.
Bāqī Qāqshāl,—Governor of Kābul, 72, 90.
Bārah Mūlah,—a town on the confines of Kashmīr, 398.
Baran, town of, 65.
Barār. See under Berār.
Bardwān, 196 and *n* 2.
Baree, Doāb of,—between the Ravi and the Garra, in the Panjāb, 304 *n* 5.
Barelī, district of, 109.
Bārī, town of, 105.
Barj 'Alī,—a servant of the Khān Zamān, 16.
Barmak-family, the, 288 and *n* 1.
Barnagar,—a town in the district of Rānā Udai Singh, 173 *n* 1.
Barōdah, district and town of, 68, 145, 146, 147, 257, 339, 340, 342, 344, 371, 373.
Basakhwān, town of, 254, 295.
Basantpūr, town of, 223, 224.
Basāwar, town of, 25, 26, 51, 63, 105, 168, 243, 250 and *n* 2, 259, 262, 276, 305 and *n* 4, 379, 380.
Basrah, town of, 333 *n* 4, 374 *n* 4.
Baṭhā, name of the valley of Makkah, 324.
Bāyazīd, son of Sulaimān Kararānī, the Afghān, ruler of Bengal, 167, 176.
Bāz Bahādur Khān, son of Suzāwal, Shujāwal or Shujā' Khān Afghān, Governor of Mālwah, 29, 42, 43, 47, 48.
Bāz Bahādur, son of Sharīf Muḥammad Khān Atgah,—a military commander, 256.
Bēd-i-Majnūn,—explanation of the word, 398.
Bēg Nūrīn Khān,—one of the military Amīrs, 82, 157, 424.
Bēgum, Imperial,—Chief wife of the Emperor Akbar, 261, 307.
Bēgum Māh Jūjak. See under Mah Jūjak Bēgum.
Behat, the,—the Jhelum,—one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, 359 and *n* 2, 364, 398 and *n* 4. See also under the Jhelum.
Behra, town of, 92, 93.
Behronch. See under Bahronch.
Behut, the. See under the Behat.
Belfour's Translation of 'Alī Hazin, 35 *n* 3, 402 *n* 6.
Benāres. See under Banāras.
Bengāl, 6 *n* 1, 12 and *n* 4, 18, 77 and *n* 1, 166, 174, 175, 176, 185, 195, 199, 200, 203, 220, 222, 249, 255, 275, 277, 278, 285, 287, 288, 289, 290, 293, 309, 320, 333, 368, 375, 399, 400.
Berār, district of, 354, 372, 373.
Bhagawan Dās, or
Bhagvān Dās, or
Bhagvant Dās, Rājah. See under Rājah Bhagwān Dās
Bhagwān Das, the treasurer, 291.
Bhakkar, town of, 252. See also under Bakkar.
Bhambar, town of, 396. See also under Bhimbar.
Bhat'h, country of, 124.
Bhāwan, Shaikh,—a learned Brahman from the Dakhin, 216, 424.
B'hekan, Shāh,—a Muḥammadan saint, 342.
Bhīkan Basāwarī, Ḥājī, 25.
Bhimbar, town of, 381. See also under Bhambar.
Bhoj, son of Rāī Surjan, the Governor of Chītor, 111.
Bhojpūr, parganna of, 95, 96, 97, 182.
Bhongoun, town of, 187.
Bhroj, town of, 110, 145, 146.
Bhunpat, son of Rājah Bhagvant Dās, of Lāhor, 147 and *n* 1.
Bhuwan patī,—signification of the word, 147 *n* 1.
Bibliothèque Orientale, of D'Herbelot, 266 *n* 1.
Bīdar, city of, 60.
Bidhī Chand, son of Jai Chand, the Governor of Nagarkot, 165, 166.
Bihār, province of, 79, 159 *n* 1, 177, 235, 244, 274, 285, 289, 290, 292, 320, 365, 375.
Bihārī Mall, Rājah,—Governor of the Rājpūt State of Ambēr, 146 *n* 2. See also under Pahārah Mall.
Bihāu-d-dīn. See under Bahāu-d-dīn.
Bīhrah, town of, 251.
Bījāgarh,—a fortress in Burhānpūr, 46, 276, 425.
Bījānagar, fortress of, 425. See the above.
Bījāpūr,—a town in the Dak'hin, 257 *n* 2, 390, 425.
Bijlī Khān,—adopted son of Pahār Khān Sarwānī, 124.
Bijor,—a district of Afghānistān, 360.
Bīkānīr, State of, 33, 34, 137, 144.
Bikramājīt, title assumed by Hēmun Baqqāl, 7. See under Hēmun.
Bikramājīt, title of Sarhor Hindī Bengālī, 184 and *n* 2. See under Sarhor Hindī Bengālī.
Bikramājīt, or Vikramaditya the Great Rājah of Hindūstān, 7, 186, 368.
Bilan,—signification of the word, 348 and *n* 9.
Bīnāī, Shaikh,—the Physician of the Imperial Court, 224.
Biography of the Poets, the,—of Mīr 'Alāu-d-daulah Qazwīnī, 108.
Bīrbar or Bīr Bar, Rājah, 159, 164, 165, 214, 268, 282, 297, 312, 322, 326, 345, 361, 362, 368, 369, 400. See under Gadāī Brahmadās and Vīra vara
Bīr Bīr, Rājah, 312. See under Bīrbar, Rājah.
Bishnū, or Vishnū, 265.
Bisti, or water-carrier,—origin of the word, 242 *n* 4.

Biyāh, the,—one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, 34 *n* 5, 38, 159, 161, 304 *n* 7.
Biyāna or Biyānah, fortress of, 4, 6, 21, 22, 25, 32, 105, 118, 183.
Bīzhan —one of the heroes of the Shāhnāmah, 47 and *n* 4.
Black Stone the,—the Ḥajar-ul-aswad of al-Ka'bah, 40 *n* 2.
Bland, Mr., 302 *n* 3.
Blochmann, 2 *n* 3, 7 *n* 5, 12 *n* 9, 23 and *n* 4, 24 *nn* 2 and 3, 29 *n* 3, 33 *n* 1, 35 *n* 1, 42 *n* 4, 49 *n* 4, 54 *n* 1, 63 *n* 4, 64 *n* 5, 65 *nn* 3 and 5, 70 *n* 4, 72 *n* 3, 77 *n* 1, 79 *n* 1, 80 *n* 1, 82 *n* 2, 85 *n* 3, 93 *n* 1, 95 *n* 3, 148 *n* 1, 151 *n* 1, 154 *n* 3, 155 *n* 1, 159 *n* 1, 176 *n* 3, 190 *n* 2, 193 *n* 1, 194 *n* 1, 195 *n* 4, 196 *nn* 1 and 2, 205 *n* 1, 206 *nn* 3 and 5, 207 *n* 5, 212 *n* 1, 214 *n* 1, 218 *n* 1, 219 *n* 2, 223 *n* 1, 233 *n* 3, 239 *n* 6, 241 *n* 2, 244 *n* 4, 246 *n* 2, 247 *n* 2, 254 *nn* 2 and 3, 276 *n* 2, 280 *n* 2, 282 *n* 4, 290 *nn* 1 and 2, 301 *nn* 2, 3 and 7, 308 *n* 2, 312 *n* 1, 314 *nn* 2 and 4, 315 *n* 1, 316 *n* 1, 317 *n* 3, 318 *n* 3, 320 *n* 1, 324 *n* 1, 332 *n* 4, 333 *nn* 1 and 3, 334 *n* 4 337 *n* 1, 338 *n* 2, 340 *n* 3, 348 *n* 5, 348 *nn* 1 and 5, 349 *n* 2, 354 *n* 4, 355 *nn* 3 and 6, 368 *n* 3, 376 *n* 6, 377 *n* 1, 382 *n* 5, 388 *n* 1, 391 *n* 1, 394 *n* 4, 402 *n* 7, 405 *n* 1, 406 *n* 1, 407 *n* 3, 408 *n* 2, 409 *nn* 1, 2 and 4, 413 *n* 3, 418 *nn* 1 and 2, 420 *n* 4, 424, 425, 426.
Bokhāra. See under Bukhārā.
Bombay, 249 *n* 3.
Borchīn, town of, 196.
Bozrah, 20 and *n* 1, an error for the town of Baṣrāh.
Brahma, Chief God of the Hindūs, 265.
Brahmans of Hind, the, 85, 164, 165, 216, 264, 269, 336, 368.
Brahmins, the. See the Brahmans.
Briggs, 9 *n* 1, 49 *n* 4, 60 *n* 4, 87 *n* 3, 144 *n* 5, 151 *n* 1.
Brinjārah, 240 *n* 3. Same as Banjārah, which see.
Brinjarries, the, 240 *n* 3. Same as the Banjārās, which see.
Bu-'alī or Abū 'Alī, name of Ibn-Sīnā [Avicenna], 382 and *n* 3.
Budāgh Khān. See under Shāh Budāgh Khān.
Buhail Khān,—name of a *ghulām* of 'Adalī, the Emperor of India, 25 and *n* 2.
Bukhārā, 172, 174, 278, 324 *n* 1, 358, 364, 366, 374.
Bu-naçar or Abū Naçr, name of al-Fāryābī, 382 and *n* 2.
Burhāmu-l-mulk. See under Burhānu-l-mulk.
Burhāmpūr. See under Burhānpūr.
Burhānu-l-mulk, King of Aḥmadnagar, 390, 403 and *n* 1, 416.
Burhānu-l-mulk,—an assumed name of a certain impostor, 334.
Burhānpūr, 46, 68, 251, 257, 354, 372, 390.
Burton's Pilgrimage to El Medīnah and Meccah, 121 *n* 2, 129 *n* 4, 134 *n* 2, 139 *n* 2, 246 *n* 5.
Butrīyah,—name of a Muhammadan sect, 425.
Buturāb, or Abū Turāb,—title of 'Alī, son of Abi Ṭālib, 374 and *n* 2.
Buzurg Adham Khān, son of Māhum Ankah. See under Adham Khān, 59.

C.

Çabāḥīs, the, 201.
Çabūḥī,—a poet, 189.
Çādiq Khān. See under Çādiq Muhammad Khān and Muḥammad Çādiq Khān.
Çādiq Muḥammad Khān,—one of the Great Amīrs and commanders, 29, 43, 56, 57, 58, 110, 148, 169, 224, 290, 292, 320, 359, 369, 370, 390. See also under Muḥammad Çādiq Khān.
Çadīqah [Çiddīqah ?],—another name of 'Āishah, the wife of Muḥammad, 349 and *n* 4.
Çadr, the,—the fourth officer of the empire and the highest law officer, 22 and *n* 4, 48, 70 and *n* 4, 270.
Çadr Jahān,—the *muftī* of the empire, 278, 305, 383, 389, 414, 415, 418.
Çadru-d-dīn Lāhorī,—Qāzī of Bahroṇch in Gujrāt, 276, 285.
Çadru-d-dīn Sambhalī, Qāzī, 291.
Çafālī, Mīr Sayyid,—one of the personages of Bhakkar, 252.
Çafarāni,—the two first months of the Muslim year, 200 *n* 5.
Çaff-shikan, signification of the word, 84 and *n* 2.
Çaḥābah, the,—the Companions of Muḥammad the Prophet, 214 and *n* 2, 215.
Çāḥib-i-Qirān, or the Fortunate,—title of Taimur [Tamerlane], 87 *n* 1.
Çāḥib-i-Zamān, or Lord of the Age,—title of the Mahdī who shall appear at the end of the world, 295.
Cairo,—the metropolis of Egypt, 43 *n* 3.
Cajitī, Rājah, 244 *n* 4, for Rājah Gujpatī, a *zamīndār* of Ḥājīpūr and Patna, which see
Çalābat Khān,—Vazīr of Nizāmu-l-Mulk, the King of Aḥmadnagar, 354.
Calcutta, 22 *n* 5, 49 *n* 4.
Çālīḥ Da'ī, Mīr,—a holder of *Jāgīre* in Bengāl, 333.
Cambay [Kambhāyat], town of, 145 146, 167 *n* 3, 249, 256 and *n* 2, 341, 344.
Canouj, town of, 27 *n* 1. See also under Kanouj and Qannouj.
Caspian Sea, the, 214, 254 *n* 2.
Catalogue of MSS. in library of King of Oudh, Sprenger's, 30 *n* 1, 108 *n* 2, 112 *n* 1, 280 *n* 2.
Cathay, [Khiṭā],—name of Northern China, 335, 405 and *n* 2.
Chaghatāi Dictionary, the,—Calcutta edition, 49 *n* 4.
Chaghatāi language, the, 23 *n* 4. 48 *n* 4.
Chaghatāi Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 25.
Chaghatāis, the, 43 *n* 1, 44 *n* 5, 195 *n* 1, 220.
Chaghtāi or Chagtāi, the See the above.
Chaharbāgh, town of, 91.
Chakks, the,—a well-known tribe and the dominant one in Kashmir, 3.
Chamārī, village of, 166. See under Chamyārī.
Chāmpānīr, fortress of,—in Gujrāt, 110, 173, 370.
Chamyārī, a place in the neighbourhood of Lāhor, 10. See under Chamārī.
Chanab, the. See under the Chenāb.
Chandar Sen, son of Maldēo, ruler of Marwār, 137, 188.
Chandarsīn. See the above.
Chandērī, town of, 151

Chandi,—a sacred book of the Hindūs 271 *n* 1.
Chandogh, -Turkī name of a kind of stores, 39.
Changīz Khān. See under Chingīz Khān.
Chānildah, Shaikh, an inhabitant of the town of Sīwahnah, 294. See Shaikh Chāyan Ladah.
Champānīr. See under Champānīr.
Chappar-band houses, 185.
Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, 296 *n* 1.
Chāyan Ladah, Shaikh,—of Sīhnah, 386. See Shaikh Chānildah.
Chelah,—name given to a number of disciples of Akbar's new religion, 336.
Chenab, the,—one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, 304 *n* 5, 359, 394, 396.
Chingīz Khān,—the Great Mughūl emperor, 46, 59 *n* 6, 93 *n* 1, 328.
Chingīz Khān,—successor of Sulṭān Muḥammad in the government of Ġujrāt, 67, 68, 105, 110, 147, 151 and *n* 2.
Chishtī, Khwājah Mu'īnu-d-dīn. See under Mu'īnu-d-dīn Chishtī.
Chishtī, Shaikhu-l-Islām or Shaikh Islām or Shaikh Salīm Fatḥpūrī,—one of the Great Shaikhs of Hind, 73, 112, 124, 136, 139, 140, 157, 201, 202, 204, 215, 358, 423, 424.
Chītor,—a fortress in Mālwah, 26, 48, 105, 107, 108, 111, 124, 239, 416.
Chobān or Chūbān Mīr,—Wazīr of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Moghūl, 31, 60.
Chogān or *Chougān*,—a game resembling Polo, 86, 235 and *n* 7.
Chorāgarh, fortress of, 345. See also under Chourā-garh and Chouragadh.
Choubālah,—one of the fords of the Ganges, 158.
Chougān. See under Chogān.
Choukandi, 150.
Chourā-gaḍh, fortress of,—the capital of the district of Gaḍha Katangah, 65, 66, 78. See als. under the next.
Chourā-garh fortress of, 78 *n* 2, 86. See also under Chorāgarh and Chourā-gaḍh.
Chūbān or Chobān, Amīr, 31. See under Chobān.
Chūnāgar or Chūnāgarh, the capital of Sūrat, 145, 370, 371. See also under Jūnāgarh.
Chunār fortress of, 26 and *n* 3, 27, 28, 84, 104. See also Chunhār
Chunār hill, the, 28.
Chunhār, fortress of, 44, 62. See also Chunār.
Çiffīn,—famous scene of a battle between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, 318.
Circassia, 352.
Çloka [Couplet], 347 *n* 1.
Code of the Changīz Khān the, 46 and *n* 3, 59 *n* 6.
Colgong [K'halgāṇw], town of, 244 *n* 2.
Companions of the Prophet, 318. See under the Çaḥābah.
Constantinople, 175, 282.
Corah of Scripture [Qārūn], 66 *n* 3. See under Qārūn.
Cossaks, the,—derivation of the word, 43 *n* 2.
Court of Persia, Kitto's, 1 *n* 3.
Cowley, the Poet, 296 *n* 1.
Crœsus, King of Lydia, 66 *n* 2.
Çūbahs, the,—the divisions of Akbar's empires 290 *n* 2
Çuffah,—signification of the word, 129 and *n* 4.
Çūfī Aḥmad,—musician of Masnad-i-Çād of Dihlī, 418, 419. See also under Ahmad Sufī.

Çūrat, town of, 249. See also under Sūrat.
Cuttack,—the capital of Orissa, 198 *n* 5, 199 *n* 1.

D.

Dāgh-u-mahall,—custom and rule of, 193, 209, 288, 299, 406.
Dahmīrī, district and town of, 2, 10, 165.
Dāīr, village of, 174.
Dākhilīs, 194.
Dak'hin, the; 167, 169, 174, 216, 253, 256, 257, 260, 270, 280, 322, 323, 325, 327, 332, 334, 354, 358, 372, 373, 384, 389, 402, 416, 424. See also under the Dakkan.
Dak'hinīs, the, 372, 373.
Dakkan, the, 60, 68, 78 *n* 2, 87, 148, 152. See also under the Dak'hin.
Dak'kin, the. See under Dak'hin and Dakkan.
Damascus, 287.
Damashq Khwājah, son of Mīr Chobān, the Wazīr of Sultān Abū-Sa'īd Moghūl, 60.
Damtūr, name of a halting-place, 382.
Dandūqah, town of, 173.
Dāniyāl, Prince, son of the Emperor Akbar, 143, 144, 297, 299, 352, 391 *n* 2, 397, 403.
Dāniyāl, Shaikh,—a holy man of Ajmīr, 143, 144.
Darah,—town of, 236, 239.
Darbār Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 80, 81.
Darmana,—signification of the word, 405 *n* 1.
Darīnkasārī,—name of a place, 195 and *n* 3. See Dinkasārī.
Dāroghah-i-farāshkhānah,—a Court office, 297.
Darsan,—explanation of the word, 405 *n* 1.
Darsanniyah, the,—name of certain disciples of Akbar's religion, 405 and *n* 1.
Dāru-l-Jullāl [Dāru-l-Jalāl?],—name of the first Heaven, 73 *n* 3.
Dāru-l-Qarār,—name of the seventh Heaven, 74 *n*.
Dāru-s-Salām [Dāru-s-Salām?],—name of the second Heaven, 73 *n* 3.
Daryā Khān Ābdār,—an officer of Akbar's Court, 291.
Daryāpūr,—a town on the bank of the Ganges, 185, 424.
Dastān-i-Sām,—father of Rūstam, the famous hero, 79 and *n* 3. More generally called Zāl.
Dā'ūd, son of Sulaimān Kararānī or Kirarānī, the Afghān, ruler of Bengal, 167, 177, 178, 180, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 220, 232, 235, 244, 245.
Dā'ūd Qādirī Jahnī wāl, Shaikh,—one of the greatest Saints of Hind, 159.
Daulat,—a servant of Muzaffar, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī, 344.
Daulat Khān,—a servant of the Emperor Akbar. See under Khwājah Daulat.
Daulat Khān,—a *ghulām* of Sa'īd Khān of Multān, 162.
Daulat Khān,—son of Amīn Khān Ghorī,—Governor of Jūnāgarh or Chūnāgarh, 384, 392.
Daulat, Khān Afghān Lodī,—a servant of Mīrzā Khān, the Khān Khānān, 343, 379.

Daulat, Khwājah. See under Khwājah Daulat.
Daulat Nāzir Ghaif Shadid, Khwājah, —a servant in the Court of Akbar, 149, 232, 261.
Daulat Nāzir, Khwājah. See the above.
David of Scripture, 160, 349.
Deb Chand, Rājah of Manjholī or Manjholah,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 215, 257
Debī, name of a Brahman interpreter of the *Mahābhārata*, 265.
De Courteille's Dictionnaire Turk-oriental, 48 *n* 4, 74 *n* 5, 93 *n* 3, 197 *n* 2.
Defrémery, C., 46 *n* 3, 48 *n* 4, 426.
Delhī. See under Dihlī.
Dekkan, the. See under the Dakkan.
Demosthenes, 302 *n* 1.
Deo Dās,—a soldier in the army of Jaimall, the Rājpūt, 46.
Derwīsh Muḥammad Uzbek,—a servant of the Imperial Court, 34.
Descriptive Catalogue, Morley's, 397 *n* 2.
De Sacy, 308 *n* 3, 413 *n* 4.
Deuteronomy, the Book of, 47 *n* 4.
Dhar,—a territory in the province of Mālwah, 68 *n* 3.
Dharmpūrah,—a place outside Āgra for feeding poor Hindūs, 334.
D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale 253 *n* 1, 266 *n* 1, 401 *n* 4.
Dholqah,—town of, 338.
Dībalpūr or Dībālpūr, district and town of, 4, 250, 251, 252. See under Dīpālpūr
Dictionnaire Turk-oriental, De Courteille, 48 *n* 4, 74 *n* 5, 197 *n* 2.
Dihlī, 1, 5, 6 and *nn* 2 and 5, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 19, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38 and *n* 4, 39, 59, 60 and *n* 5, 87, 92, 94 *n* 4, 95, 101 and *n* 6, 103, 109, 110, 124, 127, 135, 144, 147, 151, 154, 155, 157, 158, 185, 187, 188, 212, 259, 261, 284, 300, 305, 306, 358, 374, 386 and *n* 1, 397, 418, 424.
Dik'hdār,—a *parganna* in the vicinity of Jālandhar, 34 and *n* 5.
Dilfarīb,—a poem written by Sayyid Shāhī, 114.
Dinkasāri,—name of a place, 195 *n* 3. See Darinkasārī.
Dīpālpūr.—town of, 34 See under Dibālpūr.
Dissertations, Gladwin's, 381 *n* 3.
Disuha,—town of, 10.
Dīū, Port of, 401.
Dīwān. See under Dīwān.
Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiz, the, 22 *n* 5, 24 and *n* 3, 423.
Dīwān-i-Kul,—the officer who had under his orders the twelve Dīwāns of the Çūbahs, 290 and *n* 2, 296, 298.
Dīwān-i-Sa'ādat,—office of the clerks of district Çadrs. 22 *n* 4.
Dīwānah. See under Tīr Khān Dīwānah.
Dīwānkhānah of Lāhor, the, 384
Doāb, the,—between the Satlaj and the Biyah, 52, 142, 223, 304 and *nn* 5 and 7, 346.
Doāb of Baree,—between the Ravi and the Garra, in the Panjāb, 304 *n* 5.
Doāb of Jech.—between the Jhelum and the Chenāb, in the Panjāb, 304 *n* 5
Doāb of Rechna,—between the Chenāb and the Ravi, in the Panjāb, 304 *n* 5.
Doāb of Sind-Sagar,—between the Indus and the Jhelum, in the Panjāb, 304 *n* 5. See also under the Sind-Sagar.

Dodā, son of Rāi Surjan,—the Governor of Chītor, 111.
Domnī, town of,—one of the depen dencies of Bhojpūr, 182 *n* 1.
Don Quixote, 307 *n* 1.
Dost Muḥammad, son of Tātār Khān known as Tātārcheh, governor of Dihlī, 144.
Doulat. See under Daulat.
Dryden, 20 *n* 2.
Dūāb, the. See under the Doāb
Duaspah,—one of the divisions of Aḥadī troopers, 194 and *n* 2
Dūlaka,—or
Dūlaqah, town of,—in Gujrāt, 173, 256
Dungarpūr, town of, 249.
Durgāwatī, Rānī,—ruler of the district of Gaḍha-Katangah, 65.
Duzānu,—signification of the word, 254.
Dwārkā, town of,—the capital of Sūrat, 371.

E.

Eastern, Proverbs, Roebuck's, 20 *n* 1, 22 *n* 3, 28 *n* 1.
Eden, garden of, 200.
Egypt, 43 *n* 3, 45 *n* 3, 397, 419.
Elias, the Prophet, 73. See also the next.
Elijah the Tishbite, 201 *n* 4, 379. See also the above.
Elliot, Sir H., 1 and *n* 2, 4 *n* 3, 5 *n* 4, 7 *n* 4, 25 *nn* 2 and 3, 29 *nn* 2 and 5, 33 *n* 2, 34 *n* 3, 35 *n* 1, 38 *n* 5, 46 *nn* 1 and 4, 52 *nn* 3 and 5, 55 *n* 4, 57 *nn* 2 and 4, 58 *n* 2, 60 *n* 4, 61 *n* 3, 65 *n* 3, 72 *n* 4, 78 *n* 2, 79 *n* 4, 80 *n* 1, 93 *n* 2, 94 *n* 6, 95 *n* 4, 96 *n* 2, 97 *n* 1, 101 *n* 3, 102 *n* 5, 106 *n* 1, 150 *n* 2, 155 *n* 1, 156 *n* 1, 157 *n* 1, 161 *n* 1, 166 *n* 1, 173 *n* 1, 182 *nn* 1 and 3, 184 *n* 1, 195 *nn* 2 and 3, 196 *nn* 1 and 3, 240 *n* 3, 247 *n* 1, 259 *n* 1, 293 *n* 1, 333 *n* 6, 355 *n* 6, 425.
Elphinstone, 5 *n* 6, 27 *n* 1, 168 *n* 3, 321 *n* 3, 334 *n* 1, 357 *n* 2.
England, 40 *n* 1.
Erskine's *Bābar*, 65 *n* 1.
Erskine's *Humāyūn*, 5 *nn* 4 and 7, 54 *n* 4, 345 *n* 2.
Euphorbia, 147 *n* 2.
Europe, 267, 299.
Exodus. Book of, 47 *n* 4, 255 *n* 3.

F.

Fadak,—a hamlet in the vicinity of al-Madinah in Arabia, 318.
Faizī of Sirhind,—a poet, 394.
Faizī, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgor and brother of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl 'Allāmī,—King of the poets, 75, 216, 255, 267, 273, 277, 297, 304, 319, 327, 330, 361, 363, 377, 381, 385, 386, 390, 402 and *n* 1, 407, 410 and *n* 5, 420, 421.
Fakhru-d-dīn Mashhadī, Shāh, son of Mīr Qāsim, a Mūsawī Sayyid of Mashhad, 95 and *n* 3.
Fakhru-d-dīn Khān, Shah,—a Zamīndār of Mālwah, 249.
Fakhrunnisā Bēgum, daughter of Humāyūn, the Emperor of Hindūstān, 72 *n* 3.
Farah,—a town in the territory of Sijistān, 316 *n* 1.

Farḥat Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 135, 244.
Farīd Bakhshī, Shaikh. See under the next.
Farīd Bokhārī, the Bakhshī, Shaikh, —one of the generals of Akbar, 333, 362, 366, 396, 410, 412.
Farīd, Shaikh,—a Muḥammadan Saint, 137
Farīdūn,—an ancient King of Irān, 164. See also under Afrīdūn.
Farīdūn, son of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, son of Humāyūn the Emperor of Hindūstān, 359.
Farīdūn Khān,—maternal uncle of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, son of Humāyūn, 91, 299, 300, 301, 303, 357.
Fārighī, Mīr, brother of Shāh Fatḥullāh Shīrāzī, 111.
Farmūlī. See under Humāyūn and Shāh Farmūlī.
Farrāsh-khānah, the,—description of, 402.
Farrukh Dīwānah,—one of the Imperial Amīrs, 158.
Farrukh Khān, son of Khān-i-Kalān, —one of the Imperial Amīrs, 153, 154.
Fāryābī, al-,—a great Arabic Doctor, 382 *n* 2.
Fatḥ Khān, Master of the Elephants, and General, 364.
Fatḥ Khān Afghān Tabnī or Tibatī,—Governor of the fortress of Rohtās, 27, 79, 80, 159 *n* 1. See Fatḥ Khān Masnadi 'Ālī.
Fatḥ Khān Bārha,—one of the generals of Dāūd, son of Sulaimān Kararānī, the ruler of Bengal, 183.
Fatḥ Khān, Masnadi 'Ālī. See under Fattū Khān and Fatḥ Khān Afghān Tabnī.
Fathpūr, town of, 112, 118, 124, 128, 137, 138, 139, 140, 154, 163, 169, 173, 174, 189, 192, 200, 201, 21[illegible], 225, 234, 235, 243, 251, 255, 256, 261, 262, 269, 272, 274, 276, 290, 292, 294, 300, 305, 307, 310, 321, 325, 337, 339, 345, 346, 352, 355, 356, 368, 371, 387, 400. Also called Fatḥpūr Sīkrī.
Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, town of, 213 *n* 1. See the above.
Fatḥpūrī Chishtī, Shaikhu-l-Islām. See under Chishtī, Shaikhu-l-Islām.
Fatḥullāh Bakhshī, Khwājagī, 323, 372.
Fatḥullāh, Mīr. See under Shāh Fatḥullāh Shīrāzī.
Fatḥullāh Sharbatī,—one of the Imperial Courtiers, 351.
Fatḥullāh of Shīrāz, Mīr Sayyid, the Chief Çadr of Hindūstān, 325, 326, 381. See also under Shāh Fatḥullāh and 'Azdu-d-daulah.
Fatḥullāh Tarīn, Shaikh,—a deputy of Shaikhu-l Islām Fatḥpūrī, 157 and *n* 1, 424.
Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥammad, the Prophet, 36 *n* 2, 59 *n* 4.
Fāṭimah, daughter-in-law of Shaikh Badah, Lord of Āgra, 59, 60.
Fatū, a *ghulām* of 'Adalī, the Emperor of India,—Governor of the fortress of Chunār, 28, 62, 159, and *n* 1. See also the next.
Fattū Khān or Fatḥ Khān, Masnadi 'Ālī, 159 and *n* 1. Same as the above.
Fawātiḥu-l-wilāyat, the,—of Mullā Alīm of Kābul, 348 and *n* 3.
Fazā'il Bēg, the Blind, brother of Mun'im Khān, the Khān Khānān, 54.
Fazīḥat, Qāzī, 104 and *n* 1. See under Fazīlat Shērshāhī.
Fāzil Muḥammad Khān, son of Rashid Khān-i Kalan, 168.
Fazilat Shēr-shāhī, Qāzī, -commonly called by the contemptuous name of Qāzī Fazīḥat, 104 and *n* 1.
Fazlah,—a name of contempt given to Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl 'Allāmī, 283.
Fazūlī of Baghdād,—name of a famous poet, 210.
Ferdusi. See under Firdūsī of Ṭūs.
Ferishta See under Firishta.
Firdūsī of Ṭūs,—the celebrated poet, 47 *n* 4, 317.
Firishta, 5 *n* 9, 9 *n* 1, 33 *n* 2, 49 *n* 4, 60 *n* 4, 87 *n* 3, 144 *n* 5, 151 *n* 1.
Fīrozābād, town of,—in the neighbourhood of Āgra, 285.
Fīrozah, Ḥiṣār, 137. See also under Fīrūzah castle.
Fīrozpūr, *parganna* of,—in the neighbourhood of Lāhor, 301.
Fīrūzah, castle of, 39. See also under Fīrozah Ḥiṣār.
Fīrōzah Kabūlī,—a learned Doctor 186.
Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyām*, 192 *n* 1.
Four Virtues, the, 302 and *n* 1.
Fraser, 206 *n* 2.
Freytag's *Proverbs of the Arabs*, 333 *n* 4.
Fuçūçu-l-ḥikam, the,—name of a book, 266.
Fūlād,—slave of Mirzā Sharafu-dīr Ḥusain, 60.
Fūlād Bēg Barlās, Mīrzā, 278, 328, 376.

G.

Gadai 'Alī,—a Turki soldier in Akbar's army, 170.
Gadāī Brahmadās,—a Brahman musician who rose high in favor with Akbar and received the title first of Kab Rāī and then of Rājah Bīrbar, 164. See Kab Rāī and Bīrbar.
Gadāī, Shaikh. See under Shaikh Gadāī Kambōh, son of Jamāl Kambo-ī.
Gaḍha,—the chief city of Gaḍha-Katangah, 65, 78 and *n* 2, 87, 89. Also called Garha.
Gaḍha-Katangah, country of 65, 76, 78 and *n* 2, 86, 230. Also called Garha-Katangah. See also under Gondwānah.
Gaḍha Muktēsar or Maktēsar, town of, 158, 224.
Gajpatī, Rājah,—a *zamīndār* of Ḥājīpūr and Patna, 182 *n* 3. Also called Gujpatī and Kachītī, which see.
Ganges, the, 17, 27, 38, 70, 84, 85, 97, 100 *n* 3, 103, 154, 157, 158, 179, 185, 187, 220, 222, 224, 235, 290, 304, 424.
Gangōh, town of, 70.
Ganj Shakar,—a Muḥammadan saint, 260.
Gantūr or Kator,—district of, 304 *n* 1.
Garden of Kalānor, in Lahore, 1.
Garha. See under Gaḍha.
Garha Katangah. See under Gaḍha Katangah.
Garhī, town and fortress of,—in Bihār, 186, 232, 235, 290, 292.
Garmsīr, the,—country of, 113, 402 and *n* 6, 416.
Garra, the,—one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, 304 *n* 5.
Gasht,—a dependency of the district of Patna, 298.
Gaur, district and town of,—anciently called Lak'hnautī, 195, 213, 220, 232, 289. See also under Gour.

Gauriya Bahādur,—a Zamīndār of Bengal, 333 *n* 6.
Genesis, Book of, 234 *n* 1.
George, or Jarkas,—a Rūmī servant of the Imperial Court, 342 *n* 3.
Gesū Bakāwal Begī, Mīr, Governor of Narnoul and then of the fortress of Bakkar, under Akbar, 58, 138, 189.
G'hakkars, the,—a Hindū tribe, 52 and *n* 3, 53.
Ghamgīn,—surname of Mīrzā Abu-l-Qāsim, an Officer of the Army, 196 *n* 1.
Ghanazfar [Ghazanfar ?] Bēg,—uncle of Ḥusain Khān, the nephew and son in-law of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, 129.
Ghanī Khān, son of Mun'im Khān, the Khān-Khānān,—at one time Governor of Kābul, 52, 54.
Ghaus, signification of the term, 200 and *n* 1.
Ghausu-s-saqafain. Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Qādir Jīlānī, 418.
Ghazal,—signification of the word, 37 *n* 3.
Ghazālī, Mulā,—a poet of Mashhid [Mashhad ?], 94.
Ghazanfar Bēg. See under Ghanazfar Bēg.
Ghāzī Khān,—title of Qāzī Nizām Badakhshī, 186, 218. See also under Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī.
Ghāzī Khān, Prince of the Chakks, the well-known tribe and the dominant one in Kashmīr, 3.
Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī, Commander of a Thousand, 233, 247, 249, 275, 278, 283, 328, 351. Same as Qāzī Nizām and Qāzī Khān, which see; see also under Ghāzī Khān.
Ghāzī Khān Sūr,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar, the last of the Afghān rulers of Dihlī, 11, 65 *n* 3.
Ghāzī Khān Sūr,—an Amīr of the time of Humāyūn, 65 *n* 3.
Ghāzī Khān Tabrīzi, Shāh,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 233
Ghāzī Khān Tannūrī, one of the great Amīrs of 'Adalī, the Afghān emperor of India, 65 and *n* 3.
Ghāzīpūr, town of, 84, 104, 179, 412.
Ghaznī. See under Ghaznīn.
Ghaznīn, town of, 5 *n* 4, 358.
Ghaznīn Khān,—the Governor of Jālōr, 356.
Ghazzālī, Imām,—a celebrated theological writer, 267.
Ghiyāsu-d-dīn, Mīr. See under Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Naqīb Khān.
Ghiyāsu-d-dīn 'Alī Qazwīnī, Mīrzā, 173. See Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Naqīb Khān.
Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Mançūr of Shīrāz, Mīr,—a Doctor of Law and Theology, 325.
Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Naqīb Khān, son of Mīr 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf, a Sayfī-Sayyid of Qazwīn, 24. See Ghiyāsu-d-dīn 'Alī Qazwīnī.
Ghiyāspūr,—a town on the banks of the Ganges, 185.
Ghiyār, signification of the word, 227 and *n* 5.
G'horāg'hāt, town of, 104, 195.
Ghorband,—a town on the banks of the river Ghorband, 90.
Ghorband, the,—a river to the North of Kābul, 61, 90 and *n* 1.
G'hrāwalī,—a place one *farsang* distant from Āgra, 69.
Gīlān,—a province and a town in Persia, on the Caspian Sea, 214, 254 and *n* 2, 273, 276.
Gladwin's *Dissertations*, &c., 381 *n* 3.
Glossary, Wilson's, 371 *n* 2.
Gobind Chand, Rājah,—Governor of the fortress of Talwārah, 38.

Gog [Yājūj],—tribes of, 189, 424.
Gogandah, district of,—in Rājpūtānā, 144, 239 *n* 6, 249. Also called Kokandah, which see.
***Gokaltāsh*,—signification of the word, 49 *n* 4**
Golah,—a place in the Northern mountains of India, 130, 140, 142. See also under Kānt-u-Golah.
Golkandah, State of, 390.
Gonds, the,—a tribe of Hindūs, 78 *n* 2.
Gondwānah,—a country of Hindūstān inhabited by the tribe of Gonds, 78 *n* 2. Also called Garha-Katangah or Gaḍha-Katangah, which see.
Gorāk'hpūr, town of, 105.
Gosālah Banārasī,—or
Gosālah Khān, of Banāras,—a Shaikhzādah and disciple of Akbar's religion, 418, 419, 420.
Gour, district and town of,—in Bengal, 12 and *n* 4, 184, 187. See also under Gaur.
Gowadī, the,—an affluent of the Ganges, 179 and *n* 2. Often called the Gumtī or Gumatī, which also see.
Gualyār. See under Gwālyār.
Gūjar Khān Kararānī. Ruknu-d-Daulah,—General of Dā'ūd Kararānī, ruler of Bengal, 184, 185, 197, 198.
Gujpatī,—a *Zamīndār* of the neighbourhood of Hājīpūr and Patnah, 244 and *n* 4. Also called Gajpati and Kachitī.
Gujrāt, 4, 22, 26, 28, 33, 34, 40, 48, 62, 66, 67, 105, 110, 143, 144, 145, 146 and *n* 1, 147, 149, 151 *n* 2, 153, 162, 167, 173, 174, 189, 195, 202, 205, 206, 215, 216, 218 and *n* 1, 222, 251, 256, 260, 268, 282, 285, 321, 322, 328, 332, 337, 344, 346, 353 355, 356, 358, 365, 366, 368, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 376, 377, 380, 384, 401.
Gujratees, the. See the next.
Gujrātīs, the, 168, 171, 342.
Gulbadan Bēgum, daughter of Bābar, the Emperor of Hindustān, 7, 216, 320, 332.
Gul Guz, Pahlawān,—the keeper of Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī of Kāshgar in his imprisonment, 4.
Gulrūkh Bēgum, daughter of Kamrān Mīrzā, son of Bābar, and wife of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, 148, 158 *n* 1, 256.
Gumatī, the —or
Gūmtī, the,—an affluent of the Ganges, 82 *n* 4, 179 *n* 2. Also called the Gowadī, which see.
Gowālpāra or Gwālpārah,—a dependency of Bengāl, 195 *n* 2.
Gurs [Kurus], the,—a great tribe of Hindūs in ancient times, 94 *n* 6. See also under the Kurus.
Guzērāt. See under Gujrāt.
Guzrāt. See under Gujrāt.
Gwālpāra or Gwālpārah,—a dependency of Bengāl, 195 *n* 2
Gwālyār [Gwalior], fort of, 24, 25 and *n* 2, 29, 68, 71, 74, 122, 165, 195 and *n* 2, 238, 239, 250, 285, 391.

H.

Habārī, son of Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 424. Elsewhere called Jabārī, or Jabbārī, which also see

Ḥabīb 'Alī Khān,—one of the followers of Muḥammad Bairām Khān, the Khān Khānān, 25, 26.
Ḥabib, Qāzī,—a zealous Sunnī of Kashmīr, 128.
Habīb-ullāh, Ḥājī,—an officer of the Court of Akbar, 299, 302.
Ḥabsh, Mīr,—or
Ḥabshī, Mīr,—a Shī'ah Doctor of Law, 201, 262.
Hādī, al , or the Guide, 259, 266.
Hādī Sadr, Mīr,—a trusty friend of 'Alī Qulī Khān Uzbek, the Khān Zamān, 83.
Ḥadīs, the Traditions of the Prophet, 207 and *n* 1.
Ḥāfiz, of Shīrāz;—the famous Persian poet, 22 *n* 5, 24 *n* 3, 40, 423, 425.
Ḥāfiz Muḥammad Amīn,—a preacher of Qandahār and one of the seven Imāms, or private Chaplains, of Akbar, 250, 251, 259, 277.
Ḥāfiz Sulṭān Rakhnah of Herāt,—Governor of Sarhind, 393.
Ḥāfiz Tashkandī,—a disciple of Ra'shīd Mulā 'Iṣāmu-d-dīn Asfarāyanī, 190.
Ḥaidar Khān. See under Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān.
Ḥaidar, Mīr,—a riddle writer, 248, 273.
Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān Akhtahbegī,—Governor of Kābul, 6, 54.
Haidar Qāsim Kōhbar,—Lieutenant of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, son ofHumāyūn, 57.
Ḥaidar Sulṭān Uzbek-i-Shaibānī, father of 'Alī Qulī Khān Uzbek, the Khān Zamān, 84 *n* 1.
Ḥairatī of Samarqand,—a poet, 210, 280.
Ḥaiwatu-l-Ḥaiwan [Ḥayātu l-Ḥayawān], the,—name of a book, 207.
Ḥājī Bēgum,—daughter of the brother of Humāyūn's mother, 308 and *n* 1.
Ḥājī Bhīkan Basāwarī, 25.
Ḥājī Ḥabīb-ullāh. See under Habīb-ullāh
Ḥājī Khān,—a *Ghulām* of 'Adalī, the Emperor of India, 25 *n* 3. See the next.
Ḥājī Khān Alwarī, 6, 26, 40. See the above.
Ḥājī Mīrzā Bēg Kābulī,—author of an account of Little Tibet, 388.
Ḥājī Muḥammad,—an Aḥadī soldier of Akbar, 303.
Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī. See under Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī.
Ḥājīpūr, town and district of, 58 and *n* 1, 177, 178, 182, 183, 184, 232, 244, 274, 290, 293, 297, 320, 345, 350, 375, 412.
Ḥajj, the great Pilgrimage to Mecca, 40 *n* 2.
Ḥajjī, more commonly spelt *Ḥājī*. See under the latter word.
Ḥajr [Ḥajer ?]-ul-aswad, the *Black Stone*, of the Ka'bah, at Mecca, 40 *n* 2.
Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ. See under Abu-l-Fath of Gīlān, the Çadr of the Metropolis of Hind.
Ḥakīm Ḥasan. See under Ḥasan of Gīlān.
Ḥakīm Humām. See under Humām of Gīlān.
Ḥakīm Humāyūn. See under Humāyūn of Gīlān.
Ḥakīm Nūru-d-dīn Qarārī. See under Nūru-d-dīn of Gīlān.
Ḥakīm Sanāī,—a famous Persian poet, 123 *n* 1.
Ḥakīm Sūr Afghān,—one of the leaders of Rānā Kīkā's army, 236, 239 and *n* 2.
Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk Shamsu-d-dīn of Gīlān,—a Doctor of philosophy and medicine and a Courtier, 254 and *n* 2, 270, 276, 283, 293, 300.
Hamadānī, Qāzī. See under 'Abdu-l-Jabbār Hamadānī.
Hamām, Ḥakīm, 383, 388. See under Ḥakīm Humām of Gīlān.
Ḥāmid Budāonī, grandfather of our author, 259.
Hāmid Bukhārī, Sayyid,—one of the great Amīrs of the Sulṭāns of Gujrāt, 145, 167, 364, 366.
Ḥāmid Gīlānī Qādirī, Shaikh,—a devotee, 418.
Hamlet, Shakespere's, 164 *n* 1.
Ham-Māshīaḥ ben Dāvid, the false Christ of the Jews, 189 *n* 2.
Hamzabān, governor of the fort of Sūrat, in Gujrāt, 147, 149.
Ḥamzah, Amīr,—an uncle of Muḥammad, called *Asad-ullāh* "Lion of God" for his valour, 329, 347 and *n* 4.
Ḥamzahnāmah, the,—a book in which the exploits of Ḥamzah, uncle of Muḥammad, are celebrated, 347 *n* 4.
Ḥanafīs, the,—one of the four sects of Sunnī Muslims, 212, 237.
Hāndiyah, town of, 48 and *n* 3. The Hindia of the maps. See also under Hindia.
Hānsī, town of, 260.
Hansū, brother-in-law of Bāyazīd, son of Sulaimān Kararānī, ruler of Bengāl, 177.
Harāt, town of, 20 *n* 3, 38, 48. See also under Herāt.
Harāwal, town of, 67
Harī, another name for the city of Harāt, 375 and *n* 2.
Harpūr, town of, 195 *n* 4.
Hārūnu-r-rashīd, the 'Abbāside Khalīfah, 288 *n* 1.
Ḥasan, an infant son of the Emperor Akbar, 68.
Hasan, son of 'Alī, son of Abi Ṭālib, the second of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ahs, 11 *n* 4, 36 *n* 2.
Ḥasan 'Askarī, the eleventh of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ahs, 36 *n* 2.
Ḥasan Bēg,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 245.
Ḥasan Bēg,—brother of Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, the relation of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, 11.
Ḥasan of Gīlān, Ḥakīm,—a physician of the Court, 359, 418.
Ḥasan Khān, brother of Fatḥ Khān, Afghān Tibatī, the governor of Rohtās, 79.
Ḥasan Khān, brother of Shihāb Khān [Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān], governor of Dihlī, 55, 91.
Ḥasan Khān Bachgotī,—an Afghān Chief, 18.
Ḥasan Khān Khāzanchī, or the Treasurer,—an officer of the Court, 77 and *n* 2.
Ḥasan Khān Panī,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 361.
Ḥasan Khān Turkmān,—governor of the fort of Chunhār, 62.
Ḥasan, Khwājah, 302. See under the next.
Ḥasan Naqshbandī, Khwājah, son of Khwājah Bahāu-d-dīn Naqshbandī, 72, 89, 90, 91, 302. He married the sister of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, son of Humāyūn, and became his absolute Prime-minister in Kābul.
Ḥasan [Ḥusain ?] Qulī Khān, the Khān Jahān, 188. See under Ḥusain Qulī Khan, son of Walī Bēg.
Hāshim Bārhah, Sayyid. See under Hāshim, son of Maḥmūd Bārhah.
Hāshim Firozabādī, Sayyid,—a religious teacher, 294.

Hāshim Khān, brother of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, the Governor of Dihlī and one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 181.
Hāshim Khān Nīsl'apūrī, of Jhosī and Piyāi, 297.
Hāshim, Mīr,—a *jagīr*-holder of Gujrāt, 333.
Hāshim Qandahārī,—a Persian poet, 36, 37.
Hāshim, son of Maḥmūd Bārha, Sayyid,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 224, 233, 236, 237 *n* 4, 342
Ḥassan. See under Ḥasan.
Ḥātim Sambhalī. Miyān,—a famous Moulawī, 294.
Ḥātim Ṭāī,—an Arab famous for his liberality, 67 *n* 4.
Hatiyah, town of, 65.
Hatiyapūl (Elephant-bridge) gate, in Āgrah, 112 and *n* 3. See also the next.
Hatyāpūl (Elephant-gate), the, 219 and *n* 2. See the above.
Hawāy,—name of an elephant of Hēmun Baqqāl, 8.
Hayātu-l-Ḥayawān, the,—name of a book, 207.
Hazār Shu'ā' (the thousand rays),—name of a poem, 346.
Hazārah,—a tract of country in the Hindū Kush, 55 and *n* 1.
Hazārī, a person holding 1,000 *bighahs* of land, 353.
Ḥazrat 'Alī. See under 'Alī, son of Abi Ṭālib.
Hāzrati A'lā, title of Sulaimān Karārānī, the Afghān, ruler of Bengāl, 166.
Hēmun Baqqāl,—makes himself master of Dihlī with the title of Bikramājīt, but is defeated and killed, 6, 7, 8, 9.
Herāt, town of, 173, 298, 375 *n* 2, 393 See also under Harāt.
Herklots' *Qanoon-e-Islām*, 41 *n* 2.
Herodotus, 26 *n* 1, 317 *n* 2.
Heubach, 236 *n* 1.
Hidāyah (Guidance),—name of a boo on Muḥammadan Law, 208 and *n* 1.
Ḥijāz,—Arabia petræa, 32 and *n* 1, 216, 222, 320.
Ḥijāz Khān Badāūnī,—one of the Afghān Amīrs and Governor of Sirhind, 37.
Hillel,—of Talmudic fame, 55 *n* 5, 287 *n* 2.
Hind, 7, 68, 70, 73, 85 and *n* 5, 107, 140, 144, 174, 217, 245, 248, 269, 273, 282, 315, 329, 391, 394. See also under Hindūstān and India.
Hindia or Hindiah,—a town on the confines of the Dak'hin, 48 *n* 3, 87, 88, 372, 416, 417.
Hindū Bēg Moghūl,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 25.
Hindūān, town of, 250 *n* 3.
Hindū-kush mountains, the, 90 and *n* 3. See also the next.
Hindū Kush, the, 5 *n* 6, 55 *n* 1. See also the above.
Hindūn, town of, 250 and *n* 3.
Hindūs, the, 39, 62, 65 *n* 1 94, 95, 107, 116, 159, 164, 165, 192, 208, 213, 216, 226, 239 and *n* 3, 240, 268, 277, 295, 313, 314, 331, 347, 352, 367, 368, 369, 424, 426.
Hindūstān, 6 and *n* 1, 7, 18, 22, 28, 32, 38 *n* 4, 40, 45, 49, 54, 56, 75, 78 *n* 2, 89, 90, 91, 151, 160, 190, 217, 253, 279, 299, 327, 347, 350, 354, 360, 365, 366, 383, 388, 404, 409. See also under Hind and India.
Hindūstānī Dictionary, Shakespeare's, 18 *n* 1.
Hindūstānīs, the,—Native Musalmāns, 350.
Ḥīrah, town of, —in 'Irāq, 231 *n*

Hīrānand,—name of an elephant in the imperial army, 99.
Hīrāpūr, pass of,—in the mountains of Kashmīr, 396.
Hirāt. See under Harāt and Herāt.
Ḥisār Fīrozah. See under Fīrozah.
History of British India, Mill and Wilson's, 240 *n* 3.
Hormūz, country of, 230.
Hoshang Ghōrī, King of Mālwa. Sultān, 65.
Hoshang-ābād, fortress of, 65
Houdal, town of, 6.
Hughes' Notes on Muḥammadanism, 36 *n* 2.
Hūglī, district, 196 *n* 2.
Humā, a bird of happy omen, 45 and *n* 1.
Humām of Gilān, Ḥakīm, also called Ḥakīm Humāyūn and Humāyūn Qulī,—brother of Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fath. 214, 299, 304, 328, 365, 390, 396, 421. At pp. 383 and 388 this name appears as Hamām and at pp. 396 and 421 as Humān.
Humāyūn,—the Emperor of India and Father of Akbar, 2, 5 and *nn* 1, 4, 7 and 8, 7 *n* 5, 54 and *nn* 2 and 3, 65 *n* 3, 72 *n* 3, 95 *n* 3, 308 *n* 1.
Humāyūn, Erskine's, 5 *nn* 4 and 7. 345 *n* 2.
Humāyūn Farmūlī. son of Shāh Farmūlī,—called by the title of Humāyūn Qulī Khān, 291.
Humāyūn, Ḥakīm, 214. See under Humām of Gilān.
Humāyūn Qūlī, 214. See under Humām of Gilān.
Humāyūn Qūlī Khān, title of Humāyūn Farmūlī, son of Shāh Farmūlī, 291.
Ḥusain, an infant son of the Emperor Akbar, 68.
Ḥusain, son of 'Alī, son of Abi Ṭālib, the third of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ahs, 11 *n* 4, 36 *n* 2.
Ḥusain, son of 'Alī, son of Ḥusain son of 'Alī, son of Abi Ṭālib, 143.
Ḥusain 'Arab Mālikī, Qāzī,—one of the Qāzīs of Dihlī, 213.
Ḥusain Bēg Shaikh 'Umrī Badakhshī,—collector of the revenues of Kashmīr, 394 and *n* 4, 395.
Ḥusain, Ḥājī,—attendant of the monastery of Shaikh Islām Chishtī, 345.
Ḥusain Jalāīr, Sultān, 30.
Ḥusain Khān, governor of Kashmīr, 128.
Ḥusain Khān, sister's son and son-in-law of Mahdī Qāsim Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 9, 11, 29, 33, 35, 38, 83, 86, 87, 88, 96, 128, 129, 130, 142, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 161, 162, 163, 171, 175, 182, 187, 222, 223, 224, 226 and *n* 4, 227 *n* 1, 238. Same as Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, which also see.
Ḥusain Khān, a relative of Shihāb Khān Shihābu d-Dīn Aḥmad Khān], 34.
Ḥusain Khān, son of Walī Bēg, 38. See under Ḥusain Qulī Khān.
Ḥusain Khang-sawār, Mīr Sayyid,—a Muḥammadan Saint buried in Ajmīr, 143.
Ḥusain of Khwārizm, Shaikh,—a great Theological Doctor, 253.
Ḥusain Maibazī, Mīr Qāzī, 261.
Ḥusain Marwī, Khwājah,—a poet, 124, 127, 136.
Ḥusain Mīrzā, Sultān, King of Khurāsān, 87 and *n* 2. See the next.
Ḥusain Mīrzā, Sultān, son of Bahrām Mīrzā, son of Ismā'īl Ṣafawī, 402. See the above.
Ḥusain Qazwīnī, Qāzī,—governor of

the State of the Sawālik mountain-district, on the part of Akbar, 412.
Ḥusain Qulī Khān, the Khān Jahān, son of Walī Bēg Zu-l-Qadr,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 33, 38, 56, 57, 58 and *n* 2, 106, 109, 111, 137, 159, 161, 163, 164, 165, 166, 168, 188, 235 *n* 5,
Ḥusain, Shaikh, grandson of Khwājah Mu'īnu-d-dīn Chishtī of Ajmīr, 309.
Ḥusainī, 'Ārif Çafavī, 68.
Husayn. See under Ḥusain.
Husn Abdāl,—name of a place, 382.
Hydaspes, the,—the river Jhelum or Behat, 178 *n* 2, 398 *n* 4.

I.

'Ibādat-Khānah, the,—a building constructed by Akbar in Fatḥpūr, a suburb of Āgra, 200, 203, 204, 215, 219, 262, 294.
Ibn Abī Lailā,—a *Mujtahid* or Doctor of the Law, 211.
Ibn Adham,—a Muhammadan Saint, 401 and *n* 4.
Ibn 'Arabī, Shaikh,—a celebrated Theological Doctor, 265, 286.
Ibn Batuta. Lee's Translation of the Travels of, 90 *n* 3.
Ibn Mūsā Rizā, the eighth of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ahs, 35 and *n* 3.
Ibn Sīna [Avicenna], 382 *n* 3.
Ibrāhīm Chishtī, Shaikh,—of Fatḥpūr-Sīkrī, one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 236, 237, 300, 320, 352, 387.
Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Aḥadī, Khwājah, 408.
Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā, son of Sultān Muḥammad Mīrzā,—a descendant on his father's side from Taimūr, the Fortunate, 87 and *n* 1, 93, 145, 146, 147, 148, 151, 153, 154, 156 and *n* 1, 161–164, 166, 256.
Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Rājah 'Alī Khān, of Burhānpūr, 354.
Ibrahīm Khān Uzbek, uncle of the Khān Zamān, 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī, 44, 75, 76 and *n* 1, 81, 82, 83.
Ibrāhīm, Mīrzā, 153. See under Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā.
Ibrāhīm, Mīrzā, son of Mīrzā Sulaimān, Governor of Badakhshān, 5 and *n* 3, 217.
Ibrāhīm Sarhindī. See under Ibrāhīm Sirhindī.
Ibrāhīm Sīkrī Wāl, Shaikh,—one of the governors of Akbar, 185.
Ibrāhīm Sirhindī, Ḥājī,—one of the 'Ulamā of the Court and for some time Çadr of Gujrāt, 175, 190, 191, 205, 212, 213, 214, 216, 285, 286, 322, 328.
Ibrāhīm Sūr, 345.
Içfahān, town of, 128. See also under Ispahān.
Idar, town of, 144, 167, 173, 249, 251.
Iḥrām, signification of the term, 41 and *n* 1, 121 and *n* 2.
Ijmā', signification of the term, 267 *n* 1.
Ikhlāç, name of a Sūra in the Qur'ān, 23 and *n* 6.
Ikhtiyāru-l-Mulk, the Abyssinian,—one of the Amīrs of Gujrāt, 145, 152, 167, 168, 169, 171, 172.
Ikhtiyāru-l-Mulk Gujrātī, 167. See the above.
Ilāhābād. See under Illāhābād.
Ilāhdād of Amrohah, Mullā.—Çadr of the Doab of Sindsagar, in the Panjāb, 284, 304, 346, 355, 358.

Ilāhdād Nabawī of Sulṭānpūr, Mullā, —Çadr of the Doab of Jetch, in the Panjāb, 304
Ilāhī era of Akbar, the, 175 *n* 1, 384 *n* 4, 397 *n* 4.
Ilāhis, the,—name of a sect of Shaikhs, who called themselves Disciples,' 308.
Ilhābās, town of, 124. See under Illāhābās.
Ilichpūr, town of, 373.
Illāhābād [Allahabad], 179, 344, 345, 346, 351. See also under Alāhābād.
Illāhābās (the modern Allahabad), 179. See also the above.
Iltimās Qāzī Fatḥpūrī, a learned Doctor of Akbar's time, 309.
Ilyās Khān, the Afghān,—Governor of Karah, 297.
'Imādu-d-dīn, the krorī,—an attendant of Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Atgah, 341.
Imām Rizā. See under Rizā.
Imām-i-'ādil, or Just Ruler,—his authority on points of law, 278, 279.
'Imrān, name of the father of the Virgin Mary according to the Qur ān, 59 *n* 4.
India, 5 *nn* 7 and 8, 6 *n* 1, 22, 24, 27 *n* 1, 28, 54 *n* 2, 65 *n* 1, 90 *n* 3, 95 *n* 3, 102, 108 *n* 2, 113, 207, 224, 240 *n* 3, 242 *n* 4, 261, 266, 282, 307 *n* 1, 336, 352, 398, 402 *n* 6, 410, 413, 414, 419, 421 and *n* 3. See also under Hind and Hindūstān.
India, Elphinstone's, 22 *n* 4.
Indian Antiquaries, Princep's 367 *n* 3.
Indus, the, 90 *n* 5, 207, 217, 218, 299, 301, 302, 304 *n* 5, 350, 351, 362, 379.
Insān-i-Kāmil, or the Perfect Man,—an expression applied to Akbar, 266.
Inst. ling. pers., Vullers', 405 *n* 3.
Irān,—Persia as called by the Persians, 24 *n* 2, 298.
Irāq, 11 *n* 4, 24, 102, 189 *n* 2, 190, 222, 231 *n* 2, 248, 253, 313, 315, 327, 407.
'Irāqī horses, 230.
Irshād-i-Qāzī,—name of a book, 294.
'Isā [Jesus], 191 and *n* 1.
'Isā, river of, 333. See under Nahr-u-'Isā.
'Isā Khān, the Zamindār of Orisā, 292, 333 and *n* 3, 417.
'Isā Khān Niyāzī, generally known as Shujā'at,—one of the great Amīrs of the Afghāns, 181.
'Isā Tarkhān, Mīrzā, ruler of Tattah, 138.
Isaiah, Book of, 311 *n* 4.
Isḥāq Kākawī, Shaikh,—a holy and God-fearing sage, 304.
Iskandar Bēg,—a relative of Ḥusain Qūli Khān, 56 and *n* 2, 58 and *n* 4.
Iskandar Khān, the Uzbek,—one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 6, 8, 75, 76, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 94, 104, 138, 139. See also under Sikandar.
Iskandarpūr, town of, 187.
Islām Chishtī, Shaikh. See under Chishtī, Shaikhu-l-Islām.
Islām Shāh, Sūr,—of the Afghān dynasty of Dihlī, 25 *n* 1 Variously called Aslim, Islīm and Salīm Shāh, which see.
Islem Chishtī, Shaikh. See under Chishtī, Shaikhu-l-Islām.
Islīm Shāh, Sūr,—of the Afghān dynasty of Dihlī, 15, 77, 176, 274, 294. Variously called Aslim, Islām and Salim Shāh, which see.
Ismā'īl 'Aṭā-ī Mu'awwimā-ī, Mullā,—disciple of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous, 62.
Ismā'īl Çafawī,—Founder of the Çafawī dynasty in Persia, 402.

Ismā'īl Khān Ābdār, surnamed Khān Khānān,—one of the Amīrs of Dāūd, son of Sulaimān Karārānī, the Afghān, ruler of Bengāl, 198.
Ismā'īl, Khwājah,—grandson of Shaikh Islām Chishtī. 358.
Ismā'īl Qulī Khān, son of Walī Bēg Zu'l Qadr,—one of the great Amīrs of Akbar and brother of Ḥusain Qulī Khān, 33, 35, 38, 56, 58 and *n* 3, 109, 159, 275, 297, 360, 364, 376, 391, 401.
Ismā'īl II, Shāh of Persia, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, 246. See also under Shāh Ismā'īl II.
Ispahān, City of, 375. See also under Içfahān
Israel of Scripture, 262 *n* 3.
Israelites, the, 206.
Istiqbāl, explanation of the term, 339 and *n* 1.
I'timād Khān, chief eunuch of Aslīm Shāh Sūr, of the Afghān dynasty of Dihlī, 63, 64, 68.
I'timād Khān, a *Ghulām* of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī,—governor of Gujrāt under Akbar, 145, 173, 205, 251, 258, 320, 332, 337, 338 and *n* 3, 340, 343.
I'timād Khān, *Khwājah Sarāi*,—an officer of Akbar's army, 170.

J.

Jabalpūr, 65 *n* 5.
Jabārī, or
Jabbārī, son of Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, —one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 291, 424. See also under Habārī.
Jacob of Scripture, 262 *n* 3, 353 *n* 3.
Ja'far Bēg, the Āçaf Khān *Bakhshī*, —one of the Court officers of Akbar, and nephew of Mīrzā Ghiyāsu d-dīn 'Alī Qazwīnī, the Āçaf Khān Sānī, 393, 409, *n* 4. See also under Mīrzā Ja'far and Āçaf Khān Sālis.
Ja'far Çādiq, the sixth of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ahs, 36 *n* 2, 108 and *n* 1.
Ja'far Khān, son of Qazāq Khān,—one of the Amīrs of the Panjāb, 165.
Ja'far, Mīrzā, 322, 328. Same as Ja'far Bēg, which see. See also under Āçaf Khān Sālis.
Ja'far Sādiq, Imām. See under Ja'far Çādiq.
Ja'fir. See under Ja'far.
Jafrdān, 295.
Jaganāth,—a Court officer of Akbar and a Zamīndār of Mālwah, 249.
Jaganāt'h, the Hindū god, 166.
Jagannāth, town of, 177.
Jāgīr lands.—definition of, 23 *n* 4.
Jahānābād,—a parganna of the Hūglī district, 193 *n* 2.
Jahāngīr,—title assumed by Prince Salīm, son of Akbar, on his accession to the throne of Delhi, 320 *n* 2, 390 *nn* 1 and 2.
Jahjar Khān, or Jahjār Khān, the Ḥabshī [Abyssinian], one of the Amīrs of Gujrāt, 110, 145, 151, 168. At p 145 this name appeared as Jajhār Khān.
Jalmī, town of, 159.
Jai Chand, Rājah, Commandant of the fortress of Nagarkot, under Akbar, 164, 166.
Jaimal of Chītōr, 239. Same as the next, which see.
Jaimal Rāi,—one of the Rāīs of Rāna Udai Sing and governor of the fortress of Chītor, 105, 107, 239. See also the next.
Jaimall Rājpūt, 46. Same as Jaimal Rāi, which see.
Jaipūr or Ambēr, a Rājpūt State, 45 *n* 8, 242 *n* 2.
Jaisalmīr, town of. See under Jasalmīr.
Jajhār Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Gujrāt. See under Jahjar Khān the Ḥabshī.
Jakmāl,—brother of the Rāna of Sārohī, 337.
Jalāir, name of a Chaghtāī tribe, 44 *n* 5.
Jalāl Khān Qūrchī, or Qurchī,—one of the Amīrs and privy counsellors of Akbar, 189, 204, 345
Jalāl Multānī, Qāzī. See under Jalālu-d-dīn of Multān.
Jalāl Mutawakkil, Mīr Sayyid, a religious leader, 114, 121.
Jalāl of T'hānēsar, Shaikh, one of the Muḥammadan Saints of Hind, 322.
Jalālābād, town of, 55 and *n* 3, 72, 90, 302, 303, 304. Known of old by the name of Jusāl.
Jalālah, son of Roshanāī, a Hindūstānī soldier who made himself a religious teacher and set up an heretical sect, 360, 368 *n* 1, 363, 401.
Jalālah Roshanā or Roushanāī. See the above.
Jalālah Tārīkī, 368. Same as the above, the word Tārīkī or 'man of darkness,' being used for Roshanāī or 'bright.'
Jalāli era, the, 260.
Jalālu d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Pādshāh, 1,382. See under Akbar.
Jalālu-d-dīn of Multān, Maulānā, Qāzī-l-Quzāt of the empire of Hind, 104, 213, 215, 278, 323.
Jalālu-d-dīn Sūr, the Afghān, ruler of G'horāg'hāt, 195.
Jālandhar, town of, 5, 10, 13, 34 and *n* 5, 38 *n* 3.
Jalēsah, parganna of, 155 and *n* 1.
Jalesar, town of, 155 *n* 1, 308.
Jallāl-ābād. See under Jalālābād.
Jallālah, the Roshanāī, 401. See under Jalālah.
Jālōr, town of, 57 *n* 4, 58, 340, 342, 353.
Jālwar, town of, 56, 372. See the above.
Jām, the,—the Hindū ruler of Sūrat and Jūnāgarh, 355, 370, 371, 384, 385, 392, 400. This Jām was called Satr Sāl or Satarsāl.
Jām Satr Sāl. See the above.
Jamāl Bakhtyār, Shaikh,—one of the Court officers of Akbar, 294, 297, 298, 308, 358.
Jamāl Kambo-i, father of Shaikh Gadā i Kamboh, a poet of Dihlī, who became Çadr of the empire, 22.
Jamāl Khān, a *Ghulām* of 'Adalī, the Emperor of India, 16 and *n* 2, 27, 39, 62.
Jamāl Khān Qurchī,—one of the Court officers of Akbar, 175. See also Jalāl Khān Qurchī, of which this is probably a mis-print.
Jamāl Khān, son of Shaikh Mangan of Badāūn, 130.
Jamāl, Pahlawān,—police-magistrate of Āgra, 118.
Jamāl, Qāzī, a Hindū poet of Sivakanpūr, 119.
Jamālu d-dīn, Mīr,—a traditionalist, 173.
Jamālu-d-dīn, Sayyid, grandson of Sayyid Maḥmūd Bārhah,—one of the Court officers of Akbar, 356, 357.
Jamd'har or Jamd'hara, signification of the word, 144 and *n* 3.

Jāmí, 35, 180, 423. See also under Moulawí and 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmí.
Jāmí, Imām Moulawí. See the above.
Jāmi'-i-Rashídí, the,—name of an historical work, 397.
Jāmi'u-l-ḥikāyāt, the,—name of a book, 329.
Jamíl Bēg, Vazír Khān,—one of the Amírs of Akbar, 290.
Jamna, the. See under the Jumna.
Jamshíd,—one of the ancient Kings of Írān, 108, 199.
Jamshíd Muḥammad Akbar, 178. See under Akbar.
Ján Bāqí Khān,—one of the Amírs of Akbar, 94.
Ján Muḥammad Khān Bíhbúdí,—a warrior in Akbar's Army, 290.
Jání Bēg, Mírzā, grandson of Muḥammad Bāqí Tarkhān,—Governor of Tattah, 314, 370, 377, 386, 392, 399.
Jání, Mírzā, the Governor of Tattah. See the above.
Jannat-ushyānī, meaning of the expression, 308 *n* 2.
Jannat-āsiānī, meaning of the expression, 308 *n* 2.
Jannatu-l-'adan [Jannat-'Adn ?], the,—the Garden of Eden, 74 *n*.
Jannatu-l-Firdūs, the,—the Garden of Paradise, name of the sixth heaven, 74 *n*.
Jannatu-l-Khúld [Khuld], the,—the Garden of Eternity, name of the fourth heaven, 74 *n*.
Jannatu-l-máwá, the—name of the third heaven, 74 *n*.
Jannatu-n-Nu'ím [Na'ím], the,—the Garden of Delights, name of the fifth heaven, 74 *n*.
Járikárán, village of, 61.
Jarkas, the Rúmí,—Commander of the fortress of Baroneh on the side of Muzaffar, son of Sulṭa Maḥmúd Gujrátí, 342 and *n* 3, 344
Jasalmir, town of, 138, 355, 392.
Jaunpúr. See under Jounpúr.
Jazyah, or tax on non-Moslems, abolished, 284.
Jeremia, the Jewish Prophet, 198 *n* 3.
Jesus, 191 *n* 1, 205, 267 and *n* 3.
Jetch, Dōáb of, between the Jhelum and the Chenab, in the Panjáb, 304 *n* 5.
Jhanní, a town in the vicinity of Lāhor, 408 and *n* 2.
Jhárkand, a country of Hindústán, 78 *n* 2
Jhellum, the. See the Jhelum.
Jhelum, the,—one of the five rivers of the Panjáb, 304 *n* 5, 359 *n* 2, 398 *n* 4. Also called the Behat, which see.
Jhíls, the,—a low class of Multán peasants, 161, 162.
Jhosí (and Piyág), known as Ilhábás, the modern Allahabad, 124, 297.
Jhujhar, town of, 33.
Jhusí, town of, 100 *n* 3.
Jíjí Anagah, wife of Shamsu-d-dín Muḥammad Atgah Khān,—a nurse of Akbar, 40 *n* 4.
Jitúra, town of, 196 *n* 3.
Job of Scripture, 290 *n* 1.
Jodhpúr or Marwar, a Rájpút State, 4, 45 *n* 8, 144, 153, 181, 189 and *n* 1; 275 *n* 2.
Jogípúrah,—a place outside Ágrah for feeding jogís, 334.
Jogís, the,—or Hindú devotees, 95, 369.
John, Epistle of St.—, 237 *n* 3.
Jonah, Book of, 222 *n* 1.
Jones, Sir W., 47 *n* 4.
Josá, the, a river, 289 See also the Júsah
Joseph, the Patriarch, 124, 353.

Joshua, Book of, 75 *n* 1.
Joudhpúr. See under Jodhpúr.
Joudpúr. See under Jodhpúr.
Jouhar, explanation of the word, 107.
Jounágarh. See under Júnágarh.
Jounpúr, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 27 and *n* 3, 44, 54, 76, 77, 79, 80, 82 *n* 4, 84, 85, 86, 89, 94, 96, 103, 104, 138, 139, 177, 179, 180, 185, 245, 273, 284, 285, 290, 297, 298, 309, 384, 386.
Jousá, town of, 181.
Júják Bēgum. See under Máh Júják Bēgum.
Jumlatu-l-mulk, or manager-in-general,—an official title, 409 *n* 2.
Jumlatu-l-mulk, title of Muzaffar Khān 'Alí Turbatí, one of the Amírs of Akbar, 174.
Jumna, the, 6, 29, 75, 114, 119, 128, 135, 154, 179, 285.
Júnágarh,—the capital of Súrat, 150, 152, 256, 355, 384, 392, 400 and *n* 2, 401. See also under Chúnágarh.
Junaid, a Muḥammadan Saint, 209.
Junaid, uncle's son of Dáúd, son of Sulaimán Karárání, the Afghán ruler of Bengal, 195, 245.
Jupiter, 87 *n* 1.
Júsah, the,—a river, 104. See also the Josá.
Jusái, the old name of Jalálábád, 55 *n* 3.
Juvenal, 20 *n* 2.

K.

Kab Rái, or Prince of Poets, title of Gadáí Brahmadás, or Rájah Bírbar, 164 and *n* 4. See under Gadáí Brahmadás and Bírbar.
Ka'bah,—the square stone building in the *Masjidu-l-Ḥarám*, at Makkah, 40 and *n* 2, 41, 113, 216, 344, 417.
Ka'bah-i-Murádát, or sanctum of desires, 266.
Kabí Rájah. See under Kab Rái.
Kábul, 5 and *nn* 4 and 7, 12, 34, 38, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 61, 71, 72, 89, 90 and *n* 1, 91, 92 103, 217 and *n* 3, 290, 301, 302 303, 305, 307, 309, 320, 348, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 364, 366, 367, 370 381, 382, 383, 388, 392, 408, 409.
Kábulees, the. See the next.
Kábulis, the, 61, 409.
Kach'h, province of, 355, 399.
Kachí horses, 371.
Kachítí, district of, 292 and *n* 1, 293. See, however, the next.
Kachítí, Rájah,—a *zamíndár* of Ḥájípúr and Patna, 182 and *n* 3. Also called Gajpatí and Gujpatí, which see.
Káfirs, the,—or infidels, a name of reproach given by Muḥammadans to the non-Muslims, 46 *n* 2.
Káfúr, 288.
Kahárs, signification of the word, 111 and *n* 2.
Kaiánians, the,—an old Persian dynasty, 268 and *n* 2.
Kaiqabád,—an ancient king of Írān, 164.
Kaiqabád, son of Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, son of Humáyún, son of Bábar, 359.
Káisin,—a tract of country belonging to the province of Málwah, 78 *n* 2.
Kajak Khún Khwájah,—one of the generals of Akbar, 197 *n* 1.
Kajh-koṭ, *Manzil* of,—called also the

Sarāi of Kot K'hachwah, 301 and *n* 3.
Kākar 'Alī Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 82, 157, 424.
Kākarūn, fort of, 105.
Kalān Bēg, Khwājah, 37. See also the next.
Kalān Bēg Naqshbandī, Khwājah, grandson of Khwājah Aḥrār,—a devotee and religious teacher, 360.
Kalandar, signification of the term, 162 and *n* 2, 187.
Kalānor, a dependency of Lahore, 1 and *n* 3, 301.
Kalānor, garden of,—where Akbar ascended the throne, 1 and *n* 2.
Kālinjar, fortress of, 124, 369.
Kalkal-g'hāṭī,—name of a place, 199.
Kallā Pahār, —a distinguished Afghān general, 274.
Kālpī, district and town of, 6, 44, 97, 113, 119, 165, 289.
Kalyān Mal, Rāī,—Rājah of Bīkānīr, 137.
Kalyān Rāī Baqqāl,—an inhabitant of Cambay, 249.
Kamāl Biyābānī, Shaikh,—an impostor of Akbar's reign who claimed to work miracles, 309, 378.
Kamāl Khān, son of Shaikh Mangan of Badāūn, 139.
Kamāl Khān, the G'hakkar,—one of the Amīrs of the Panjāb and governor of the country of the G'hakkars, 3, 13 and *n* 3, 52, 72, 93, 100.
Kamālāt Çadr,—an Officer of the Imperial Court, 421.
Kamālāt Shīrāzī,—servant of Shāh Fatḥ Ullāh Shīrāzī, the Çadr-in-chief of Hindūstān, 354 and *n* 3
Kamāon, mountains of, 364. See also the next.
Kamaun,—a Hindū State in the Sawālik hills, 377. See also the above.
Kambhāyat [Cambay], 167 and *n* 3. See also under Cambay
Kambo. See under Shahbāz Khān Shahru-llāh Kambo.
Kāmī, *nom de plume* of Mīr 'Alāu-d-doulah Qazwīnī, author of a Biography of the Poets, 108 *n* 2.
Kāmrān Mīrzā, son of Bābar and brother of Humāyūn, 5 *n* 1, 54, 148, 158 *n* 1, 256.
Kāmrū, country of, 166 and *n* 5. More generally called Kāmrūp, which also see.
Kāmrūp, country of,—in Assam, 166 *n* 5, 192. See the above.
Kangār or Kangar,—the *zamīndār* of the province of Kach'h, 399.
Kāngarh, town of, 402.
Kangrah,—or
Kāngrah, fort of,—in the district of Nagarkot, 159, 165.
Kanjak Khwajah,—one of the generals of Akbar, 197 and *n* 1.
Kanouj, town of, 27 and *n* 1, 76. Also written Qannouj and Canouj, which see.
Kānt,—a place in the Northern mountains of India, 130, 140, 142. See also the next.
Kānt-u-Golah, *parganna* of,—the *Jāgīr* of Ḥusain Khān, Mahdī Qāsim Khānī, 154, 156, 163, 182, 188, 222. See also under Golah and Kānt.
Kanūr Phillour,—a place in the confines of the parganna of Dik'hdār, in the Panjāb, 35 and *n* 1.
Kanyākubja,—the ancient name of Kanouj, 27 *n* 1. See also under Qannouj.
Karah, district and town of, 44, 74, 76, 79, 94, 97, 103, 104, 297, 298, 312. The name is also written Karrah.

Karahkatangah, district of, 351.
Karākar Pass, the, 361.
Karam-ullāh, brother of Shahbāz Khān Shahr-ullāh Kambo of Lāhor,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 303.
Karāūlī, town of, 187.
Karbalā,—a place in 'Irāq, famous for the murder of al-Ḥusain, the son of 'Alī, 11 and *n* 4, 217 and *n* 1.
Karḥī, town of, 304. See the next.
Karī, village or town of,—in the district of Gujrāt, 169, 338, 340, 384. See the above.
Karrah, district and parganna of, 94, 312. See also under Karah.
Karwī, the,—a river, 18.
Kashbandi,—signification of the word, 194 *n* 3.
Kāshghar, country of, 2.
Kashmīr, 3, 52, 127, 128, 139, 266, 276, 360, 363, 364, 365, 376, 377, 380, 381 and *n* 2, 386, 388, 392, 394 and *n* 4, 395 and *n* 3, 396, 397, 398, 407, 409, 415.
Kashmīrīs, the, 394.
Katak, town of, 426. See the next.
Katak Banāras,—a town in the centre of Orissa, commonly known as Cuttack, 166, 194, 196, 198 and *n* 5, 199, 301, 426.
Katak-u-Banāras, 166. See the above.
Katangah, a place near Gadha Katangah, 78 *n* 2.
Katanpūr, a dependency of Jhārkand, 78 *n* 2.
Kathā Sarīt Sagara, the,—a book, 415 *n* 2.
Kāthī,—the name of a tribe inhabiting Kāthīwār, 371 *n* 2.
Kāthiwār,—a tract of country, 337, 338, 371 *n* 2. Also written Kātiwār.
Kātīs, the, 371 and *n* 2. See under the Kāthī tribe.
Kātiwār, country of, 371. See also under Kāthiwār.
Katlū Khān, Governor of Jagannāth, on the part of Dāūd, son of Sulaimān Kararānī, ruler of Bengal, 177.
Kator,—a mountain district of Kāfirs, to the north of Hindūstān, 304 and *n* 1.
Katrīl, Pass of,—in the mountains of Kashmīr, 364.
Kazul-bāsh,—a novel by Fraser, 206 *n* 2. See under the Qizilbāshīs.
Kerbela. See under Karbalā.
Khabīsah, 320,—read Khabītah Bahādur, see p. 425.
Khabītah Bahādur,—a servant of Ma'çūm Khān Kābulī, the foster-brother of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, 320, 425.
Khadāwand Khān. See under Khudāwand Khān.
Khadījah, daughter of Khowailed [Khuwailid], and first wife of Muḥammad, 59 *n* 4.
Khaibar Pass the, 357, 362, 366.
Khairābād, town of, 129, 228.
Khairpūrah,—a place built by Akbar outside the town of Āgrah, for feeding poor Musalmāns, 394.
Khairu-l-bayān, the,—a work written by Roshanāī, the founder of an heretical sect, in which he sets forth his tenets, 360.
Khāldī Khān Jabbārī, son of Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, 332. See also under Jabbārī and Khālidī Khān.
K'halgānw, town of, 244 *n* 2. See also the next.
K'halgāon, town of,—in Bengāl, 244 and *n* 2, 245.
Khāliçah-lands, -lands held immediately from the Crown, 133.
Khālid Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 86.

Khāl Khān,—one of the great Am of Bengāl, 288, 289. See also under Khāldī Khān Jabbārī.
Kha , the,—successors of the Pro t Muḥammad, 318.
Khān Ālam,—one of the generals of Al ar, 182, 183, 197, 198.
Khān-i-Ālam, title of Mīrzā 'Azīz Ko , 207 *n* 2. Perhaps for Khān-i-'Ā we should read Khān-i-A'z here.
Khān A'zam, another name of A'z Khān, Mīrzā 'Azīz Kokah, 15 d *n* 1, 167, 168, 169, 171, 172, 17 88, 189, 218, 293, 332, 354, 3 373, 399, 400, 401. See also the A'zam Khān and Mīrzā K h, son of Akgah Khān.
Khān Bāqī Khān,—one of the serva of Akbar, 95.
Kh Jahān, application of the title, 3 d *n* 1.
Kh Jahān, title of Ḥusain Qulī ān, son of Walī Bēg, Zu-l-Qadr, o of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 111, 168, 188, 220, 222, 232, 235 *n* 5, 244, 245, 275, 362. See also under Ḥusain Qulī Khān.
Kh n Jahān, commandant of Orissa, one of the Amīrs of Dāūd rarānī, the Afghān ruler of ngāl, 198.
n Jalān, 260. Perhaps we should ad Khān Jahān. See the Khān ahān, Ḥusain Qulī Khān.
ān Kalān, a surname of Mīr Muḥammad Khān Atkah, the brother of Atkah Khān,—one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 52, 53, 72, 89, 94, 109 and *n* 4, 139, 143, 144, 171, 173. See also under Mīr Muḥammad Khān Atkah.
hān Khānān, application of the title, 33 *n* 1, 34 *n* 1, 38.
Khān Khānān, the,—Muḥammad Bairām Khān Turkomān, prime minister of Akbar, 7 and *n* 3, 8, 9, 12, 13, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42. See also under Bairām Khān and Muḥammad Bairām Khān.
Khān Khānān, the,—Mun'im Khān, 38, 51, 52, 54, 76, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 92, 93, 96, 104, 139, 177, 179, 181, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187, 195, 196, 197, 198 and *n* 2, 199, 200, 221, 222, 309, 325, 355, 356, 358, 371, 372, 373, 375, 379, 384, 386, 392, 399, 402, 403, 416. See also under Mun'im Khān.
Khān Khānān, title of Mīrzā Khān, one of the Amīrs of Gujrāt, and son of Bairām Khān, the Khān Khānān, 346, 370.
Khān Khānān,—one of the generals of Dāūd Kararānī, the Afghān, ruler of Bengāl, 235.
Khān Zamān, title of 'Alī Qulī Khān, Uzbek, son of Ḥaidar Sulṭān Uzbek-i-Shaibānī, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and *n* 2, 27 and *n* 3, 29, 44 and *n* 4, 53, 75, 76 and *n* 2, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84 and *n* 1, 85, 86, 87, 89, 94, 95 *n* 2, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103 and *n* 1, 104, 179, 183, 359. See also under 'Alī Qulī Khān Uzbek.
Khānah,—a building in the sacred precincts of Mecca, 246 and *n* 5.
Khāndesh, province of, 46 and *n* 4 274.
Khāni Kalān. See under Khān Kalān.
Khanjar Bēg,—a relation of Tardi Bēg Khān, Commandant of Dihli, 7.
Khanjari Turk, 'Alī Murād Uzbek, 247, 387. See also under Alī Murād.
Khānū, meaning of the word, 405 and *n* 3.
Khānpūr, village of, 185, 247, 398.
Khānzādah,—brother of Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī, 56.
K'haramanda, district of, 8.
Khārwāhā, the,—a sort of sailors used to the river, 178.
Khaṭīb, Khwājah,—of Bokhārā, one of the Court officers, 278.
K'hatoulī,—name of a place, 153.
Khāvind. See under Khāwind.
Khawāf, a district and town in Khurāsān, 290 *n* 1.
Khāwand Maḥmūd, Khwājah,—of Ajmīr, father of Sulṭān Khwājah, the Çadr, 246 and *n* 3.
Khāwind, Khwājah, son of Khwājah Yaḥā [Yaḥyā ?], son of Khwājah Aḥrār, the Saint of Ajmīr, 57.
Khidmat-rāī, title of the chief of the *Khidmatiyyah*, 301 *n* 2.
Khidmatiyyah,—foot-guards on duty in the onvirons of the palace, 301 *n* 2.
Khirad-afzā, the,—name of a book, 265, 274 *n* 2, 389, 426. See also under Nāmah-i-Khirad-afzā.
Khizar Khān, 10. See under Khizr Khān Khwājah.
Khizr Khān Hazārah,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 5 and *n* 6.
Khizr Khān Khwājah,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar and husband of Gulbadan Bēgum, the Emperor's aunt, 7, 10.
Khizr Khān Sarwānī,—killed for blaspheming the Prophet, 262.
Khizrābād Sādhorah,—name of a place, 261.
Khorasān, 190. See also under Khurāsān.
Khowailed [Khuwailid], father of K'adījah, the first wife of Muḥammad, 59 *n* 4.
Khudāwand of the Dak'hin,—a heretic married to the sister of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl 'Allāmī, 384.
Khudāwand Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, in the Dak'hin, 354, 372.
Khudāwand Khān, Wazīr of Gujrāt, 147, 150.
Khurāsān, 22, 35 *n* 3, 64 *n* 5, 87 *n* 2, 290 *n* 1. See also under Khorasān.
Khurd-Kābul,—a place at seven *cosses* from Kābul, 302.
Khurram Bēgum, known as Walī Ni'mat Bēgum,—wife of Mīrzā Sulaimān, Governor of Badakhshān who was sixth in descent from Taimūr, 61 *n* 6.
Khushḥāl Bēg, Mīrzā,—one of the Qūrchīs of the palace, 13, 101
Khūshkhabar Khān,—a state-messenger, 91, 92, 94.
Khusrau, Mīr, a great poet of Dihlī, 101 and *n* 6, 102. See also under Khusrū.
Khusrau, Sulṭān, son of the Prince Sulṭān Salīm, son of Akbar, 368.
Khusrou, an ancient King of Īrān, 85, 108.
Khusrou, Amīr,—the Poet of Dihlī, 38. See also under Khusrū and Khusrau.
Khusrou, Mīr. See under Khusrū and Khusrau, the Poet.
Khusrū, Amīr, son of Amīr Seifud-dīn, the Tātar,—the Prince of Sūfī poets, 38 and *n* 4, 63, 64 *n* 2, 411. See also under Khusrau, the Poet of Dihlī.
Khutbah, signification of the term, 1 and *n* 3, 18 and *n* 4.
Khuwailid. See under Khowailed.
Khwājagī Muḥammad Çāliḥ of Hirāt, grandson of Khwājah 'Abdullāh

Marwārīd, the Wazīr,—one of the *Qadrs* of Akbar, 48, 340.

Khwājagī Muḥammad Ḥusain,—brother of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān *Mīr baḥr*, and one of the Amīrs of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, son of Humāyūn, 303.

Khwājah 'Abd-ullāh Marwārīd, of Hirāt,—the Wazīr, 48.

Khwājah 'Abdu-l-Majīd of Harāt, the Āṣaf Khān,—Governor of Dihlī, 38, 62. See also under Āṣaf Khān.

Khwājah Aḥrār, of Ajmīr,—a Muḥammadan Saint, 57. See also under Aḥrār.

Khwājah Ajmīrī, another name of Khwājah Mu'īnu-d-dīn Chishtī, the Saint of Ajmīr, 111 and *n* 5, 258, 80, 414. See also under Mu'īnu-d-dīn Chishti Sigizī.

Khwājah Amīnā, [afterwards Khwājah Jahān], the Wazīr, 20, 31 and *n* 1, 111, 189, 232. Same as Amīnu-d-dīn Maḥmūd. See also under Khwājah Jahān.

Khwājah Amīnu-d-dīn Maḥmūd of Harāt, 20 *n* 3. See the above.

Khwājah 'Arab,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar and the Khān Jahān's pay-master, 361, 362.

Khwājah Bahāu-d-dīn Naqshbandī,—a Muḥammadan Saint, 72 *n* 4.

Khwājah Daulat,—afterwards called Daulat Khān,—a servant of the Emperor, 100.

Khwājah Ḥasan. 320. See under the next.

Khwājah Ḥasan Naqshbandī, son of Khwājah Bahāu-d-dīn Naqshbandī. See under Ḥasan Naqshbandī.

Khwājah Ḥusain Marwī. See under Ḥusain Marwī.

Khwājah Ismā'īl, grandson of Shaikh Islām Chishtī, 358.

Khwājah Jahān, title of Khwājah Amīnā, 20, 52, 80, 81, 84, 85, 97, 111, 146, 189. See also under Khwājah Amīnā.

Khwājah Kalān Bēg,—an attendant of the Court, 37.

Khwājah Khatīb, of Bokhārā,—a Court attendant, 278.

Khwājah Khāwind, son of Khwājah Yaḥā [Yaḥyā ?], son of Khwājah Aḥrār, the Saint of Ajmīr, 57.

Khwājah Maqqūd 'Alī,—a servant of Akbar's mother, 49 *n* 4.

Khwājah Moulānā of Shīrāz, the heretic of Jafrdān, 295.

Khwājah Mu'azzam, maternal uncle of Akbar, 71.

Khwājah Muḥammad Rafī' Badakhshī,—one of the generals of Akbar, 236. See also under Khwājah Rafī' Badakhshī.

Khwājah Muḥammad Yaḥyā, Naqshbandī,—one of the descendants of Khwājah Aḥrār of Ajmīr, 225, 275.

Khwājah Mu'īnu-d-dīn Chishtī. See under Mu'īnu-d-dīn Chishtī.

Khwājah Mu'īnu-d-dīn, son of Khwājah Khāwind,—one of the descendants of Khwājah Aḥrār of Ajmīr, 57.

Khwājah Muzaffar 'Alī Dīwānah, 34. We should probably read Turbati for Dīwānah. See the following name.

Khwājah Muzaffar 'Alī Turbatī, *i.e.*, of the tribe of *Turbat* in Khurāsān, 64. See under Muzaffar Khān 'Alī Turbatī.

Khwājah Naqshbandī, 72. See under Khwājah Bahāu-d-dīn.

Khwājah Rafī' Badakhshī,—one of the generals of Akbar, 385. See also under Khwājah Muḥammad Rafī' Badakhshī.

Khwājah Shāh Manṣūr See under Shāh Manṣūr.

Khwājah Shamsu-d-dīn. See under Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfī.

Khwājah Sulṭān 'Alī Wazīr Khān,—an officer of Tardī Bēg Khān, the commandant of Dihlī, 5, 7.

Khwājah Yaḥā [Yaḥyā ?], son of Khwājah Aḥrār of Ajmīr, 57.

Khwārizm, country of, 253.

Kījak Khān Khwājah,—an officer of the Imperial Army, 197 *n* 1.

Kīkā, Rānā, also called Pratāb or Partāb, ruler of Gogandah and Kumalmair or Kokanda and Kombalmīr, 144, 233, 235, 236, 237, 246 *n* 7, 249 *n* 1, 251, 275 and *n* 1.

Kīmiya,—signification of the word, 334 *n* 4.

Kishn, or Krishna,—one of the chief Gods of the Hindūs, 265. See also under Krishna.

Kitābu-n-nawāqis, the,—a work by Mīrzā Makhdūm in blame of the Shī'ah, 327.

Kīt'hal, town of, 274.

Kitto's *Court of Persia*, 1 *n* 3.

Kizr Aqā,—the *wakil* of Mīrzā Khān, son of Bairām *Khān Khānān*, 342.

Kodrah. See under Bahādur Kodrah.

Koh-pārah,—name of a female elephant, 84.

Koka.—signification of the word, 49 *n* 4.

Kokaltāsh,—signification of the word, 49 *n* 4.

Kokanda or Kokandah, district of,—in Rājpūtānā, 233, 235, 236, 239 and *n* 6, 240, 241, 242, 246, 247, 248. Also called Gogandah, which see.

Kombalmīr, district of,—near Ūdaipūr in Rājpūtānā, 233 and *n* 1. At p. 144 the word is written Kumalmair. See also the next.

Kombhalmīr, a fortress on the frontiers of Ūdaipūr and Joudpūr, 275 and *n* 2. See the above.

Koorchees, the. See under the Qurchīs.

Korah, of Scripture, 341 *n* 1. Called Qārūn in Arabic.

Kotah Balāyah, fort of, 105.

Kotal-sanjad-darra,—a geographical name, 91.

Koṭ K'hachwah, Sarāī of, 301 *n* 3. Called also the *Manzil* of Kajhkot.

Kotlah, fortress of, 165.

Krishna, the Hindū God, 330. See also under Kishn.

Krori, an officer in charge of a piece of land producing one *Kror* of *tankas*, 192, 369.

Krorīs, the,—revenue officers, 192, 194, 207 and *n* 5, 406. See the above.

Kūchak Khān.—or

Kūchak Muḥammad Khān, brother of Ḥusain Khān, Mahdī Qāsim Khānī, and one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 182.

Kūlah, town of,—in 'Irāq, 328

Kūlyān, kingdom of, 371.

Kūm, a town in Persia, where the Shī'ah make pilgrimages, 217 *n* 1.

Kūmākchī, or

Kūmakī, meaning of the word, 48 *n* 4.

Kumalmair, district of, 144. See under Kombalmīr.

Kumāūn Mount, the, 154.

Kundal,—a town in the district of Sūrat, at 15 *cosses* from Chūnagar, 370.

Kūrdah, 333 *n* 6. See under Bahādur Kūrdah.

Kūr Farah. See under Bahādur Kūr Farah.

Kurk'het, lake of, 94 and *n* 5. Called Kurukshetra in Sanskrit.

Kūrnish, the,—homage paid to emperors. 397.

Kūrsi [Kursī ?],—name of the eighth or Crystalline Heaven, 74 *n*.
Kursī verse, the,—or *Āyatu-l-Kursī*, in al-Qur'ān, 201, 331.
Kurukshetra, name of the lake Kurk'het in Sanskrit, 94 *n* 5.
Kurus, the,—a great tribe of Hindūs in ancient times, 94 and *n* 6, 329, 330.
Koshmāl, mountains of, 38.
Kuwa, district of,—in the neighbourhood of the River Satlaj, 9. Probably we should read Ropar, which see.

L.

Lach'hman, brother of Rām Chand [Rāmā], Rājah of Oudh, 347.
Ladah Suhnah,—a town about 18 *cosses* from Dihlī, 386 *n* 1.
Lāhōr, 1 and *n* 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, 12, 13, 68, 72, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 95, 103, 137 158, 159, 160, 161, 164, 166, 174, 218, 220, 222, 226, 232, 273, 276, 285, 300, 301, 304, 306, 320, 321, 328, 329, 356, 359, 364, 366, 367, 369, 370, 373, 376, 377, 379, 383, 384, 387, 389, 391, 394, 396, 397, 403, 407, 408 and *n* 2, 412.
Lāhore. See the above.
Lahrah, lord of Āgra, 59.
Lailu-l-qadr, the 27th night of the month of Ramzān 44 *n* 2.
Lak'hnau. See under Lak'hnou.
Lak'hnauti,—the ancient name of the city of Gaur, 289.
Lak'hnou, 14, 18, 27, 37, 76, 128, 129, 130, 139, 148 *n* 3, 156, 167 *n* 1, 182, 189, 250 *n* 2, 261 *n* 1, 272 *n* 1, 292 *n* 1, 304 *n* 1, 305 *n* 4, 340 *n* 2, 341 *n* 2, 343 *n* 2, 348 *n* 9, 354 *n* 2, 358, 359, 367 *nn* 1 and 2, 368 *n* 2, 373 *n* 1, 374, 388 *n* 1, 396.
Lakhnow. See the above.
Lak'nou. See under Lak'hnau.
La'l Khān of Badakhshān,—one of the Amīrs of the imperial army, 6.
Lāl, Qāzi,—one of the wits of Akbar's reign, 65.
Lāmahs, the,—a class of devotees in Tibet, 335.
Lane's Modern Egyptians, 35 *n* 4.
Lankā, island of, 347.
Lashkar Khān, Mīr Bakhshī,—one of the Amīrs and generals of Akbar, 82, 83, 84, 173, 174, 181 196, 198. Also called 'Askar Khān, Astar Khān and Sher Khān.
Lashkarī, son of Sultān Ādam, the G'hakkar, 52.
Latīf Khwājah *Mīr Shikār*,—one of the officers of the Imperial Court, 303, 317.
Lawāih, the,—name of a theological work, 265.
Lee's Translation of the Travels of Ibn Batuta, 90 *n* 3.
Leigh Hunt, 401 *n* 4. [311 *n* 4.
Lexicon Persico-Latinum, Vullers'.
Lisān-i-ghaib, a term applied by Jāmī to Hāfiz of Shīrāz, 423.
Little Tibet, 388. [423.
Lives of the Persian Poets, Ouseley's.
Lodhiyānah, town of. See under Ludhiyānah.
Lodī, Amīru-l-Umarā, 177, 178, 184.
London, 32 *n* 5, 35 *n* 4.
Lonkaran, Rāi, Governor of Sāmbhar, 259. See also under Loun Karan Rājah.
Louh-i-mahfūz the,—signification of the term, 24 and *n* 4.
Loun Karan, Rājah, Commandant of Sāmbhar, 236, 237. See also under Lonkaran Rāi.
Lūdhiyānah, town of, 38, 159, 358.
Lūdiyānah, town of. See the above.

M.

Macan's edition of the *Shāhnāmah*, 317 *n* 1.
Ma'çūm Khān,—foster-brother of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, son of Humāyūn, 273, 274. See also under Ma'çūm Kokah and Ma'çūm Kābulī.
Ma'çūm Khān Farankhūdī, Governor of Jaunpūr,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 284, 285, 290, 291, 295, 297, 298, 299 and *n* 3, 300 *n* 1, 307. See also under Muhammad Ma'çūm Khān Farankhūdī and Muhammad Ma'çūm Jaunpūrī.
Ma'çūm Khān, son of Mu'īnu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān Farankhūdī, 284. See the above.
Ma'çūm Kābulī. See under Muhammad Ma'çūm Kābulī.
Ma'çūm Kokah, of Kābul, 90. Same as Ma'çūm Khān, the foster-brother of Mīrzā Hakīm, and Ma'çūm Kābulī, which also see.
Madad-i-ma'āsh, signification of the term, 23 and *n* 4, 49, 209, 261, 282, 379, 389.
Madār, Shāh,—a Muhammadan saint whose shrine is at Makanpūr in Qannouj, 140.
Madāran, town of,—in Jahānābād, in the Hūglī district, 195, 196 and *n* 2.
Mādhav Singh,—one of the officers of the imperial army, 239. See the next.
Mādhū Singh, son of Rājah Bhagvant Dās and brother of Mān Singh, the Hindū general of Akbar, 147 *n* 1, 239, 366.
Madhukar, Rājah,—*zamīndār* of Undchan (the *Oorcha* of our maps), 391.
Madīnah, the burial-place of the Prophet Muhammad, in Arabia, 32, 73, 222, 246, 423.
Madrasah-i Bēgum, the,—in Dihlī, 60.
Mādū Singh, brother of Mān Singh, 366. See under Mādhū Singh.
Māh Chochak Bēgum. See the next.
Māh Jūjak Bēgum, mother of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, son of Humāyūn, the Emperor of India, 54, 55, 56, 57, 61 and *n* 3, 64, 72 *n* 3. The name is also written Chochak.
Mahābhārata, the, 265, 329, 330, 346, 413.
Mahadeo, temple of,—in Sthaneçwara (T'hānēsar), 94 *n* 4.
Mahādev,—the chief of the Hindū gods, 94 *n* 4, 265. See also under Mahdeva.
Mahall-i Bengālī,—name of a palace in Āgrah, 74.
Māham Ankah. See under Māhum Ankah.
Mahāmā,—one of the chief gods of the Hindūs, 265.
Mahānadī, the,—a river of Orissa, on which Cuttack stands, 190 and *n* 1, 333 *n* 4.
Mahā-pātra *Bād-farosh*,—a Hindū musician and one of Akbar's courtiers, 77 and *n* 3.
Mahdeva,—another name of Śiva, the Hindū god, 104 and *n* 2. See also under Mahādev.

Mahdī, the. See the next.

Mahdī, Imām,—the forerunner of the Messiah, according to the Moslims, 201 and *n* 4, 295, 323.

Mahdī Khān. See under Mahdī Qāsim Khān.

Mahdī Qāsim Khān, one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 9, 11, 33, 35, 72, 83, 86, 87, 128, 129, 154 and *n* 3, 300.

Māhim Ankah. See under Māhum Ankah.

Mahindra, the,—a river, 344. See also the next.

Mahindrī, the,—a river, 146. See also the above.

Maḥmūd, the Emperor,—famous as Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the Ghaznawī, 223 *n* 2.

Maḥmūd Bārha, Sayyid,—one of the great Amīrs and generals, 11, 52, 144; 146, 169.

Maḥmūd of Basakhwān, a heretical writer of the time of Taimūr, 254, 295.

Maḥmūd Bokhārī, Shaikh,—one of the Court officers of Akbar, 145.

Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, Sulṭān, 223 *n* 2.

Maḥmūd of Gujrāt, Sulṭān, 67, 105, 138, 145, 173.

Maḥmūd Khān, son of the sister of Tarson Khān,—an officer of the Imperial Court, 241 and *n* 2.

Maḥmūd Khān Bārha. See under Maḥmūd Bārha.

Maḥmūd, Sulṭān, Governor of Bakkar, 93, 138, 179, 189, 423. At p 138 he is called Muḥammad

Maḥmūd, Sulṭān, nephew of Pīr Muḥammad Khān, 129.

Maḥmūdābād, town of,—one of the dwelling places of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt, 153, 173, 373.

Maḥmūdī, Mullā,—one of the servants of Mīrzā Khān, son of Bairām Khān *Khān Khānān*, 343.

Mahomet. See under Muhammad the Prophet.

Mahu, town of, 84 *n* 5.

Māhum Ankah or Anagah, nurse of Akbar, 29 and *n* 7, 30, 31. 49 and *nn* 4 and 5, 50, 64.

Māhum Atkah or Atgah. See the above, especially p. 49 *n* 4.

Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl,—one of the Amīrs and generals of Akbar, 44, 76, 77, 94, 97, 98, 124, 185, 194, 195.

Makanpūr, one of the dependencies of Qannouj, 140.

Makhdūmu-l-mulk, Mullā 'Abd-ullāh Sulṭānpūrī,—one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 13 *n* 2, 39, 85, 86, 154, 158, 201, 205, 206, 213, 262, 270, 275, 278, 281, 285, 321.

Makkah, 4, 22, 30, 32 and *n* 1, 33, 39, 40 *n* 2, 41 *n* 2, 56, 57, 58, 60, 73, 87, 113, 120 *n* 1, 128, 190, 206, 215, 216 *nn* 1 and 4, 217 and *n* 1, 222, 241 *n* 2, 246, 258, 268 *n* 1, 275, 283, 293, 295, 309, 321, 323, 327, 344, 350, 401 and *n* 4, 412, 423.

Māldeo, Rāja of Jodhpūr and Mārwār, 34, 137, 188, 189.

Mālik, Imām,—founder of one of the four sects of Sunnī Muslims, 211, 212.

Malik 'Alī, brother of Qāzī 'Alī, *Kotwāl* of Lāhor, 300.

Malik Sānī Kābulī, the Vazīr Khān, *vazīr* of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, son of Humāyūn, ruler of Kābul, 300.

Malik-ush-Sharq, Gujrātī,—one of the Amīrs of Gujrāt, 145, 146.

Malik-ush-Sharq,—tax-collector of T'hānēsar, 223.

Mālikīs, the, 212.

Mālwa or Mūlwah, 29 and *n* 2, 32 and *n* 2, 42 and *n* 5, 46, 48, 65, 68 *n* 3, 69, 76, 78 *n* 2, 87 and *n* 3, 93, 101, 105, 110, 151, 153, 186, 249, 250, 251, 253, 285, 293, 308, 334, 341, 344, 358, 372, 373, 384, 386, 391, 401, 402.

Ma'mūrābād,—on the banks of the river Mahindra, 342, 344.

Mançūr Khān, 96. Read Ḥusain Khān (Māhdī Qāsim Khānī).

Mançūr, Shaikh, son-in-law of Shaikh Ibrāhīm Chishtī of Fathpūr Sīkrī, 237.

Mançūrah, or

Mançūriyyah,—name of several cities, 70.

Mandalgarh, or Māndal Garh,—town of, 105, 236, 242. Called also Wazīrpūr Mandalgarh.

Mandū,—a town in Mālwah, 47, 66, 68 and *n* 3, 110.

Mangalūs, country of, 196 *n* 4.

Mangalūsī elephants,—famous for their great size and their white colour, 196 and *n* 4.

Mangan of Badāūn, Shaikh, 139.

Mānikpūr, district and town of, 76, 78, 89, 94, 96, 97 and *n* 4, 103.

Manizha, daughter of Afrāsiāb, ancient king of Tūrān, 47 *n* 4.

Manjholī, country of, 257.

Mankarwāl, village of,—a dependency of Pairag, 100.

Mānkūt, fortress of,—in the mountains of Sawālik, 11.

Manohar, Mīrzā. See the next.

Manohar, Rāī, son of Rāī Lonkaran, Governor of Sāmbhar,—a Poet, with the title of Tusanī, 259. Called for some time Mīrzā Manohar.

Manoharpur,—a town in the neighbourhood of Ambīr, in the district of Multān, 259.—Called after the name of Rāī Manohar, which see.

Mān, Rājah,—of Gwālyār,—a famous Hindū chief, 238.

Mān Singh, son of Rājah Bhagawan or Bhagvān Dās,—the famous Hindū general of Akbar, 144, 146, 147 *n* 1, 233, 236, 238, 239 and *n* 2, 241, 242, 243, 247, 299, 300, 301, 304, 350, 357, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 370, 375, 376, 384, 399.

Maqbūl Khān, a *Ghulām* of Sarkh Badakhshī, 147.

Maqçūd 'Alī, Khwājah,—a servant of Akbar's mother and husband of Pīchah Jān, one of the three nurses of Akbar, 49 *n* 4.

Maqçūd Jauharī, Mīrzā Muzaffar Ḥusain, 260, 274. See under Muzaffar Ḥusain, son of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrza. The name has also been written *Maqçūr Jauharī*, see p. 274.

Maqçūr Jauharī. See the above.

Ma'qil, one of the companions of the Prophet, 333 *n* 4. [*n* 3.

Maqṭa', signification of the term, 37

Marco Polo, 405 *n* 2.

Martial, 36 *n* 3.

Marwār,—one of the three great Rājpūt states, 45 *n* 8, 137. Also called Jodhpūr.

Marwī, Khwājah Ḥusain,—a poet, 124, 127, 136.

Mary, daughter of 'Imrān, —name of the Virgin Mary, according to the Qur'an, 59 *n* 4, 206.

Maryam Makānī,—title of the Queen Dowager of Humāyūn, the son of Bābar, 5, 12 and *n* 9, 30.

Mashhad, town of—in Persia, 80 *n* 3, 81 and *n* 4, 94, 95 *n* 3, 103 *n* 2, 110, 217 *n* 1, 376.

Mashhid. See the above.
Mashkūt [Mishkāt ?] ul anwār, the,—name of a book, 205.
Masīḥu-l-dajjāl, al,—the false Christ of the Muḥammadans, 189 *n* 2.
Masjidu-l-Ḥarām, the,—the sacred mosque of Mecca, 40 *n* 2.
Masnadi 'Ālī,—an Afghān title, 159 *n* 1.
Masnadi 'Ālī Fattū, a *Ghulām* of 'Adalī, the emperor of India, 159. See also under Fatū.
Masnad-i-Çād of Dihlī, 418.
Masnavī or Masnawī of *Nal-u-Daman*, the,—by Shaikh Faizī, the king of Poets, 411.
Masnawī,—of Jalālu-d-dīn Rūmī, 421 *n* 1.
Mas'ūd Bakk, the Persian Poet, 30 and *n* 1.
Mas'ūd Bēg, 225.
Mas'ūd Ḥusain Mīrzā, son of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, son of Wais Mīrzā, a descendant of the great Taimūr, 87 *n* 1, 161, 163.
Mat'hurā,—a town in the neighbourhood of Agra, 59 and *n* 1, 191. See also under Mattra.
Maṭla',—signification of the term, 36 *n* 4.
Mattra,—a town to the N. W. of Āgrah, 218 and *n* 3. See also under Mat'hurā.
Māwara-n-nahr. See under Transoxiana.
Māzandarān,—a province of Persia, 248.
Mazharī, of Basāwar,—a great friend of the author, 305 and *n* 3.
Mecca, town of. See under Makkah.
Medīna, town of. See under Madīnah.
Medinah and Meccah, Burton's Pilgrimage to, 121 *n* 2, 129 *n* 4, 134 *n* 2, 246 *n* 5.
Medinīpūr,—a town in the Hūglī district, 196 and *n* 2.
Mekka, town of. See under Makkah.
Memoirs of Jahangueir, Price's, 379 *n* 1.
Memoir book of Neurnberg, of the Rev. W. H. Lowe, 236 *n* 1, 240 *n* 1.
Mēnēlah, fortress of,—in the province of Bakkar, 138.
Merchant and Parrot, story of the,—in the Masnawī, 421 *n* 1.
Messiah, the, 201 *n* 4. See also the next.
Messias, 73. See also the above.
Metaphysics, Aristotle's, 21 *n* 2.
Mēwar,—one of the three great Rājpūt States, 45 *n* 8. Called also Ūdīpūr.
Mēwāt, town of, 33.
Mhow, town of, 84 *n* 5.
Midas, king of Phrygia, 66 *n* 2.
Midrash, 255, *n* 1.
Mihr 'Alī,—a retainer of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, 256.
Mihr 'Alī Bēg Sildūz,—Governor of the fortress of Chītor, 26, 27, 28, 43.
Mihr 'Alī Khān Bēg Sildoz. See the above.
Mihtar Khān,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 233, 236, 238, 247. See the next.
Mihtar Khān Sulṭānī,—Governor of the fortress of Rintambhor, 111. See the above.
Mihtar Sa'ādat, the Pēshrau Khān,—one of the officers of the Imperial Court, 285, 297.
Mikrī, Sayyid, one of the chief Sayyids of Kālpī, 113.
Mill, 240 *n* 3.
Mīr 'Abdulawal,—a heretical writer, 254.
Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥayy,—a learned man in the Court of Akbar, 64.

Mīr 'Abd-ullāh Bakhshī,—an officer of Akbar's Court, 20.
Mīr 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf, one of the Sayfī Sayyids of Qazwīn, 24. See also under 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf.
Mīr Abu-l-Ghays Bokhārī of Dihlī,—Saint and Soldier, 14. See also under Abu-l-Ghays.
Mīr 'Adal ['Adl], the,—Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, Judge of Amrāhah, 226 and *n* 2, 252.
Mīr Adham,—colleague of Rāī Patr Dās in the Dīwānship of Bengāl, 276.
Mīr 'Adl, office of, 22 *n* 4.
Mīr Aḥmad-i-Razawī,—father of Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī, governor of Kashmīr, 96 *n* 1.
Mīr 'Alāu-d-daulah Qazwīnī, author of the Biography of the Poets, 108 and *n* 2.
Mīr Bakhshī, Paymaster of the Court, 233 and *n* 3.
Mīr Çāliḥ Dā'ī,—a holder of *Jāgīrs* in Gujrāt, 333.
Mīr Chobān,—Wazīr of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Mughūl 31, 60.
Mīr Fārighī, brother of Shāh Fathullūh Shīrāzī, the Chief Çadr of Hindūstān, 111.
Mīr Fatḥullāh of Shīrāz, Sayyid, 325. See also under Fatḥullāh of Shīrāz, 'Azdu-d-daulah and Shāh Fatḥullāh.
Mīr Gesū, Governor of Narnoul, and one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 58, 138.
Mīr Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Naqīb Khān, son of Mīr 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf Qazwīnī, 24.
Mīr Ghiyāsu-d dīn Mançūr of Shīrāz, a religious teacher, 325.
Mīr Habshī,—or
Mīr Ḥabshī,—a Shī ah Doctor of Law 20', 262.
Mīr Hādī Sadr,—a trusty friend of 'Alī Qulī Khān Uzbek, the Khān Zamān, 83.
Mīr Ḥaidar,—a riddle writer, 248, 273
Mīr Ḥājī,—or
Mīr Ḥājj, Leader of the pilgrims,—office of, 246 and *n* 4, 275
Mīr Jamālu-d-d n,—father of Mīrak Shāh, the traditionalist, 173.
Mīr Kai, Sayyid 245. See under Mīrak Ispahānī.
Mīr Kalān, Mulāna,—the traditionalist of Herāt and teacher of Prince Salīm, the eldest son of Akbar, 173.
Mīr Khalīfah, father of Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, the governor of Bakkar, 138.
Mīr Khusrau, a great poet of Dihlī, 101 and *n* 6, 102. See also under Khusrū the king of poets.
Mīr Khusrou. See the above.
Mīr Muḥammad Amīn,—a confidential servant of the Court, 390.
Mīr Muḥammad Ḥaidar Mu'ammāī,—a writer of Akbar's time, 407.
Mīr Muḥammad Khān Atkah, brother of Atkah Khān, 52. See also under Muḥammad Khān Atkah.
Mīr Muḥammad Ma'çūm Bakkarī,—one of the renowned Amīrs of Akbar, 380.
Mīr Muḥammad Munshī,—holder of the fief of Sarūt, in the Doāb, 52.
Mīr Muḥassan Razwī,—one of the chief officers of the Court, 174.
Mīr Mu'izzu-l-Mulk Mashhadī,—of the Mūsawī Sayyids of Mashhad, descendants of Imām Mūsā Rizā, 80 and *n* 3. See also under Mu'izzu-l-Mulk.
Mīr Munīr,—one of the confidential servants of the Court, 390.
Mīr Munshī Ashraf Khān,—a Courtier and army officer, 5, 7 See also under Ashraf Khān.

Mīr Murtazā Sharīfī. See under Murtazā Sharīfī.
Mīr Nizām,—sister's husband to Mīrzā Shāh Rukh, son of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, 276.
Mīr Qāsim, a Mūsaw Sayyid of Mashhad, 95 *n* 3.
Mīr Quraish. See under Quraish.
Mīr Sadr Jahān, of Pihānī,—*muftī* of the imperial dominions, 365.
Mīr Sayyid Çafāī—one of the personages of Bhakkar, 252.
Mīr Sayyid Ḥusain Khang-sawār,—a Muḥammadan saint buried in Ajmīr, 143.
Mīr Sayyid Jalāl Mutawakkil,—a religious leader, 114, 121.
Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, the Mīr 'Adl and judge of Amrōhah and for some time governor of Bakkar, 224, 226 *n* 2, 252.
Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad Makkī,—a religious teacher and Qur'ān-reader, 15.
Mīr Sayyid Ni'mat Rusūlī [Rasūlī ?], 24.
Mīr Sayyid Rafī'u-d-dīn Muḥaddis, 289.
Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī,—a Muḥammadan saint, 86.
Mīr Tughān,—an *Aḥadī* in the service of Akbar, 367.
Mīr Ya'qūb of Kashmīr. See under Ya'qūb Çirfī of Kashmīr, Shaikh.
Mīrak Ispahānī, Sayyid,—a man learned in charms, 179, 180. At p. 245 this name appears as Mīr Kai.
Mīrak Mīrzā Ghiyās,—builder of the tomb of Humāyūn, 135.
Mīrak Radaī, son of Farḥat Khān, one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 244.
Mīrak Razwī, Mīrzā,—one of the chief officers of Akbar, 185. See also under Mīrzā Mīrak.
Mīrak Shāh, son of Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn,—a traditionalist, 173.
Mīrān Mubārak Shāh, ruler of Burhampūr, 68.
Mīrat'h, town of, 6 and *n* 6, 153. See also under Mirt'ha.
Mirchond, Defrémery's, 426. See also the next.
Mīrkhānd, the Historian, 10 *n* 3. See also the above.
Mirt'ha or Mirt'hah, fortress of,—within 20 *cosses* of Ajmīr, 46, 105, 144. See also under Mīrat'h.
Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-raḥīm. See under 'Abdu-r-raḥīm.
Mīrzā Abu-l-Qāsim, son of Kāmrān Mīrzā, son of Bābar, 5.
Mīrzā 'Azīz Kokah. See under Mīrzā Kokah.
Mīrzā 'Azīz-ullāh of Mashhad, governor of the fortress of Ujjain, on the part of Akbar, 110.
Mīrzā Bāiqrā, son of Mīrzā Mançūr, son of Mīrzā Bāiqrā,—one of the descendants of the great Taimūr, 87 *n* 1.
Mīrzā Bāiqrā, son of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā, second son of the great Taimūr, 87 *n* 1.
Mīrzā Bēg Kābūlī, Ḥājī,—author of an account of Little Tibet, 388.
Mīrzā Bēg Qāqshāl,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 332.
Mīrzā Ghiyāsu-d dīn 'Alī Qazwinī, title of Āçaf Khān Mīr Bakhshī Sānī, 322. See under Açaf Khān Mīr Bakhshī Sānī.
Mīrzā Ḥakīm, 273. See under Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, son of Humāyūn
Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ḥusain. See under Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā.
Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān, ruler of Tattah 138.

Mīrzā Kāmrān. See under Kāmrān Mīrzā, son of Bābar.
Mīrzā, Khān son of the *Khān Khānān* Bairām Khān,—one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 168, 342, 343, 344, 346, 370.
Mīrzā Khushḥāl Bēg,—one of the Qūrchīs of the palace, 13, 101.
Mīrzā Kokah, the A'zam Khān, son of Atgah Khān,—one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 98, 146, 202 and *n* 1, 207 and *n* 2, 401. See also under A'zam Khān, Khān-i-A'zam and 'Azīz Kokah.
Mīrzā Makhdūm,—a *Sharīf* and author of the *Kitābu-n-Nawāqis*, in blame of the Shī'ah, 327.
Mīrzā Mançūr, son of Mīrzā Bāiqrā, son of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā, second son of the great Taimūr, 87 *n* 1.
Mīrzā Manohar. See under Manohar Rāī, son of Rāī Lonkaran.
Mīrzā Mīrak, afterwards Razawī Khān,—*Wakīl* of the Khān Zamān, 'Alī Qulī Khān, 85, 94, 95 and *n* 2, 103 and *n* 1, 185.
Mīrzā Muflis,—a master of religious philosophy and author of the Tafsīri Ḥāfiz, 190.
Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. See under Muḥammad Ḥakīm, son of Humāyūn.
Mīrzā Muḥammad Muqīm,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 252.
Mīrzā Muqīm of Içfahān,—Akbar's *Wakīl* at the Court of Ḥusain Khān, governor of Kashmīr, 128.
Mīrzā Muzaffar Ḥusain. See under Muzaffar Ḥusain.
Mīrzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad. See under Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad.
Mīrzā Nūru d-Dīn Muḥammad, husband of Humāyūn's sister, 13, 216
Mīrzā Qandaharī, 447 and *n* 1. Same as Mīrzā Muzaffar Ḥusain, son of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzō, commandant of Qandahār.
Mīrzā Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī. See under Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī.
Mīrzā Shāh Rukh. See under Shāh Rukh Mīrzā.
Mīrzā Sharaf, 57 *n* 3. Same as the next, which see.
Mīrzā Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 46. See also under Sharafu-d dīn Ḥusain and Mīrzā Sharaf.
Mīrzā Sulaimān, Governor of Badakhshān,—sixth in descent from the great Taimūr, 5 and *n* 2, 57, 61 and *n* 5, 71, 72, 89, 90, 91, 294, 217, 218, 220, 222, 350, 355, 357, 366, 425.
Mīrzā Ulugh. See under Ulugh Mīrzā, son of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā.
Mīrzā Ulugh Bēg-i-Gurgān,—a powerful King of the House of Taimūr, 276.
Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī See under Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī.
Mishkātu-l-anwār, the,—name of a book, 205.
Mishnāh,—one of the books of the *Talmūdim*, 55 *n* 5, 287 *n* 2, 400 *n* 1.
Mishnāh Āboth. See the above.
Mit'hra, town of, 306.
Miyān Amān-ullāh Sarhindī. See under Amān-ullāh Sarhindī.
Miyān Fatḥ-ullāh Sharbatī,—one of the imperial courtiers, 357, 361.
Miyān Ḥātim Sambhalī,—a famous Moulawi and learned Doctor, 42, 294.
Miyān Mān Pānipatī,—a traditionalist, 286.
Miyān Shaikh 'Abd ullāh, descendant of Miyān Shaikh Dāūd Jahnīwāl, 403

Miyān Shaikh Dāūd Jahnī Wāl,—a great saint and spiritual guide. 200, 403, 408.
Miyān Tān Sīn or Tānsingh,—a famous Hindū musician of Akbar's time, 37, 273, 345.
Miyānah, village of,—at 15 *cosses* from Patna, 340.
Miyānkāl, a hilly tract between Samarqand and Bukhārā. 324 and *n* 1.
Modern Egyptians, Lane's 35 *n* 4.
Moghul Emperors, the, 59 and *n* 6.
Moghuls, the, 6, 152, 168, 170, 177, 338, 342, 350, 371.
Moguls, the. See the above.
Moḥammad. See under Muḥammad the Prophet.
Mohanī, town of,—in the neighbourhood of Kokandah, 242, 248, 249.
Mohinī, wife of a Hindū goldsmith of Āgra,—her story with Sayyid Mūsā of Garmsīr, 113, 114, 119 *n* 1.
Morley's *Descriptive Catalogue*, 397 *n* 2.
Moses of Scripture, 190 *n* 3, 302.
Mou or Mhow (properly Mahu), town of, 84 and *n* 5. See also under Mow.
Moulawī, Jāmī, 35. See under Jāmī and 'Abdu-r raḥmān Jāmī.
Mou-maidānah,—name of a hunting-ground, 105.
Mow, town of,—in Mālwa, 68 *n* 3. See also under Mou.
Muayyid Bēg, brother of 'Abdu-r-raḥmān Bēg, son of Muayyad Bēg 17.
Mu'azzu-l-mulk. See under Mu'izzu-l-mulk.
Mubārak, al-, title of the month of Ramzān, 44 *n* 2.
Mubārak Khān Afghān, the assassin of Bairām Khān, the Khān Khānān, 40
Mubārak, Mullā,—anti Islāmic writer of Akbar's time, 316.
Mubārak of Nāgor, Shaikh,—father of Shaikh Abu l-Fazl 'Allāmī and Shaikh Faizī, 26, 176, 200, 201, 202, 207 and *n* 3, 273 and *nn* 4, 5 and 6, 278, 280, 322, 402 and *n* 1.
Mubārik. See under Mubārak.
Muçāḥib Bēg, son of Khwājah Kalān Bēg Naqshbandī, the grandson of Khwājah Aḥrār, 19.
Muçṭafā Kātib of Lāhor, Mullā,—editor, in conjunction with our author, of the Tārīkh-i-Alfī, 407.
Mudāriya,—a hill district in Mālwa, 249.
Muflis, Mīrzā,—a master of religious philosophy and author of the *Tafsīr-i Ḥāfiz*, 190.
Muḥammad, the Prophet, 1 and *n* 3, 23 *n* 6, 28 *n* 2, 35 *n* 4, 36 *n* 2, 59 *n* 4, 203 *n* 4, 214 *n* 2, 227 *n* 2, 231, 244, 266, 281, 316, 324, 347 *n* 4, 374, 378.
Muḥammad, the Judge of Amrāhah, Mīr Sayyid, 224, 226 *n* 2. See also under the Mīr 'Adl.
Muhammad Akbar Pādshāh. See under Akbar.
Muḥammad 'Alī, the treasurer,—one of the chief officers of the Court, 359, 365
Muḥammad 'Alī Dīwānah,—one of the officers of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, son of Humāyūn, the governor of Kābul, 302.
Muhammad Amīn. See under Amīnu-d-dīn.
Muḥammad Amīn Dīvānī,—or
Muhammad Amīn Dīwānah,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 32, 76, 82, 95 and *n* 4.
Muḥammad Amīn Khatīb,—a Court attendant, 42.

Muḥammad Amīn, Mīr,—one of the confidential servants of the Court, 390.
Muḥammad Bairām Khān Turkomān,—prime-minister of Akbar, 7 *n* 3, 41 and *n* 3. See also under Bairām Khān the Khān Khānān.
Muḥammad Bāqī Khān, son of Māhum Ankah, the nurse of Akbar, 49 *n* 4, 351. See also under Bāqī Khān.
Muḥammad Bāqī Tarkhān, son of Muḥammad 'Īsā, the ruler of Sindh,—a direct descendant of Chingīz Khān, 93 and *n* 1, 370.
Muḥammad Bāqir, the fifth of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ahs, 36 *n* 2.
Muḥammad Bokhārī of Dihlī, Shaikh,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 151, 152, 174, 359.
Muḥammad Çādiq Khān,—one of the great Amīrs and commanders, 56, 320, 376, 401. See also under Çādiq Muḥammad Khān.
Muḥammad Çālih of Hirāt, Khwājagī, grandson of Khwājah 'Abd-ullāh Marwārīd, the *Wazīr*,—one of the *Çadrs* of Akbar, 48, 340
Muḥammad Ghous, one of the great Shaikhs of India, 28, 62, 122.
Muḥammad Ḥaidar Mu'ammāī, Mīr,—a writer of Akbar's time. 407.
Muḥammad, Ḥājī, an *Aḥadī* soldier of Akbar, 303.
Muhammad Ḥakīm, Mirzā, son of Humāyūn, son of Bābar,—ruler of Kābul, 54, 56, 57, 58 and *n* 1, 61 and *nn* 3 and 4, 71, 72, 87, 89, 90, 91 and *n* 2, 92, 93, 94, 186, 207 and *n* 3, 289, 299, 300, 302, 303, 321, 350, 355, 357, 358, 359, 360.
Muḥammad Hāshim, son of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, *Mīr baḥr*, the commandant of Kābul, 409.
Muḥammad Humayūn Pādshāh Ghazī, Ḥazrat, 2. See under Humāyūn.
Muḥammad Ḥusain,—a holder of *jagīrs* in Gujrāt, 333.
Muḥammad Ḥusain Khān, 11, 140. Same as Ḥusain Khān, the son-in-law of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, which also see.
Muḥammad Ḥusain Khwājagī,—brother of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān *Mīr baḥr*, and one of the Amīrs of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, son of Humāyūn, 303.
Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, one of the descendants of Taimūr, the Great, 87 and *n* 1, 93, 145, 151, 152, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172.
Muḥammad Ḥusain, Shaikh,—one of the old Amīrs of Akbar, 385.
Muḥammad 'Īsā, Mīrzā, ruler of Sindh,—a direct descendant of Chingīz Khān, 93 and *n* 1.
Muhammad Ja'far, son of the maternal aunt of Mīrzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, 389.
Muḥammad Khān,—alteration of such names in the reign of Akbar, 324.
Muhammad Khān Atkah, brother of Atkah Khān,—one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 52, 72 *n* 2, 92, 109 *n* 4, 143.
Muḥammad Khān, Malik, son of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 38.
Muḥammad Khān Qandahārī, Shāh,—commandant of the fort of Kotah Balēyah on the part of Akbar, 105, 108.
Muhammad Khān Shirwānī, Pīr,—one of the great Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 2, 6 and *n* 3, 9, 12, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 33, 34, 42, 43, 46, 47, 101.

Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī, Ḥājī,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar and vice-gerent of the Khān Khānān, 22, 31, 39, 40, 77, 105.

Muḥammad Khān Uzbek, Pīr, Governor of Balkh, 90, 217

Muḥammad Khudābandah, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Sulṭān,—king of Persia, 248.

Muḥammad Ma'çūm Bakkarī, Mīr,—one of the renowned Amīrs of Akbar, 386. See also the next.

Muḥammad Ma'çūm Bakrī [Bakkarī ?] Mīr, 252. See the above.

Muḥammad Ma'çūm, son of Hāshim Khān, the brother of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān of Dihlī, 181.

Muḥammad Ma'çūm Jounpūrī,—governor of Jounpūr, 291. See under Ma'çūm Khān Farankhūdī.

Muḥammad Ma'çūm of Kābul,—foster-brother of Mīrzā Ḥakīm and governor of Bihār for Akbar, 91, 277, 284, 289, 290, 291, 292, 299 and *n* 3, 309, 320, 332, 333, 338. See also under Ma'çūm Khān and Ma'çūm Kokah.

Muḥammad Ma'çūm Khān Farankhūdī or Faranjūdī, son of Mu'īnu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān,—one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 80 and *n* 2, 284, 290, 292. See also under Ma'çūm Khān Farankhūdī.

Muḥammad Ma'çūm, Mīr,—one of the officers of the Imperial Army, 338.

Muḥammad Ma'çūm, Mullā,—Qāzī of Bihār, 285.

Muḥammad Makkī, Mīr Sayyid,—a learned Doctor and Qur'ān reader, 15

Muḥammad Mīr 'Adl, Sayyid,—governor of Bakkar, 214, 252.

Muḥammad Munshī, Mīr,—holder of the fief of Sarūt in the Dōāb, 52.

Muḥammad Muqīm, Mīrzā,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 252.

Muḥammad Murād Khān,—governor of the fort of Ujjain on the part of Akbar, 110.

Muḥammad Naqī, the tenth of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ahs, 32 *n* 2.

Muḥammad Qāsim,—ambassador of 'Alī Khān, governor of Kashmīr, to the Court of Akbar, 276.

Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, the High Admiral, 51. See the next.

Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, Mīr baḥr,—Commander-in-Chief by land and sea and governor of Kābul on the part of Akbar, 51, 303, 304, 305, 376, 380, 383, 393, 408, 409.

Muḥammad Qāsim Kōhbar,—*vakīl* of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, son of Humāyūn, 57, 61.

Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās,—one of the great Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 5, 12, 55, 72, 96, 104, 105, 169, 170, 195, 196.

Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqyāī, or Toqbāī,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 195 and *n* 1, 199.

Muḥammad Qulij Khān,—commandant of Kābul on the part of Akbar, 409.

Muḥammad Rafī' Badakhshī, Khwājah,—one of the Generals of Akbar, 236. See also under Rafī' Badakhshī.

Muḥammad Sa'īd Shaibānī, Bahādur Khān, son of Ḥaidar Sulṭān Uzbek-i-Shaibānī, 18 *n* 2, 84 *n* 1. See also under Bahādur Khān.

Muḥammad Shāh Sūr 'Ādil, the Emperor of India, commonly known as 'Adalī, 25 *n* 1. See also under 'Adalī.

Muḥammad, Shaikh, son of Malūk Shāh Badāūnī, brother of the author, 130, 132.

Muḥammad Sharīf, Mīrzā, son of Mīr 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf, Qazwīnī, of the Sayfī Sayyids of Qazwīn, 235.

Muḥammad Sharīf, son of Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, author of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, 339, 363.

Muḥammad, Sulṭān, Governor of Bakkar, 138, 423. See under Maḥmūd, Sulṭān of Bakkar.

Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, son of Wais Mīrzā, one of the descendants of Taimūr, the Great, 87 and *n* 1, 105, 110.

Muḥammad Ṭāhir Khān Mir-farāghat,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar and commandant of Dihlī, 188.

Muḥammad Taqī, the ninth of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ahs, 36 *n* 2

Muḥammad Uzbek, Derwīsh,—a servant of the Imperial Court, 34.

Muḥammad Wifā, the treasurer,—one of the Court officers, 357.

Muḥammad Yaḥyā Naqshbandī, Khwājah,—one of the descendants of Khwājah Aḥrār of Ajmīr, 225, 275.

Muḥammad Yār Harāwal,—brother's son of Sikandar Khān, the Uzbek, 82 and *n* 2.

Muḥammad of Yazd, Mullā,—a zealous Shī'ī, 214, 267, 271, 284, 285, 297.

Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān, son of Atkah Khān, Shamsu-d-dīn Muḥammad, the A'zam Khān, 86.

Muḥammad Zāhid of Balkh, Maulāna,—nephew of the great Shaikh Ḥusain of Khwārizm, 253.

Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, son of Shāh Rukh Mīrzā of Badakhshān, 366, 408, 409.

Muḥammadābād, a dependency of Mou, 84.

Muḥassan Razwī, Mīr,—one of the confidential servants of the Court, 174.

Muḥib 'Alī Khān, son of Mīr Khalīfah,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 132, 179, 284, 290, 320.

Muḥiu-d-dīn 'Abdu-l-Qādir Jīlānī, Shaikh, 200.

Muḥiu-d-dīn, son of al-Badāonī, author of the Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh, 276.

Mu'īn, Mullānā,—a celebrated preacher, 285.

Mu'īn, Shaikh, grandson of Mullāna Mu'īn, the celebrated preacher, 285.

Mu'īnu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān Farankhūdī, Governor of Sambhal,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 48, 157, 158, 195, 284.

Mu'īnu-d-dīn Chishtī Sigizī, Khwājah,—one of the greatest Muḥammadan Saints of India, buried in Ajmīr, 45, 108, 111 *n* 5, 143, 168 *n* 2, 188, 203 and *n* 2, 233 and *n* 4, 243 *n* 3, 246 and *n* 2, 262 *n* 1, 280, 320. See also under Khwājah Ajmīrī.

Mu'īnu-d-dīn Khān Farankhūdī. See under Mu'īnu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān Farankhūdī.

Mu'īnu-d-dīn, Khwājah, son of Khwājah Khāwind,—one of the descendants of Khwājah Aḥrār, 57.

Mu'izzu-l-mulk Mashhadī, Mīr,—one of the Mūsawī Sayyids of Mashhad, descendants of Imām Mūsā ar-Rizā, 80 and *n* 3, 81, 82, 83, 84, 284, 285, 297.

Mujāhid Khān, nephew of Muḥib 'Alī Khān,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 138, 233, 249.

Mu'jamu-l-buldān, the,—of Yāqūt, 368.

Mujdī of Sarhind, Mullā,—Receiver-General of revenues, 274.
Mulānā Nizāmu-d-dīn,—an inhabitan of Sūrat, 148.
Mulānā Qāsim Arsalān. See under Qāsim Arsalān.
Mulānā Sa'īd, of Transoxiana,—Doctor of Law, 45.
Mulānā Shīrī, the Poet. See under Mullā Shīrī.
Mulathān, district of, 425.
Mullā 'Abd-ullāh Sulṭānpūrī. See under 'Abd-ullāh Sulṭānpūrī.
Mullā Alim of Kābul. See under Alim of Kābul.
Mullā 'Ashqī Khān,—*Vakīl* of Qāzī Çadru-d-dīn of Lāhor, 276.
Mullā Ghazālī, a poet of Mashhad, 94.
Mullā Ismā'īl 'Aṭā-i-Mu'ammā-i,—disciple of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous, 62.
Mullā Mubārak,—anti-Islāmic writer of Akbar's time, 316.
Mullā Mujdī of Sirhind.—Receiver-General of revenues, 274.
Mullā Sherī,—a poet, 204. See also the next.
Mullā Shīrī, the Hindū poet, 53, 112, 239, 304, 319, 330, 346, 362. See also the above.
Mullā Ṭaib of Kīṭ'hal,—Dīwān of the province of Bihār and Ḥājīpūr, 274.
Mullā Ṭālib Içfahānī,—author of an account of Little Tibet, 388.
Mullā Taqī of Shustar,—one of the followers of Akbar's new religion, 418.
Mullā 'Urfī of Shīrāz, a celebrated poet, 387.
Multān, 138, 161, 162, 163, 168, 212, 213, 223, 258, 278, 286, 399, 402, 417, 425.
Mulūkshāh, Shaikh, father of the author 'Abd-ul-Qādir al-Badaoni, 26, 51, 259
Munawwar, Shaikh,—one of the Ulamā of Lāhor and Çadr of Mālwah, 285.
Mungīr, fortress of, 291.
Mun'im Khān, Governor of Kābul and Ghaznī, and successor of Bairām Khān as *Khān Khānān*, 5, and *n.* 4, 34, 38, 39, 49 and *n* 4, 51, 54, 55, and *n* 4, 76, 78, 80, 87, 92 *n* 5, 138, 174, 177, 190, 194, 198 and *n* 2, 220, 221, 232, 247. See also under the Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān.
Munīr, Mīr,—one of the confidential servants of the court, 390.
Munkir and Nakīr, the judges of the dead, 414 and *n* 1.
Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh, the,—of al-Badāonī, 62.
Muqarrab Khān, a Chief of the Amīrs of the Dakkan, 68, 87, 88.
Muqbil Khān,—one of Akbar's courtiers, 122.
Muqīm of Içfahān, Mīrzā,—Akbar's *Wakīl* at the court of Ḥusain Khān, Governor of Kashmīr, 128.
Muqīm Khān, called by the title of Shujā'at Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar and sister's son to Tardī Bēg Khān, 38, 66. See also under Shujā'at Khān.
Murād, Prince, Sultān, second son of Akbar, 136, 207, 301, 302 and *n* 2, 362, 381, 390, 391 and *n* 2, 401, 416.
Murtazā Sharīfī, or Murtazā Sharīf Shīrāzī, Mīr,—of the family of the celebrated Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, 85, 101, 102.
Murtazā, Mīr,—one of the Amīrs of the Dak'hin, 354, 372.
Murtazī Nizāmu-l-mulk, governor of the Dak'hin, 334. See also under Nizāmu-l-Mulk.

Mūsā [Moses], of Scripture, 190 and *n* 3.
Mūsā of Garmsīr, Sayyid, son of Sayyid Mikrī,—one of the chief Sayyids of Kālpī, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 121.
Mūsā Gīlānī Qādirī, Shaikh, son of the sainted Shaikh Ḥāmid of Uchh, 418.
Mūsā Kāzim, the seventh of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ahs, 36 *n* 2.
Mūsā Khān Fulādī, Governor of Patan, in Gujrāt, 40.
Mūsā Qāsim. See under Mūsā Kāzim, of which it appears to be a misprint.
Mūsawī Sayyids of Mashhad, the,—descendants of 'Alī Mūsā Rizā, the 8th Imām of the Shī'ahs, 80 *n* 3.
Musharraf Bēg,—a servant of Shāh Mançūr, the *diwān* of the empire, 300 and *n* 2.
Muṣṭafā, another name of Muhammad the Prophet, 35 *n* 4, 324.
Mus'ūd. See under Mas'ūd.
Muṭlab Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 297.
Muttahī Afghān Kāsī, Shaikh,—one of the renowned Shaikhs of the Panjāb, 294.
Muwaṭṭa, the,—a book of jurisprudence by the celebrated Imām Mālik, 212.
Muzaffar 'Alī Dīwānah, Khwājah, 34. Probably the same as Khwājah Muzaffar 'Alī Turbatī.
Muzaffar 'Alī Turbatī, Khwājah,—becomes Minister of Finance with the title of Khān, 64. See also under Muzaffar Khān, 'Alī Turbatī.
Muzaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā, son of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā,—one of the descendants of Taimūr and husband of Sulṭān Khānum, the eldest daughter of Akbar, 148, 256, 257 and *n* 1, 260, 274.
Muzaffar Ḥusain, Mīrzā, son of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā son of Bahrām Mīrzā, son of Ismā'īl Çafawī,—commandant of Qandahār and the Garmsīr, 222, 402, 416, 417 *n* 1.
Muzaffar Khān, Governor of Bengāl, 277. Same as Muzaffar Khān 'Alī Turbatī, which see.
Muzaffar Khān, 'Alī Dīwānah, 34. Probably the same as Muzaffar Khān 'Alī Turbatī.
Muzaffar Khān, 'Alī Turbatī, of the tribe of *Turbat*, in Khurāsān,—one of the great Amīrs of Akbar who was made Minister of Finance, then Prime Minister and afterwards Governor of Bengāl, 64, 70, 78, 84, 89, 92, 94, 96, 104, 111, 153, 174, 185, 244, 245, 247, 275, 277, 288, 289, 290, 325.
Muzaffar Khān, Rājah, 248 (*dele* Rājah. See Muzaffar Khān 'Alī Turbatī).
Muzaffar Moghūl,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar's army, 195.
Muzaffar, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī, 145, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 344, 355, 365, 370 and *n* 4, 371, 399, 426.
Muzill, al-, or the Tempter,—a title of Iblīs or the devil, 266.

N.

Nabatheans, the, 253 and *n* 1.
Naçîbîn, town of,—in Syria, 328.
Nāçir, also written Nāsir, which see.
Nāçir, Governor of the fortress of Baroach and wife's brother of Muzaffar, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujrātī, 342, 344.
Nāçir-i-Khusrou,—a Persian poet, 295.
Nāçiru-l-Mulk, title of Pīr Muḥammad Khān Shīrwānī, 33.
Nadarbār, town of, 257, 373.
Nādot, town of, 344, 370.
Nafaḥātu-l-uns, the,—a biography of Muḥammadan saints by Maulānā 'Abdur-Raḥmān Jāmī, 270.
Nagar-chīn, city of, 68, 70, 86, 91.
Nagarkot, city of, 4, 150, 161, 164, 165, 369.
Nāgor, town of, 26, 32, 33, 34, 40, 57 and *nn* 2 and 4, 109, 137, 143, 147, 153, 176, 200, 241 *n* 2, 322.
Nāhīd Bēgum, wife of Muḥib 'Alī Khān, son of Mīr Khalīfah, 138.
Nahju-l-balāghat, the,—a book of Traditions, 64.
Nahr-u-'Isā, the,—the river Mahānadī of Orisā, so called after the name of the Zamīndār of the place, 333 and *n* 4.
Nahr-ullāh, the river of God,—in a proverbial saying, 333 and *n* 4.
Nahr-u-Ma'qil, the,—name of a river near Basrah, 333 *n* 4.
Nahrwālah, town of,—at 5 *cosses* from Aḥmadābād, 339. Also called Patan, which see.
Nahtnūr, parganna of, a dependency of Sambhal, 93.
Najātu-r rashīd, the,—a work by al-Badāonī on legal questions, 212 and *n* 1.
Najd,—Province of Arabia, 32 *n* 1.
Nakhodeh,—a town in Persia near the lake of Urumiyah, 243 *n* 6.
Naḳḳūdī Shawls, 243 and *n* 6.
Nālchah, a town in the territory of Dhar in Mālwah, on the route from Mow to Mandū, 68 and *n* 3.
Nal-u-Daman,—their story written in a *Masnawī* by Shaikh Faizī, King of the Poets, 410.
Nāmah-i-Khirad-afzā, the,—name of a book, 186. See also under Khirad-afzā.
Namakī, *surname* of Mīrzā Abu-l Qāsim Tamkūr, an officer of the army, as given in Elliot, 196 *n* 1.
Namakīn, *surname* of Mīrzā Abu-l Qāsim Tamkūr as given in Blochmann, 196 *n* 1.
Na'mān, King of Ḥīrah, in 'Irāq, 231 and *n* 2.
Nandanah, town of, 260.
Napoleon, the Emperor of the French, 241 *n* 3.
Naqārah-Khānah, the,—a sort of gallery where kettle drums are beaten at certain hours, 219 and *n* 3.
Naqīb Khān, a surname of Mīr Ghiyāsu-d-dīn, son of Mīr 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf, a Sayfī Sayyid of Qazwīn, 24, 45, 179, 207, 212, 233, 328, 330, 411, 413, 426.
Naqshbandī, Khwājah Bahāu-d-dīn,—a Muḥammadan saint, 72.
Naqshbandī, Khwājah Ḥasan. See under Ḥasan Naqshbandī.
Narāin Dās, Rājah of Idar, 249, 251, 252.
Narbadah, the,—a river, 46 and *n* 5, 47, 110
Narhan, one of the fords of the river Ganges, 77, 78, 80, 85.
Narhan, the,—a river, 77. See the above.

Nārnoul, fortress of, 56, 58, 108, 153, 188, 259.
Nārnūl, town of, 259. See also the above.
Narsingh,—name of an elephant in the imperial army, 99.
Narwar, town and district of, 66, 74, 75, 391.
Nāsir, also written Nāçir, which see.
Nasīru-d-dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh, father of Akbar, 2 *n* 4. See under Humāyūn.
Nāsiru-l-Mulk, title of Mullā Pīr Muḥammad Khān Shīrwānī, 22. See also under Nāçiru-l-Mulk.
Naurang Khān, son of Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Atkah, 341. See also under Nourang Khān.
Nawārī,—a *zamindār* of Rājpīplah, 341.
Nayābat Khān, son of Hāshim Khān Nīāhpūrī,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 284. See also under Niyābat Khān.
Nazāmābād, Parganna of, one of the dependencies of Jounpūr, 85.
Nazar, Bahādur,—one of the Amīrs and generals of Akbar, 99 and *n* 1, 105, 196.
Nazar Bey Uzbek, Governor of Balkh, 362, 363.
Nazarbār, town of, 341.
Neurnberg, Rev. W. H. Lowe's Memoir book of, 236 *n* 1, 240 *n* 1.
Niçābu-ç-çibyān, the,—a vocabulary in rhyme by Abū Naçr of Farāh, 316.
Nīlāb, the,—one of the affluents of the river Sind (Indus), 72, 90, 301 *n* 6.
Nile, the, 202.
Nīmaspah,—one of the divisions of Aḥadī troopers, in the army of Akbar, 194 and *n* 2.
Ni'mat Rusūlī [Rasūlī ?], Mīr Sayyid, 24.
Nīm Kahār, fortress of, 76.
Nimrod, 202 and *n* 3.
Nisāpūr, town of,—in Khurāsan, 49 *n* 5.
Niyābat Khān, son of Hāshim Khān Nīshāpūrī,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 297, 298, 307. See also under Nayābat Khān.
Nizām Aghā,—a trusty friend of 'Alī Qulī Khān Uzbek, the Khān Zamān, 83.
Nizām Badakhshī, Qāzī,—afterwards known by the titles of Qāzī Khān and Ghāzī Khān, 5, 185, 186, 218. See also under Qāzī Khān and Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī.
Nizām, Mīr,—sister's husband to Mīrzā Shāhrukh, son of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, 276.
Nizām Nārnauli, Shaikh,—one of the greatest Shaikhs of India, 108, 259.
Nizāmābād, Pargannah of, one of the dependencies of Jounpūr, 85.
Nizāmī,—Mīrzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, author of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, 363, 403.
Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Khwājah,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar and author of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nizāmī, known also as the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, 102, 302, 305, 309, 328, 332, 338, 340, 342, 343, 344, 346, 353, 355, 356, 363, 371, 373, 374, 380, 384, 389, 393, 411 and *n* 1, 412. Known also simply by the title of Nizāmī, which see.
Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad Mīrzā. See the above.
Nizāmu-d-dīn Ambit'hi-Wāl, Shaikh,—a Muḥammadan saint of Hind 167.
Nizamu-d-dīn, Mīr, 397. See under Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad.

Nizamu-d dīn, Mulānā,—an inhabitant of the fort of Sūrat, 148.
Nizāmu-l-Mulk, ruler of the state of Ahmadnagar, in the Dak'hin, 354. See also under Murtazī Nizāmu-l-Mulk.
Noah of Scripture, 255, 274. [36 *n* 2.
Notes on Muḥammadanism, Hughes', Nourāhī, a village in the parganna of Jalēsah, 155.
Nourang Khān, son of Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Atgah, 167, 173. See also under Naurang Khān.
Nouroz-i-Jalālī, the vernal equinox,—beginning of the year of the *Ilāhī* or era of Akbar, 175 *n* 1, 268, 348.
Nouroz-i-Sulṭānī, the new year's day of the *Ilāhī* era, 348 and *n* 4. 353.
Nousarī, town of,—in Gujrāt, 268.
Nouveau Journal Asiatique, 46 *n* 3, 48 *n* 4.
Nūr Muḥammad Khān-i-Kalān, brother of the Atkah Khān, 169. See also under Khān Kalān and Muḥammad Khān Atkah.
Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad, Mīrzā,—husband of Humāyūn's sister and father of Salīmah Sulṭān Bēgum, 13, 216.
Nūru-d-dīn Qarārī, of Gīlān, Ḥakīm,—brother of Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ and Ḥakīm Humāyūn, 214, 290 Qarārī is his poetical name.
Nushatu-l-arwāḥ, the,—name of a theological work, 265.

O

Old Man of Verona, Cowley's 296 *n* 1.
Olynthiac, Demosthenes', 302 *n* 1.
Omaiades, the,—Khalīfs of the House of Umayyah, in Egypt, 397.
Omar, son of al-Khaṭṭāb, second of the four early Khalīfahs, the immediate successors of Muḥammad, 36 *n* 2.
Omar Khayyām, Fitzgerald's Translation of, 192 *n* 1.
Oorcha,—the town of Ūnḍchah as spelt in our maps, 391 *n* 4.
Orisā. See the next.
Orissa, province of, 77, 177, 187, 194, 198 and *n* 5, 292, 333 and *nn* 3 and 4, 399, 400.
Osmanpūr, town of, 337, 338.
Othman, son of 'Affān, third of the four early Khalīfahs, the immediate successors of Muḥammad, 36 *n* 2.
Oude, Anglicè for Oudh, 75 *n* 7.
Oudh, province of, 30 *n* 1, 75 and *n* 7, 96, 104, 105, 129, 182, 297, 298, 334, 347, 351.
Oudh, a village in the parganna of Jalēsah, 155.
Oudīpūr, district of, 247. See also under Ūdīpūr.
Oudyā,—name of an elephant in the Khān Zamān's army, 99.
Ouseley's Anwār-i-Sohailī, 59 *n* 5, 369 *n* 1.
Ouseley's *Lives of the Persian Poets*, 38 *n* 4, 423.

P.

Pahār Khān Khaçç-i-Khail, generally known as Sayyid 'Ārif,—one of the officials of Akbar, 292.
Pahār Khān Sarwānī, 124.
Pahārah Mall, Rājah, Governor of the Rājpūt State of Ambēr, 45. See also under Bihārī Mall.
Pahārī,—name given to Prince Sulṭān Murād, second son of Akbar, because he was born in the mountain district, 391 and *n* 4.
Pahlawān Gul-Guz,—the keeper of Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī of Kāshghar in his imprisonment, 4.
Pahlawān Jamāl,—police-magistrate of Āgra, 118.
Pairag,—a place on the left bank of the Ganges opposite to which Akbar built the town of Alāhābās, 100 and *n* 2.
Pakhalī,—a town on the confines of Kashmīr, 398. See also the next.
Pak'hlī, town of, 382. See also the above.
Pālam, Parganna of,—in the neighbourhood of Dihlī, 110, 259.
Palma Christi, in a proverbial saying, 222 and *n* 1.
Palwal, town of, 6.
Pāndus, the,—a great tribe of Hindūs in ancient times, 94 and *n* 6, 329, 330.
Pānīpat, town of, 7, 8, 10, 265, 300, 304, 358.
Panjāb, the, 32, 33, 34, 38, 49, 56, 58, 72, 87, 91, 92, 94, 109, 163, 165, 168, 206, 220, 260, 261, 294, 300, 304 and *n* 5, 346, 358, 395 *n* 3.
Panj-ganj, the,—a poetical composition by Shaikh Faizī, the king of Poets, 410.
Panjhar, town of, 90 and *n* 4. Also called Panshar.
Panjpahari, the,—a mountain in the neighbourhood of Patnah, 182, 183.
Panjū Sambhalī, Shaikh,—one of the Pīrs of Hind, 51 and *n* 2.
Panna or Pannah,—a district to the north of Gondwānah, which is also called Garha Katangah, 78 *n* 2, 298 (l. 5 *Patnah* should be *Pannah*), see p. 425.
Panpan, the,—a river of Bengal, 184, 185, 424.
Panshar, town of, 90 *n* 4. Also called Panjhar.
Pāpā, [the Pope], 267.
Pardoner's Tale, Chaucer, 296 *n* 1.
Parī Jān Khānam, daughter of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Emperor of Persia,—murders her brother Shāh Ismā'īl, 248.
Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, 47 *n* 4.
Partāb, or Pratāb, Rānā, 275 *n* 1. Another name of Rānā Kīkā, ruler of Gokandah, which also see.
Parwār, town of, 341.
Pashāwar, district and town of, 72, 250 *n* 2, 301, 302, 305 *n* 4, 357, 364, 366, 398.
Patan, town of,—in Gujrāt, written also Pattan, 40, 137, 144, 151, 152, 173, 174, 256, 260, 282, 339, 340, 342, 356, 359. The town is also called Ajodhan.
Pātar, meaning of the word, 97 *n* 3.
Pātar-dancing, 97 and *n* 3.
Pathān, *parganah* of, in the confines of the mountains, 359.
Pathan Kings of Dihlī, Thomas s, 402 *n* 8.
Pātiālī, town of. See under Pātyālī.
Patiyālī, town of. See under Pātyālī.

Patlād, parganna of,—in the province of Gujrāt, 256.
Patna or Patnah, 178, 181, 182, 183 and *n* 1, 184, 185, 186, 189, 232, 235, 244, 245, 292, 297, 298, 350, 375, 424, 425.
Patr Dās, Rāī,—Dīwān of Bengāl during the Governorship of Muzaffar Khān, 276, 289, 290.
Pattan. See under Patan.
Pātyālī, a town on the banks of the Ganges, 38 and *n* 4, 88, 154, 187, 188, 224, 226.
Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turk-oriental*, 48 *n* 4. See also under De Courteille.
Payāg or Prayāg,—an old sacred city of the Hindūs, 179, 297, 344. See under Prayāga.
Pāyal, village of, 158.
Pāyandah Muḥammad Khān Moghūl, —one of the leaders of the Imperial army, 198, 343.
Pendnamah, the,—De Sacy's translation, 308 *n* 3, 413 *n* 4.
Pendnameh, the. See the above.
Pentateuch, the, 46 *n* 3.
Persia, 1 *n* 3, 13 and *n* 5, 49, 54 *n* 2, 206 and *nn* 1 and 2, 210, 214, 243 *n* 6, 246 *n* 8, 247 and *n* 3, 268, 280, 313 *n* 1, 317, 402 *n* 6.
Persian Poets, Ouseley's Lives of the, 38 *n* 4.
Persian Proverbs, Roebuck's, 178 *n* 1, [425.
Peshāwar. See under Pashāwar.
Peshrau Khān the Mihtar Sa'ādat,—one of the officers of the Imperial Court, 285, 297.
Peshrou Khān. See the above.
Pharaoh, 59 *n* 4, 81, 201, 202 and *n* 3, 266, 353 *n* 3.
Pharūn, ritual of, 204.
P'hulbās, Pass of,—on the frontier of Kashmīr, 363.
Pīchah ūān Anagah, one of the three nurses of Akbar, and wife of Khwājah Maqṣūd 'Alī, a servant of Akbar's mother, 49 *n* 4.
Pihānī, village of,—in the district of Qanouj, 365.
Pīr Muḥammad Khān Shirwānī. See under Muḥammad Khān Shirwānī.
Pīr Muḥammad Khān Uzbek, Governor of Balkh. See under Muḥammad Khān Uzbek.
Pīr-prasād,—the form to which Akbar changed the name of the elephant Rām-prasād, 243 and *n* 4. See under Rām-prasād.
Pīrs of Dihlī, the, 60.
Piyāg,—old Hindū name of the town of Ilhābās (Allahabad), 124. See under Payāg.
Plato, 307, 382.
Polo, Marco, 405 *n* 2.
Poole's edition of Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, 35 *n* 4.
Portugal, 150.
Portuguese, the, 150, 206, 215, 240 *n* 3, 348 *n* 9.
Pratāb or Partāb, Rānā,—ruler of Gogandah and Kumalmair, 275 *n* 1. See under Rānā Kikā.
Pratāb Singh, son of Rājah Bhagvant Dās, and brother of Rājah Mān Singh, 147 *n* 1.
Prayāg, now known as Alāhābās (Allahabad). See under Payāg.
Prayāga,—name of a holy place on the *left* bank of the Ganges, opposite to which Akbar built the city of *Alāhābās* or *ābād* (Allahabad), 100 *n* 3.
Preserved Tablet, the. See under the *Lauḥ-i maḥfūz*.
Price's edition of the Code of Changīz Khān, 59 *n* 6.
Price's Memoirs of Jahangueir, 379 *n* 1.

Prince of Bukhārā, the, 45.
Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, 367 *n* 3.
Psalms, the Book of, 63 *n* 3, 210 *n* 3, 215 *n* 2.
Punjab, the. See under the Panjāb.
Puris, the,—a sect of ancient Hindūs, 94 *n* 6. See under the Pāndus (Pāndavas).
Puruk'hotam, Rāī,—a Brahman who was the writer of a commentary on the *Khirad-afzā*, 265, 274. See also the next
Purushottam Bakhshī, Rāī,—one of the servants of the Court, 289. Same as the above.
Pūyah, ford of, 51.

Q.

Qaçīdah, signification of the term, 37 *n* 3.
Qaçīdah-i-bordah,—an ode in praise of the Prophet, by Abu 'Abdu-llāh Muḥammad Sharfu-d-dīn, 397 and *n* 1.
Qaçru-l-imārat, 328.
Qadam Khān, brother of Muqarrab Khān, a chief of the Amīrs of the Dekkan, 87.
Qāf, the mountain which surrounds the world, 272 and *n* 3.
Qāhirah, al,—Cairo, the metropolis of Egypt, 43 *n* 3
Qallāb, *takhallus* of Shaikh Kamāl Biyābānī, 309 *n* 1.
Qambar, one of the followers of Mīrzā Sulaimān, Governor of Badakhshān, 72.
Qamurghah hunting. See under the *Qamurgha* hunt.
Qamurgha or *Qamurghah* hunt, the,—a great *battue*, 89, 93 and *n* 3, 94, 110, 260, 261.
Qāmūs, the,—the great Arabic Dictionary of al-Firūzābādī, 70.
Qandahār, 2, 20, 222, 224, 250, 308, 309, 402, 416.
Qannouj, known also by the name of Shergarh, 96, 140, 186, 365, 391. See also under Kanouj.
Qanoon-e-Islām, Herklots', 41 *n* 2, 50 *n* 6, 74 *n*.
Qanouj. See under Qannouj.
Qāqshāls, the,—section of their tribe in the service of Akbar, 195, 289, 290, 291.
Qarā Bahādur Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar and Governor of the district of Nāīchah in Mālwa, 68.
Qarā Bēg *Mir ākhūr*,—one of the Officers of the Imperial Court, 416.
Qarābāgh, town of, 90.
Qarāchah Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Kābul, 57.
Qarārī, poetical name of Ḥakīm Nūru-d-dīn of Gīlān, 214. See also under Nūru-d-dīn Qarārī.
Qārūn, the Corah of Scripture, 66 and *n* 3, 204, 241 and *n* 1.
Qāsim 'Alī Khān Bakkāl or Baqqāl,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar and Governor of Kābul, 52, 149, 182, 290.
Qāsim Arsalān, Mulānā,—a poetical writer in the Court of Akbar, 36, 74, 101, 136, 139.
Qāsim Bārhah, Sayyid,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 356, 371.
Qāsim Khān, Mīr Baḥr,—one of the great Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 300, 365. See also under Muḥammad Qāsim Khan Mīr Baḥr.
Qāsīm Khān Mouji,—a Poet, 324

Qāsim, Mīr, a Mūsawī Sayyid of Mashhad, 95 *n* 3.
Qaṭbu-d-dīn. See under Quṭbu-d-dīn.
Qatlū Afghān Noḥānī or Loḥānī, Governor of Oṛīsā, 333 and *n* 5, 334, 399 and *n* 2.
Qawwāl,—signification of the word, 59 *n* 2.
Qāyim Khān, son of Muqīm Khān who had the title of Shajā'at Khān, 292.
Qāzī, office of, 22 *n* 4, 270.
Qāzī Abu l-Ma'ālī, son-in-law of the Prince of Bukhārā,—a learned Doctor of Law, 45.
Qāzī 'Alī, Mīr Bakhshī,—Paymaster of the Court, 233 *n* 3, 300, 302, 321.
Qāzī Fazīḥat,—a term of contempt given to Qāzī Fazīlat Shērshāhī, 104.
Qāzī Fazīlat, Shērshāhī—commonly known as Qāzī Fazīḥat, of the Qāzīs of Akbar, 104.
Qāzī Ḥabīb,—a zealous Sunnī of Kashmīr, 128.
Qāzī Jalālu-d-dīn Multānī, the camp-Qāzī. See under Jalālu-d-dīn of Multān.
Qāzī Jamāl, a Hindū poet of Sivakanpūr, 119.
Qāzī Khān,—title of Qāzī Nizām of Badakhshān, 5, 186, 218, 233, 236, 237, 247. See also under Nizām Badakhshī and Ghāzī Khān.
Qāzī Khān Badakhshī, 91. See the above.
Qāzī Lāl,—one of the wits of Akbar's reign, 65.
Qāzī Nizām of Badakhshān, 5. See also under Nizām Badakhshī, Qāzī Khān and Ghāzī Khān.
Qāzī Ṭawā'isī,—camp-Qāzī of the Emperor, 104.
Qāzī Ya'qūb of Dihlī, son-in law of Qazī Fazīlat Shērshāhī,—camp-Qazī of Akbar, 104.
Qāzīs of Dihlī, the, 212.
Qazwīn, town of,—in Persia, 24.
Qiblah the direction which one faces in prayer, 35.
Qiblah-i-Ḥājāt, goal of necessities,—a term by which the face of kings is sometimes called, 266.
Qīqāyōn on Jonah,—the *Palma Christi* tree. 222 *n* 1.
Qiyā Khān Kank or Gung,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 6, 76, 80, 96, 196, 197, 198. See also the next.
Qiyām Khān Kang—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 31. See also the above. [134 *n* 1.
Qiyāmat,—signification of the word,
Qizilbāshīs, the,—the Shī'ahs of Persia, so named from their *red caps*, 206 and *n* 2.
Qor'ān, al-. See under the Qur'ān.
Qubbatu-l-Islām, a title of Basrah, a great place for learned men, 374 and *n* 4.
Qūchīn, 54 *n* 2. See under Tolak Khān Qūchīn.
Queen Dowager of Humāyūn, son of Bābar. See under her title of Maryam Makānī.
Queen of Sheba the, 12 *n* 8.
Qūlchīn, 54 *n* 2. See under Tolak Khān Qūchīn.
Qūlī Khān Maḥrum, Muḥarram or *Maḥram*, Shāh,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 9, 33, 146, 148, 173, 189, 296, 297, 320, 360, 363, 366. See under Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram.
Qulī Shaghālī,—General of Mīrzā Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhshān, 91.
Qulij or *Qūlūj*,—meaning of the word, 409 *n* 1.

Qulij Khān,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 79, 110, 150, 167, 222, 246, 249, 251, 277, 301, 303, 341, 344, 351, 355, 371, 373, 376, 377, 393, 394, 401, 411.
Qullatain, of the Shafi'īs,—a quantity of water sufficient to fill *two large jars*, 337.
Qulqachī,—a Turkī word meaning a servant, but not a royal one, 162, 424.
Qūlūj or *Qulij*, meaning of the word, 409 *n* 1.
Qunnauj. See under Qannouj.
Quraish, the,—tribe of the Prophet Muḥammad, 318.
Quraish, Mīr,—Ambassador of 'Abdullāh Khān Uzbek of Transoxiana to the Court of Akbar, 362, 363, 365.
Qur'ān, the 12 *n* 8, 13 *n* 1, 14, 15, 21, 23 *n* 6, 24 *n* 4, 35 *n* 4, 41, 43, 44 *n* 2, 45, 46 *n* 3, 48 *n* 1, 60 *nn* 1 and 3, 66 *n* 3, 70 *nn* 1 and 3, 75 *nn* 4 and 5, 92 *n* 3, 108 *n* 5, 129 *nn* 1 and 3, 130 *n* 4, 141 *nn* 1 and 2, 143 *n* 1, 147 *n* 2, 158 *n* 2, 159 *n* 2, 160 *n* 1, 173 and *n* 6, 174 *n* 2, 189 *n* 2, 190 *n* 1, 191 *n* 4, 201 and *n* 2, 203 *n* 3, 205, 206 *n* 4, 210 *n* 2, 211, 213, 215 and *n* 1, 225 *nn* 1 and 2, 229 *n* 1, 231 *n* 3, 246 *n* 10, 250, 251, 255 *n* 3, 259, 265 *n* 1, 266 and *n* 2, 269 *n* 3, 272 *n* 2, 279, 280, 281, 282 *n* 6, 283, 286 *n* 1, 294 *n* 1, 301 *n* 4, 304 *n* 6, 306 *n* 1, 316, 317, 318 *n* 2, 325, 330 *nn* 1 and 2, 331 *n* 1, 348 *n* 8, 351 *nn* 2 and 3, 353 *n* 3, 355 *n* 4, 407 and *nn* 5 and 7, 408 and *n* 3, 417 *nn* 3 and 4, 419 *n* 2.
Qurchī, 54 *n* 2. See under Tulak Khān Qurchī.
Qurchīs, the,—a corps of cavalry at the Court of the Safevi Kings of Persia, 13 and *n* 5.
Quṭbu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 168. Probably this is a mistake for Quṭbu-d dīn Muḥammad Khān, which see.
Quṭbu-d-dīn of Jalēsar, Shaikh,—a *faqīr* and *majzūb*, 308.
Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān, 249, 334. See under Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Atgah.
Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Atgah. See under Quṭbu-d dīn Muḥammad Khān Atgah.
Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Atgah,—one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 93, 151, 152, 167, 173, 236, 246, 248, 257, 278, 282, 330, 340 and *n* 2, 341. See also under Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān.
Quṭbu-l-mulk, the ruler of Golkandah, 390.
Quṭlu Loḥānī or Noḥānī. See under Qatlū Afghān Noḥānī, Governor of Oṛīsā.
Quzāk,—the word signifies 'plundering marauders,' 43 *n* 2. It is the origin of the word *Cossak*.

R.

Rabban Gamliel, son of Rabbi Simeon,—a Talmudic writer, 400 *n* 1.
Races of the North Western Provinces of India, Elliott's, 240 *n* 3.
Rachna, dōāb of,—between the Chenab and the Rāwī, in the Panjāb. 304 *n* 5.
Rafī' Badakhshī, Khwājah,—one of the Generals of Akbar, 385. See also under Muḥammad Rafī' Badakhshī.

Rafī'u-d-dīn Muḥaddis, Mīr Sayyid, 289.

Rahab, the,—a river in the district of Sambhal, 5 and *n* 9. The word is written Rahat by Firishta.

Rahat, the,—for the river Rahab. See the above.

Raḥmān Qulī Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 157, 424.

Raḥmat, a name to which such names as *Yār Muḥammad*, etc., were altered at the time of Akbar, 324.

Rāī Barēlī, town of, 97.

Rāī Bhagvān Dās. See under Rājah Bhagwān Dās.

Rāī Jaimal,—one of the Rāis of Rānā Udai Sing and Governor of Chitor, 105, 107, 239.

Rāī Kalyān Mal, Rājah of Bīkānīr, 137.

Rāī Lonkaran, Governor of Sāmbhar, 259.

Rāī Manohar, son of Rāī Lonkaran. See under Manohar.

Rāī Rām,—an Officer of the Imperial Army, charged with guarding the road to Gujrāt, 153.

Rāī Sāl Darbārī,—one of the Officers of the Court, 333 *n* 1. Probably the same as Rāī Singh Darbārī, which see.

Rāī Sarjan,—one of the Rāis of Rānā Udai Sing of Chitor, 105. See also under Rāī Surjan.

Rāī Singh B'hatta,—father-in-law of Prince Sultān Salīm, eldest son of Akbar, 364.

Rāī Singh Darbārī,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 360, 364, 392, 400, 403. See under Rāī Sāl Darbārī.

Rāī Singh, son of Rāī Kalyān Mal, Rājah of Bīkānīr,—Governor of Joudhpūr, 137, 144, 153, 171, 172.

Rāī Surjan Hādā,—a relation of Rānā Udai Singh of Chitor, 25, 26 and *n* 2, 29, 111. See also under Rāī Sarjan.

Rāī Udī Singh or Udai Sing,—Rānā of Chitor, 26 *n* 2, 48, 105, 173.

Rāisin or Rāīsīn,—district of, 358, 372.

Rājah 'Alī Khān. See under 'Alī Khān.

Rājah Aweesar,—a brigand and rebel, 155.

Rājah Bahār-Jiv of Baglāna, 151.

Rājah Bahār Mal,—*Wakīl* and *Waẓīr*, 154, 158.

Rājah Bhagwān or Bhagvant Dās, son of Rājah Pahārah or Bihārī Mall, Governor of Lāhor,—one of the great Amīrs and father of Mān Singh, the famous Hindū general of Akbar, 45, 144, 146 and *n* 2, 147, 173, 218, 243, 248, 249, 300, 302, 304, 320, 323, 352, 360, 363, 364 and *n* 4, 368, 383, 384.

Rājah Bīrbar,—title of Gadāī Brahmadās (Sansk. *vīra-vara*), 164 *n* 5. See under Bīrbār and Gadāī Brahmadās.

Rājah Gobind Chand, Governor of the fortress of Talwārah, 38.

Rājah Jai Chand, Commandant of Nagarkot, 164, 166.

Rājah of Kamāūn, in the Sawālik hills, 377.

Rājah Maldeo, of Jodhpūr and Mārwār, 34. See also under Māldeo.

Rājah Mān, of Gwālyār,—a famous Hindū chief, 238.

Rājah Mān Singh, the famous Hindū general of Akbar. See under Mān Singh, son of Rājah Bhagawan Dās.

Rājah Muzaffar Khān, 247 *n* 2, 248. See under Muzaffar Khān Rājah.

Rājah of Orissa, the,—his relations with Akbar, 77, 78.

Rājah Pahārah Mall, Governor of the Rājpūt state of Ambēr or Jaipūr, 45 See also under Bihārī Mall.

Rajah Rāmchand,—the most renowned of all the rājās of the hills, at the time of Akbar's accession, 4 and *n* 3.

Rājah Rām Chand B'hatta. See under Rām Chand ruler of Bhat'h.

Rājah Ramshāh,—grandson of the famous Rājah Mān of Gwālyār, 238, 239.

Rājah Rankā,—a powerful *zamīndār* with Ajmīr for his capital, 129.

Rājah of Sarohī, a small district of Rājpūtānā, 144, 337.

Rājah of Sūratha, 145.

Rājah Todar Mal,—one of the great Amīrs and generals of Akbar and his finance minister, 82, 83, 84, 96, 148, 173, 174, 192, 194, 195, 196, 198, 247 *n* 2, 249, 251, 256, 290, 292, 295, 297, 321, 325, 362, 364, 377, 383. See also under Todar Mal.

Rājataranginī, or "the Ocean of Kings," the only piece of History in Sanskrit, 415 *n* 2.

Rājorī,—a town at the frontier of Kashmīr, 3.

Rājpīplah,—a district, 341, 344.

Rājpūtāna, 147 *n* 3, 189 *n* 1, 233 *n* 1, 337 *n* 3.

Rājpūts of Chītōr, the,—slaughter of, by the troops of Akbar, 107.

Rājū Bokhārī, of Sarhind, Shaikh, 333, 334.

Rājūrī, town of,—on the frontier of the Panjab and Kashmīr, 395 and *n* 3.

Rāk'hī, an amulet formed out of twisted linen rags, 269.

Rakhnah, 394 *n* 1. See under Hafiz Sultān Rakhnah of Herāt.

Rakhsh, name of Rustam's charger, 47 *n* 4.

Raknu-d-doulah. See Ruknu-d-daulah.

Ram,—one of the chief gods of the Hindūs, 265, 336. See also the next.

Rām, the name of Rām Chand, Rājah of Oudh, 347. See also the above.

Rāmāyana, the,—the story of Rām Chand, Rājah of Oudh, 346, 348, 378.

Rām Chand, Rājah,—the ruler of Bhat'h, 124, 345.

Rāmchand, Rājah,—the most renowned of all the rājās of the hills, at the time of Akbar's accession, 4 and *n* 3.

Rām Chand, Rājah of Oudh,—hero of the Rāmāyana, 347 and *n* 3.

Rām Dās of Lak'hnou,—one of the musicians of Aslīm Shāh Sūr, of the Afghān dynasty of Dihlī, 37.

Rām Parsād, or

Rām Parshād,—name of a celebrated elephant of Rājū Kīkā's, 238, 241. See also the next.

Rām-prasād,—a common Hindū name meaning 'Favour of Rāmā', 243. See the above.

Rāmpūr,—a mountainous district in the neighbourhood of Udaipūr Komalmair, 105.

Rāmshāh of Gwālyār, Rājah,—grandson of the famous Rājah Mān, 238, 239.

Ran, hill of, which commands the fortress of Rintambhor, 111.

Rānā Kīkā. See under Kīkā, ruler of Gogandah and Kumalmair.

Rānā Udī Singh. See under Rāī Udī Singh.

Rānī Durgāwatī,—ruler of the district of Gadha Katangah, 65

Rantambhor. See under Rintambhor.
Rapin,—Latin Poet, 400 *n* 1.
Rashīd Khān-i-Kalān,—one of the Imperial Amīrs, 168.
Rashīd Mulā 'Içāmu-d-dīn Ibrāhīm Asfarāyanī,—author of a commentary on the *Sūrah-i-Muḥammad*, 190.
Rashīd Shaikh Zamān of Pānīpat,—author of a commentary on the *Lawāiḥ*, 265.
Rastam. See under Rustam, the hero of ancient Irān.
Rauzah-i-Ābā-i-Kirām, the,—a cemetery in Dihlī for the burial of celebrities, 374.
Rauzatu-l-Aḥbāb, the,—name of an historical work, 328.
Rāvan, ruler of the island of Lankā, —one of the chief characters in the Rāmāyana, 347.
Ravee, the,—a river of the Panjāb. See under the Rāwī.
Rāwal Pindī,—between Atak Banāras and Rohtās, 360.
Rāwī, the,—one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, 92, 93, 304 *n* 5, 378, 394, 410. The name is also spelt Ravee
Razawī Khān, title of Mīrzā Mīrak, the *Wakīl* of 'Alī Qulī Khān, the Khān Zamān, 85, 250, 275, 289. See also under Mīrzā Mīrak.
Rāzī, Imām—a celebrated Muḥammadan Doctor, 267.
Razm-nāmah, the,—name of the Persian translation of the Mahābhārata, 380, 413.
Razwī Khān. See under Razawī Khān.
Revārī, town of, 259.
Rhotas, fortress of, in Bihār. See under Rohtās.
Richard II, of England, 32 *n* 5.
Rig Veda, the, 296 *n* 1.
Rīmiyā, —the power of omnipresence of the soul, 334 *n* 4.
Rin, the,— a Marsh in Gujrāt, which enters the sandy desert of Jaisalmīr and there loses itself, 355.
Rinkasārī, town of,—in Bengāl, 195 and *nn* 3 and 5.
Rintambhor, fortress of, 25 and *n* 4, 29, 109, 110, 144, 117, 124, 128, 255, 286, 308, 309, 322. The name is also spelt Rantambhor.
Rinthambor, fortress of. See the above.
Rizā, Imām,—the eighth of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ahs, 35 and *n* 3, 81 *n* 3. His full name is 'Alī Mūsā Rizā, which also see.
Roebuck's *Eastern Proverbs*, 20 *n* 1, 22 *n* 3, 28 *n* 1, 178 *n* 1, 239 *n* 1, 425.
Rohīrpūr, town of,—in Bengāl, 195 and *n* 4. The correct name of this town is Harpūr.
Rohtās, fortress of,—in Bihār, 27, 77, 79, 159 *n* 1, 177, 185, 290, 301, 360, 381, 397, 398. The name is also spelt Rhotās.
Romnī, town of—one of the dependencies of Bhojpūr, 182 and *n* 1.
Ropar, a town on the river Satlaj, 51 *n* 3.
Roshan Bēg, a servant of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, son of Humāyūn, the ruler of Kābul, 289.
Roshanāī,—a Hindūstānī soldier who made himself a religious teacher and set up an heretical sect called after him the Roshanāīs, 360, 361 and *n* 1, 362, 366, 368 *n* 1, 393, 401. See also under Roshanī.
Roshanaīs, the,—an heretical sect. See under the above name.
Roshanī, 357. Same as Roshanāī the founder of the heretical sect of the Roshanāīs.
Rouzah. See under Rauzah.
Ruknu-d-daulah, title of Gūjar Khan Kararānī, the general of Dā'ūd Kararānī, ruler of Bengal, 184. See also under Gūjar Khān Kararānī.
Rustam,—the famous hero in the *Shāhnāmah*, 11 and *n* 3, 47 and *n* 4, 79 *n* 3, 287 and *n* 5, 326.
Rustam,—a Persian General at the time of the conquest of Persia by the Arabs, 317 *n* 1.
Rustam Khān Rūmī,—governor of the fortress of Bhroj, in Gujrat. 110. 146, 151.
Rustam, Mīrzā,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 399, 416, 417. Same as the next.
Rustam, Mīrzā, son of Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā, son of Bahrām Mīrzā, son of Ismā'īl Çafawī,—governor of the Zamīndāwar, 402. See also the above.
Rūyat, doctrine of,—whether God shall be seen by the saints in heaven or not, 317.
Ryots, the,—cultivators of the soil. 354.

S.

Sābāṭs,—signification of the term, 106 and *n* 1, 111.
Sabeites, the,—held to be of the *People of the Book*, 265 *n* 1.
Sabṭī, etymology and signification of the word, 262 *n* 3.
Sabwī,—a fortress in the province of Bhakkar, 252.
Sa'd,—an Arabian general at the time of the conquest of Persia, 317 *n* 1.
Sa'dain,—Jupiter and Venus, the two beneficent planets, 87 *n* 1.
Sadr Jahān, of Pihānī, Mīr,—the *muftī* of the imperial dominions, 365.
Sa'dullāh, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Badah,—one of the nobles of the Court, 102.
Safevi [Ṣafawī] dynasty of Persia, the, 13 *n* 5.
Sahasnak, Lake,—called also Sahnas Lang, a lake in the vicinity of Patan in Gujrāt, 40 *n* 3.
Sahnas Lang, Lake,—in the vicinity of Patan in Gujrāt, 10 and *n* 3. See the above.
Sai or Sye, the,—the river Siyāh, which falls into the Gūmtī near Jounpūr, 82 *n* 4.
Sa'īd Khān Badakhshī,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar's army, 199, 290.
Sa'īd Khān Gakkh'har,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 361.
Sa'īd Khān the Moghūl, governor of Multān, and then of the Panjāb and one of the great Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 9, 80, 138, 153, 162, 163, 168, 223, 261, 292, 300, 304, 417.
Sa'īd, Mulānā, of Transoxiana,—a celebrated Doctor and Professor, 45.
Saif Khān Kokah,—one of the Amirs of Akbar's army, killed at the battle of Aḥmadābād, 170, 174.
Saifu-d-dīn, the Tātār, Amīr, father of Amīr Khusrū, the poet of Dihlī, 38 *n* 4.
Sajahrāk [?], the, 317.
Sajāwal Khan Sūr, the Afghan, father of Baz Bahādur, the governor of Mālwah, 29 and *n* 3, 42 and *n* 4.

The name is also written Suzāwal and Shujawal.
Sakat Singh, son of Mān Singh, the famous Hindū general of Akbar, 399.
Sakīt, town of, 96.
Sālabāhan, son of Rām Shāh Rājah of Gwāliyār, 239.
Sāl Darbārī, Rāī,—one of the officers of the court, 333 *n* 1.
Sale's Koran, 174 *n* 2.
Sale's *Preliminary Discourse*, 189 *n* 2.
Salīm Chishtī of Fathpūr, Shaikh,—one of the great Shaikhs of India. See under Chishtī Shaikhu-l-Islām.
Salīm Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar's army, 82.
Salīm Shāh, Sūr,—of the Afghān dynasty of Dihlī, 27. Variously called Aslīm, Islām and Islīm Shāh, which see.
Salīm, Sultān, son of Akbar,—succeeded his father with the title of Jahāngīr, 124, 136, 145, 173, 302, 320 and *n* 2, 352, 364, 368, 390 *n* 1, 391 and *n* 2. See under Bābā Shaikhū Jī.
Salīmah Sultān Bēgum, daughter of Mīrzā Nūru-d-dīn Muhammad, and sister's daughter to the Emperor Humāyūn, 13, 216, 320, 389.
Salsabīl, the,—one of the rivers of Paradise, 300 and *n* 3.
Sāmānīs, Mirchond's Account of the Dynasty of the, 426.
Samanas [Sansk. *çramana*], the,—Buddhist ascetics, 264.
Sāmarī [the Samaritan],—mentioned in al-Qur'ān and said to be a relative of Aaron, 348 and *n* 8.
Samarqand, city of, 187, 210, 280, 324 *n* 1.
Sambhal, district and town of, 5, 14, 15, 63, 87 and *n* 3, 93, 105, 109, 139, 147, 154, 156 and *n* 1, 157, 158, 223, 294, 416.
Sāmbhar, town of,—in Rājpūtānā, 45, 236, 259.
Sanganīr, town of,—in Rajpūtānā, 173.
Sangrām Khān, a *ghulām* of 'Adalī the Emperor of India, 25 and *n* 3, 26.
Sānī Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar's army, 76.
Sānī Khān Kābulī, Malik, the Vazīr Khān,—*vazīr* of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, son of Humāyūn, ruler of Kābul, 300.
Sankrah town of, 159.
Sannyāsīs, the,—a class of Hindū devotees, 95 and *n* 1, 369.
Sansawān, town of,—a dependency of Sambhal, 63.
Sārangpūr, town of,—in Mālwah, 42 and *n* 5, 44, 292. See the next.
Sārangpūr, town of,—in Mandū, 66, 68, 110, 153, 174, 250. See the above.
Sārbānbāshī, signification of the term, 13 and *n* 6.
Sārbarmatī, the,—a river, 371.
Sardār, district of, 80 and *n* 1, 81. Probably we should read Sarwār.
Sarharpūr, district and town of,—about 18 *cosses* from Jounpūr, 16, 76, 80 *n* 1.
Sarhind, district and town of. See under Sirhind.
Sarhor Hindī Bengālī, Bikramājīt,—a servant of Dāūd Kararānī, the ruler of Bengal, 184 and *n* 2.
Sarjan, Rāī,—one of the Rāīs of Ranū Udai Sing of Chitor, 105. See also under Surjan Hādā.
Sarkh Badakhshī,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar's army, 147, 320.
Sarkich,—a place at 3 *cosses* from Ahmadābād, 342, 344. See also the next

Sarkij, town of, 338. See also the above.
Sarmadī,—one of the servants of the Court, 291.
Sarnāl,—a town on the banks of the river Mahindrī and a district of Rājpūtānā, 146, 151, 337.
Sarohī, a small district in Rājpūtānā, 144, 147 and *n* 3, 337 and *n* 3, 356, 372.
Saronj, town of, 110.
Sarūt, parganna of,—in the Dōāb, 52.
Sarw, the,—a river of Oudh, 80 *n* 1, 105. See also the Sarwār.
Sarwār, district of, 80 *n* 1. See under Sardār.
Sarwār, the,—a river, 85. See also the Sarw.
Satarsāl or Satr Sāl, the Jām of Sūrat and Jūnāgarh, 370, 384. See also under the Jām.
Sātganw, town of, 244 *n* 2.
Satlaj, the,—one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, 10 *n* 1, 34 *n* 5, 51 *n* 3, 161, 304 *n* 7, 358.
Satlij, the. See the above.
Satr Sāl or Satarsāl, the Jām of Sūrat and Jūnāgarh, 370, 384. See also under the Jām.
Satwās, fortress of, 87, 96, 102.
Sawad,—a province in the country of the Afghāns, 360. See the next.
Sawād-u-Bajōr, or Bajūr, district of, 376, 393. See also the above and under Bajūr.
Sawalik, mountain district of. See under Siwālik.
Sawālikāt,—called in the maps Sealcot, 376 and *n* 3.
Sawāti'ul-ilhām, the,—or rays of inspiration, a commentary on the Qur'an by Shaikh Faizī, the king of poets, 407 *n* 3, 408.
Sayfī Sayyids of Qazwīn, the,—known for their Sunnī tendencies, 24 and *n* 2
Sayūrgāl, or
Sayūrghāl, signification of the term, 23 and *n* 4.
Sayyid 'Abd-ullāh Khān. See under 'Abd-ullāh Khān Jokān Bēgī.
Sayyid Ahmad Khān Bārha. See under Ahmad Khān Bārha, governor of the fortress of Patan
Sayyid 'Ārif, another name of Pahār Khān Khaçç-i-Khail, one of the officials of Akbar, 292.
Sayyid Bahāu-d-dīn, Bokhārī,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 386.
Sayyid Bēg, son of Ma'çūm Bēg,—ambassador from Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia to the Emperor Akbar, 49.
Sayyids of Bukhārā,—are Shī'ahs, 172 and *n* 1.
Sayyid Mikrī, one of the chief Sayyids of Kālpī, 113.
Sayyid Hāmid Bokhārī,—one of the Amīrs of Gujrāt. See under Hāmid Bokhārī.
Sayyid Hāshim Bārhah, son of Sayyid Mahmūd Bārhah,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 224, 233, 236, 237 *n* 4, 342.
Sayyid Khān Bārha,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 145, 371.
Sayyid Mahmūd Bārha,—one of the great Amīrs and Generals. See under Mahmūd Bārha.
Sayyid Mūsā, son of Sayyid Mikrī, one of the chief Sayyids of Kālpī. See under Mūsā of Garmsīr
Sayyid Shahī, son of Sayyid Mikrī, of the chief Sayyids of Kalpī,—author of a poem called *Dilfarīb*, 114, 115, 121.
Sayyidpūr,—a town beyond the Indus, 299

Sayyids of Bārha, the,—their exploits in the battle of Kokandah, 237 and *n* 4.

Sayyids of Mashhad, the,—their harshness of character, 81, 103 and *n* 2.

Sealcot, 376 *n* 3. See also under Siālkōṭ and Sawālikāt.

Seifuddīn. See under Saifu-d-dīn

Seven Heavens, the, 73 *n* 3.

Shablī. See under Shiblī.

Shaṭ, the symbol of Akbar's new religion, 418 and *n* 2.

Shadād, king of the Arabs. See the next.

Shaddād,—an ancient king of the Arabs, 66, 81, 204. The word is incorrectly spelt Shadād at page 66.

Shādī Khān, the Afghān, one of the Amīrs of 'Adalī, the nominal emperor of India at the time of Humāyūn's invasion, 5. See the next.

Shādī Khān Muswānī,—an Afghān leader, 8, 9. See the above.

Shādmān,—servant of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, son of Humāyūn, the ruler of Kābul, 299, 300.

Shāfi'ī, Imām,—founder of one of the four schools of Sunnī doctrine, 212.

Shāfi'īs, the,—one of the four sects of Sunnī Muslims, the followers of Imām Shāfi'ī, 212, 337.

Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī,—one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, the father of Akbar, 2, 3, 4, 32 *n* 3, 33, 56 and *n* 2, 57, 58 and *n* 4, 61 and *nn* 3, 4 and 7, 71, 22.

Shāh Abu Turāb, Mīr Ḥajī,—one of the great Sayyids of Shīrāz and counsellor of the Sulṭāns of Gujrāt, 148 258, 320, 332, 371, 385.

Shāh Ārif Ṣafawī Ḥusainī, 68.

Shāh Bēg Khan Kabūlī,—one of the renowned Amīrs of Akbar, 386, 416.

Shah B'hekan,—a Muhammadan Saint, 342.

Shāh Bidāgh,—or

Shāh Budāgh Khān,—one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 46, 76, 80, 83, 96, 105, 110, 152, 249.

Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn Khān,—a *zamīndār* of Mālwah, 249.

Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn Mashhadī, son of Mīr Qāsim, a Mūsawī Sayyid of Mashhad,—one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn and Akbar, 95 and *n* 3.

Shāh Farmūlī, 291.

Shāh Fatḥ-ullāh Shīrāzī. 'Azdu-d-daulah, the Chief Ṣadr of Hindustān, 111, 286, 320, 328, 331, 354, 370, 372, 379, 380, 381, 382, 398. See also under Fatḥ-ullāh of Shīrāz and 'Azdu-d-daulah.

Shāh Ghāzī Khān Tabrīzī,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 233.

Shāh Ismā'īl, the First,—King of Persia, 323.

Shāh Ismā'īl, the Second, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp,—King of Persia, 246, 248, 327.

Shāh Madār,—a Muḥammadan Saint whose shrine is at Makanpūr in Qannouj, 140.

Shāh Manṣūr, Khwājah,—a Shīrazī clerk who rose to the rank of *Diwān-i-kul* of the empire, 247, 248, 257, 295, 298, 300, 301, 303.

Shāh Manṣūr, Vazīr, 145. Probably the same as the above.

Shāh Mīrzā, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, a descendant on his father's side from the great Taimūr, 87 and *n* 1, 93, 105, 151, 171, 173.

Shāh Muḥammad Khān Qandahārī,—governor of the fort of Kotah Balayah on the part of Akbar, 105, 108.

Shah Muḥammad of Shahābād, Mulla,—one of the Ṣadrs of the Panjāb and translator of the history of Kashmīr into Persian, 304, 386, 418, 420.

Shāh Murād. See under Murād, son of Akbar.

Shāh Qūlī Khān Maḥrūm [Maḥram], so called because Akbar, from goodwill towards him, admitted him into his *ḥaram*. See under Qūlī Khān Mahrūm.

Shāh Rukh Mīrzā, son of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, son of Mīrzā Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhshān, 217, 220, 276, 350, 352, 360, 363, 401, 402, 408.

Shāh Sharafu-d-dīn, brother's son to Shāh Abu Turāb, one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 385.

Shāh Ṭahmāsp, son of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī,—King of Persia, 13, 49, 210, 246, 327.

Shāh Walī Bēg Atkah, assumes the management of the affairs of Kābul under the title of 'Ādil Shāh, 54, 55, 56, 57.

Shāhābād, town of, 300, 304, 386, 418.

Shahāb. See under Shihāb.

Shāham. See under Shāhim.

Shahbāz Khān Kambo. See under Shahbāz Khān Shahr-ullāh Kambo of Lāhor.

Shahbāz Khān, Mīr Bakhshī, 185, 187, 193, 251, 275, 293. Same as the next, which also see.

Shahbāz Khān, Shahru-llāh Kambo, or Kambui of Lāhor,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 145, 146, 174, 176, 189, 282, 283, 291, 293, 298, 300, 303, 304, 333, 339, 383, 401, 416. See also the above.

Shāhim Bēg, son of the Sārbānbāshī, *or chief officer in charge of the camels*, of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, —of the corps of the Qūrchīs and one of the attendants of the Emperor Humāyūn, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

Shāhim Khān Jalāīr,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 44, 76, 196, 198, 222, 290, 320.

Shāhnāmah, the,—of Irdausī Ṭūsī, 47 *n* 4, 237 *n* 5, 317, 329, 339 *n* 1, 347, 357 *n* 3, 418.

Shahr-i Khudā,—a name of the month of Rajab, 333 *n* 4.

Shahr-ullāh,—a name of the month of Rajab, 333 and *n* 4.

Shahr-ullāh Kambūī of Lāhor, 174. See also under his title of Shahbāz Khān.

Shāhū, son of Shaikh Rājū Bokhārī of Sarhind,—an attendant of Shaikh Farīd Bokhārī, 333.

Shaikh 'Abdu-l-'azīz. See under 'Abdu-l-'azīz of Dihlī.

Shaikh 'Abdul-l-Qudūs of Gangoh,—one of the greatest Shaikhs of Hind, 70.

Shaikh 'Abdu-n-Nabī, grandson of Shaikh 'Abdu-l-Qudūs of Gangoh. See under 'Abdu-n-Nabī, the Shaikhu-l-Islām and chief Ṣadr of Hind.

Shaikh Abu-l-Fatḥ, son of Shaikh Badah,—one of the nobles of the Court of Akbar, 102.

Shaikh Adhan of Jounpūr,—saint and religious teacher, 273, 309.

Shaikh Badah, Lord of Āgra,—one of the nobles of the Court of Akbar, 59, 102.

Shaikh Badru-d Dīn, son of Shaikh Islām Chishtī, of Fatḥpūr, the great Shaikh of Hind, 215, 344.

Shaikh Banj'hū—a musician, the dis-

ciple of Shaikh Adhan, of Jounpūr, 273.
Shaikh Bhāwan,—a learned Brāhman from the Dak'hin, 216, 424.
Shaikh Bīnāī,—the Physician of the Imperial Court, 224.
Shaikh Chānīdah,—an inhabitant of the town of Sīwahnah, 294. See Shaikh Chāyan Ladah.
Shaikh Chāyan Ladah, of Sīhnah, 386. See Shaikh Chānīdah.
Shaikh Dāniyāl, a holy man of Ajmīr. See under Dāniyāl.
Shaikh Farīd,—a Muhammadan Saint, 137.
Shaikh Faizī, the King of Poets,—son of Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgor and brother of Shaikh Abu-l Fazl 'Allāmī See under Faizī.
Shaikh Gadā-ī Kambōh, son of Jamāl Kambo-ī, of Dihlī,—Çadr of Hindūstān, 9, 22, 23, 24, 28, 31, 33, 124.
Shaikh Ḥāmid Gīlānī Qādirī,—a devotee, 418.
Shaikh Ibrāhīm Chishtī, of Fathpūr-Sīkrī. See under Ibrāhīm Chishtī.
Shaikh Islām Chishtī, of Fathpūr. See under Chishtī Shaikhu-l-Islām, the great Shaikh of Hind.
Shaikh Maḥmūd Bokhārī,—one of the Court officers of Akbar, 145.
Shaikh Mangan of Badāūn, 139.
Shaikh Mubārak, father of Shaikh Faizī and Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl 'Allamī. See under Mubārak of Nāgōr.
Shaikh Muhammad Ghous. See under Muḥammad Ghous
Shaikh Muḥammad, son of Mulūk Shāh, and brother of 'Abdu-l-Qādir al-Badāonī, the author of this Muntakhab, 130, 132.
Shaikh Mulūk-shāh, father of the author 'Abdu-l-Qadir al-Badāonī, 26, 51, 259.
Shaikh Munawwar,—one of the Ulama of Lāhor and Çadr of Mālwah, 285.
Shaikh Nizām Narnoulī. See under Nizām Narnoulī.
Shaikh Panjū Sambhalī,—one of the Pīrs of Hind, 51 and *n* 2.
Shaikh Sa'du-llāh, son of Shaikh Badah, of Āgra,—one of the most powerful nobles of the Court of Akbar, 102.
Shaikh Salīm of Fathpūr. See under Chishtī, Shaikhu-l-Islām, the great Shaikh of Hind.
Shaikh Tāju-d-Dīn, son of Shaikh Zakariyā of Ajodhan, 265.
Shaikh Wajīhu-d-Dīn,—a learned and profound sage, 385.
Shaikh Ya'qūb. See under Ya'qūb Çirfī of Kashmīr.
Shaikh Zakariyā,—a hermit Dervish, 162.
Shaikh Ziyāu-d-Dīn, son of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous, a great Shaikh of Hind, 123. See the next.
Shaikh Ziyāu-llāh, son of Shaikh Muhammad Ghous, a great Shaikh of Hind, 204. See the above.
Shaikhu-l-hadyah or Shaikhu-l-hidyah Khairābādī,—one of the leading Shaikhs of Hind, 228, 294.
Shaikhu-l-Islām Fathpūrī. See under Chishtī, Shaikhu-l-Islām, the great Shaikh of Hind.
Shaitānpūrah or *Devilsville*, a place outside the city of Āgrah, 311 and *n* 5.
Shajā'at Khān. See under Shujā'at Khān.
Shakespeare's *Hindustānī Dictionary*, 18 *n* 1, 27 *n* 5, 257 *n* 1.
Shamā'il, a collection of Traditions by Tirmizī, regarding the figure and looks of the Prophet, 318.
Shamsābād, Parganna of, 88, 96, 389.
Shamsu-d-Dīn Atkah Khān, 34. See under Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atgah.
Shamsu-d-Dīn of Gīlān, the Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk, 254 *n* 2. See also under Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk.
Shamsu-d-Dīn Khāfī Khwājah.—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 357, 359. See also under Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Khawāfī.
Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atgah or Atkah Khān, surnamed A'zam Khān, 34, 49 *n* 4, 92 *n* 4. See also under Atkah Khān, and A'zam Khān.
Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Khawāfī, Khwājah,—the Chief Dīwān of the empire, 290, 393, 409. See also under Shamsu-d-Dīn Khāfī.
Shamshīr Khān, *Khwājah-Sarā*,—Superintendent of the Exchequer, in the province of Bihār and Ḥājīpūr, 274.
Sharaf-i-āftāb, day of,—the 19th degree of Aries, 363, 393. See also under Sharafu-sh-Shams and Sharafu-sh-Sharaf.
Sharaf Bēg,—a servant of Shāh Mançūr, the *dīwān* of the empire, 300 and *n* 2.
Sharafu-d-Dīn Abu 'Abd-ullāh Muḥammad,—author of the Qaçīdah-i-bordah, in praise of the Prophet, 397 *n* 1.
Sharafu-d-Dīn Ḥusain, Mīrzā,—son of Khwājah Mu'īnu-d Dīn, the great-grandson of Khwājah Aḥrār, 46, 56 and *n* 2, 57, 58 and *n* 4, 60, 105, 151, 174, 187, 290, 291.
Sharafu-sh-Shams, day of, 414. See under Sharaf-i āftāb and Sharafu-sh-Sharaf.
Sharafu-sh-sharaf, the day on which the sun enters the nineteenth degree of Aries, 319. Also called the day of Sharaf-i-āftāb and Sharafu-sh-Shams, which see.
Sharfuddīn. See under Sharafu-d-Dīn.
Sharḥi-Waqāyah,—the name of a book, 45.
Sharīf of Āmul, an apostate from Islām, 252, 253, 254, 295.
Sharīf Jurjānī, Mīr Sayyid,—a celebrated Doctor and Saint of Islām, 86.
Sharīf Khān Atgah,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar and Governor of Mālwah, 275, 293, 341. See also the next.
Sharīf Muḥammad Khān Atgah, 249. See also under Sharīf Khān Atgah.
Sharīf Sarmadī,—registrar of outposts, 345.
Sharīfs of Makkah, the, 295, 412.
Shaykh. See under Shaikh.
Sheba, Queen of, 12 *n* 8.
Shebhātīm, the sons of Jacob as the *heads-of-tribes* of Israel, 262 *n* 3.
Shebhet, a Hebrew word signifying 'a tribe,' 262 *n* 3.
Sheopoor,—a town 120 miles S.W. of Āgra, 29 *n* 5. See also under Sūpar.
Shēr Bēg Tawāchī,—one of the officers of the Court, 179, 260
Shēr Khān, son of 'Adalī, of the Afghān dynasty of Dihlī, 44.
Shēr Khān Fūlādī, the Afghān,—sometime governor of Patan, in Gujrāt, 144 and *n* 5, 151, 152, 168, 171, 339, 340 *n* 1.
Shēr Khān, son of I'timād Khān, the governor of Gujrāt under Akbar, 338, 340 and *n* 1.
Shēr Khān, another name of Lashkar

Khān Bakhshī, 174. See under Lashkar Khān Mīr Bakhshī.
Sher Muḥammad Dīwanah,—the adopted son of Bairām Khān, the Khān Khānan, 34.
Sher Shāh,—of the Afghān dynasty of Dihlī, 10, 27, 193. See also under Shīr Shah.
Sher-gaḍh,—or
Sher-Gaḍha, a dependency of Jahnī, 83, 159, 160.
Sher-garh,—another name of Qannouj, 96, 186. See under Qannouj.
Sherī. See under Mullā Shīrī, the Hindū poet.
Shethpūr, 192.
Shī'ahs, the,—one of the two great divisions of Muslims, the sect of 'Alī-ibn-Abī-Ṭālib, 36 *n* 2, 80 *n* 3, 81 *n* 2, 206 *n* 2, 212, 295, 313, 318, 337, 376.
Shiblī, a Muḥammadan Saint, 209.
Shihāb Khān,—one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 34, 52, 55, 91, 249, 384. See also under Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān, the governor of Dihlī and Mālwah.
Shihāb Khān Turkomān—of the parganna of Bhōjpūr, 95.
Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, Governor of Dihlī and then of Mālwah and one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 30, 31, 33, 181, 251, 257, 308, 337, 338 and *n* 3, 340, 354, 358, 372. See also under Shihāb Khān and Shihābu-d-dīn Khān and also under the next.
Shihabu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, a Sayyid of Nīsāpūr, and relative of Māhum Ankah, 49 and *n* 5, 105, 110, 178. Same as the above.
Shihābu-d-dīn Guroh-pāhandah Quzāq, —one of the imperial horsemen, 236
Shihābu-d-dīn Khan, 343, 386. Same as Shihabu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān and Shihāb Khān, which see.
Shihābu-d dīn Saharūrdī, Shaikh,—a celebrated Doctor of Islām, 212.
Shī'itic Persia, 280.
Shikastah, 421.
Shikdār,—signification of the term, 301 and *n* 1.
Shīr Shāh,—of the Afghān dynasty of Dihlī, 77, 79. See also under Shēr Shāh.
Shīrāz, town of,—in Persia, 295, 325, 370, 381, 387. [Hindū poet.
Shīrī. See under Mullā Shīrī, the
Shirwān, town of,—in the Persian province of Āzarbījān, 248.
Shujā' Khān Afghān, name of Suzāwal Khān in the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, 29 *n* 3. See under Suzāwal Khān.
Shujā'at, another name of 'Īsā Khān Niyāzī, one of the great Amīrs of the Afghāns, 181.
Shujā'at Khān, title of Muqīm Khān, sister's son of Tardī Bēg Khān, 66. See the next.
Shujā'at Khān,—one of the Amīrs and Generals of Akbar, 38, 66, 78, 79, 146, 168, 292. See the above.
Shujāwal, name of Suzāwal Khān in Blochmann, 29 *n* 3. See under Suzāwal Khān.
Shukr, Qāzī of Maṭ'hura, and son of Mīrzā Muflis, author of the *Tafsīri Hāfiz*, 191.
Shukr-talāo,—a great tank in the city of Nāgor, 137 and *n* 1.
Shūkūn, son of Qarāchah Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humayūn, father of Akbar, 57.
Shustar, town of,—in the Persian province of Khūzistān, 418.
Siālkōt, town of, 358, 359. See also under Sealcot.

Sīhnah, town of, 386.
Sīhwān, ort of,—in the district of Tattah, 370.
Sijdah, a prostration to Akbar as the head of religion, 266.
Sijistān, province of,—in Khurāsān, 316 *n* 1. See also under Sīstān.
Sikandar, Sulṭān,—the last of the Afghān rulers of Dihlī, 2, 4, 7, 10, 11, 12, 96.
Sikandar, [Alexander the Great], 178 and *n* 2.
Sikandar Bēg, a relative of Ḥusain Qūlī Khān. See under Iskandar Bōg.
Sikandar Khān, father of 'Abd-ullāh Khān, the chief of the Uzbeks in Transoxiana, 365.
Sikandar Khān Uzbek. See under Iskandar Khān the Uzbek, of the great Amīrs of Akbar.
Sikandrah-rao, town of, 30.
Sīkrā, town of, 41. Perhaps we should read Sīkrī, which see
Sīkrī, town of,—residence of Shaikhu-l-Islām Chishtī, 112, 139, 230, 237. See also under Fatḥpūr-Sīkrī.
Sīkrī, hill of,—on the top of which Akbar built the town of Fatḥpūr, 112.
Sildoz, name of a Chaghtāi clan, 43 *n* 1.
Sīmiyā, signification of the term, 334 *n* 4.
Sīmurgh,—a fabulous bird said to dwell in the mountain of Qāf, 272 *n* 3.
Sind or Sindh, district of, 93, 138, 327, 386.
Sind, the, 90 and *n* 5. See also under the Indus.
Sind-sāgar, Doāb of,—between the Indus and the Jhelum, in the Panjāb, 301, 304 and *n* 5.
Singh B'hatta, Rāī,—father-in-law of Prince Salīm, eldest son of Akbar, 364.
Singh Darbārī. See under Rāī Singh Darbārī, Amīr and General of Akbar.
Singh-āsan Battīsi,—a collection of tales about Rājah Bikramājīt of Mālwah, 186.
Siprī, town of, 29 and *n* 4.
Sirhind, town and district of, 7, 34 *n* 3, 37, 92, 159, 160, 214, 274, 301, 322, 334, 393, 394, 403.
Sīrī, town of, 29 *n* 4.
Sīstān, province of,—in Khurāsān, 31. Same as Sijistān, which also see.
Sītā,—wife of Rām Chand [Rāmā], Rājah of Oudh, 347.
Śiva,—God of the Hindūs, also called Mahdeva, 204 *n* 2, 335 *n* 1.
Sivakanpūr, one of the dependencies of Kālpī, 110.
Śivarātri, or night of Śiva, 335 *n* 1. See the next.
Sivrāt, [Sanskrit *Śivarātri*, or night of Śiva], a Hindū festival, 335 and *n* 1.
Sīwahnah, town of, 294. See also under Sīwānah.
Siwālik, Mountains of, 2, 10, 38 and *n* 5, 85, 129, 298, 307, 377, 412.
Sīwānah, town of,—in Rājpūtānā, 189 and *n* 1. See also under Sīwahnah.
Siyāh, the,—the river Sai or Sye, which falls into the Gūmtī near Jounpūr, 82 and *n* 4.
Siyāh Yamīn,—one of the dancing-girls of the Court, 356.
Sohail,—commandant of Gwāliyār and a *ghulām* of 'Adalī the Emperor of India, 25 *n* 2.
Sohrāb, the son of Rustam, the

famous hero of ancient Irān, 56 *n* 403.
Sohrāb Bēg Turkmān,—one of the officers of Akbar's army, 172.
Solomon of Scripture, 160, 199.
Spaniards, the, 307 *n* 1.
Sprenger's *Catalogue of MSS. in library of King of Oudh*, 30 *n* 1, 108 *n* 2, 112 *n* 1, 280 *n* 2.
Srīdhar Hindī Bengālī, 184 *n* 1. 'Sarhor Hindī Bengālī, *q. v.*, as called in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.
Srīnagar,—the capital of Kashmīr, 365, 381 *n* 2.
Sthaneçwara,—the Sanskrit name of the town of Thānēsar, in the neighbourhood of Dihlī, 94 *n* 4.
Subhān Qulī, one of the imperial Amīrs. See under Turk Subḥān Qulī.
Sufīl, or base, a title of contempt given to Aḥmad the Çūfī, 420 and *n* 1.
Sulaimān Kararānī, Karānī or Karzānī, the Afghān, Governor of Bengāl, 77 and *n* 1, 79 and *n* 2, 80, 159 *n* 1, 166, 176, 177, 184, 203.
Sulaimān Mankalī, the Afghān,—*jāgīrdār* of the district of Ghorāg'hāt and one of the Amīrs of Dāūd Karārānī, ruler of Bengāl, 194, 195.
Sulaimān Mīrzā. See under Mīrzā Sulaimān, Governor of Badakhshān.
Sulaimān Sulṭān, the Emperor of Turkey,—his attempt to conquer Gujrāt, 149.
Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Moghūl,—of the House of Hulākū, 31, 60.
Sulṭān Ādam G'hakkar. See under Ādam G'hakkar.
Sulṭān-i-'ādil, *or just ruler*,—his rank higher than that of a *Mujtahid*, 270.
Sulṭān 'Alī,—a scribe from Hindūstān, 91.
Sulṭān 'Alī Wazīr Khān, Khwājah,—one of the officers of Tardī Bēg Khān, commandant of Dihlī, 5, 7.
Sulṭān Bahādur,—a usurper of the sovereignty of Bengāl, 18.
Sulṭān of Constantinople, the, 282.
Sulṭān Ḥājī of Thānesar,—translator in part of the Mahābhārata into Persian, 330.
Sulṭān Hoshang Ghōrī, King of Mālwā, 65.
Sulṭān Ḥusain Jalāīr,—one of the officers of Akbar's army, 39.
Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā. See under Ḥusain Mīrzā.
Sulṭān Khānum, eldest daughter of Akbar and wife of Mīrzā Muzaffar Ḥusain *Maqṣūr Jauharī* (*q.v.*), 274 *n* 3.
Sulṭān Khusrau, son of the Prince Sulṭān Salīm, eldest son of Akbar, 368.
Sulṭān Khwājah, son of Khwājah Khāwand Maḥmūd, or Dost,—one of the *Qadrs* of the empire, 246, 249, 275, 277, 300, 351.
Sulṭān Maḥmūd, Governor of Bakkar See under Maḥmūd.
Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt. See under Maḥmūd of Gujrāt.
Sulṭān Muḥammad of Bakkar. See under Muḥammad, Governor of Bakkar. The correct name of this Sulṭān is Maḥmūd (*q.v.*).
Sultān Muḥammad Mīrzā. See under Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, son of Wais Mīrzā.
Sulṭān Muḥammad, nephew of Pīr Muḥammad Khān, 129. For Muḥammad read Maḥmūd.
Sulṭān Murād, Prince, second son of Akbar. See under Murād.

Sulṭān Salīm. See under Salīm, son of Akbar.
Sulṭān Zainu-l-'ābidīn, King of Kashmīr. See under Zainu-l-'ābidīn.
Sulṭānpūr, town of,—at twenty-five *cosses* from Lāhor, 39, 257, 304, 341, 403.
Sundar,—name of one of the elephants of Akbar, from Sanskrit *Sundara*, beautiful, 98 and *n* 1.
Sunnīs,—one of the two great divisions of the Muslims, 318. 337.
Sūpar,—the town of Sheopoor, 120 miles S.W. of Āgra, 29 and *n* 5, 105.
Sūrat, province and town of, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150, 151, 152, 167, 177, 222, 248 *n* 3, 256, 330, 370, 371, 384, 399, 400 *n* 2, 401.
Suratha, the Rajah of, 145. It is the same as Sūrat (*q. v.*).
Sūratu-l-baqarah, the,—the 2nd Sūrah or chapter of the Qur'ān, 215 *n* 2.
Sūratu-l-ikhlāç, the,—the cxii chapter of the Qur'ān, 23, 48 *n* 1, 407.
Sūratu-s-salwān, the,—meaning of the expression, 48 *n* 1.
Surjan Hādā, Rāī,—a relation of Rānā Udai Singh of Chītor, 25, 26 and *n* 2, 29, 111. See also under Sarjan Rāī.
Surkhāb,—name of a place in the province of Kābul, 302, 303.
Sutlej, the. See under the Satlaj.
Suzāwal Khān, father of Bāz Bahādur, 29 and *n* 3, 42 and *n* 4. Called Shujā' Khān Afghān in the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī and Shujāwal by Blochmann.
Swāt, in the country of the Afghāns, 401. See also under Sawad and Sawād-u-Bajor.
Sye, or Sai, the,—the river Siyāh, which falls into the Gūmtī near Jounpūr, 82 *n* 4.
Syria, 189 *n* 2.

T.

Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, the,—of Mīrzā Nizāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, 4 *n* 3, 25 *n* 3, 26 *n* 2, 29 *nn* 3 and 4, 33 *n* 2, 34 *n* 2, 38 *n* 3, 40 *n* 3, 44 *n* 6, 46 *nn* 1 and 4, 54 *n* 2, 55 *nn* 3 and 4, 56 *n* 2, 57 *n* 4, 58 *n* 4, 65 *n* 3, 72 *n* 4, 79 *nn* 4 and 5, 80 *n* 1, 96 *n* 2, 97 *n* 1, 102 *n* 5, 106 *n* 1, 107 *n* 3, 157 *n* 1, 161 *n* 1, 166 *n* 1, 182 *nn* 1 and 3, 184 *n* 1, 193 *n* 5, 256 *n* 2, 259 *n* 1, 300 *n* 2, 333 *n* 6, 363, 411 *n* 1, 425. Also called the Tārīkh-i Nizāmī, which also see. See also the next.
Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī Shāhī, the, 403. Same as the above.
Tabarā'īs, the,—a class of religionists, 327.
Tabarkindh, fortress of, 34 and *n* 3. The same as Sirhind (*q.v.*)
Tabrīz, town of,—in Persia, 248.
Tafsīr-i-Akbarī, the,—a commentary on the *Āyatu-l-Kursī* by Shaikh Abu-l Fazl 'Allāmī, 201.
Tafsīr-i-Ḥāfiz,—a commentary on the Qur'ān by Mīrzā Muflis, 190.
Ṭā Hā,—title of the 20th chapter of the Qur'ān, considered and often used as a name of Muḥammad, 35 and *n* 4.
Ṭāhir Muḥammad Sulṭān,—chamberlain of Pīr Muḥammad Khān (*q.v.*), 20.
Ṭahmāsp, Shāh, son of Shāh Ismā'īl, founder of the Ṣafawī dynasty of

Persia. See under Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia.
Ṭaib, of Kīt'hal, Mullā,—Dīwān of the province of Bihār and Ḥajīpūr, 274. See also under Ṭīb.
Taimūr. See under Tīmūr.
Tāju-d-dīn, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Zakariyā of Ajodhan,—called by the title of Tāju-l-'Ārifīn, 265.
Taju-l-'ārifīn, the,—or *Crown of the Çūfīs*, 265. Title of the above.
Tāka, name for *rupee*, 49 *n* 2. It is the word *Tankah* as used in Bengāl.
Takhalluç—*Nom de plume* of poets, 309 *n* 1, 417.
Takht-i-Sulaimān,—a mountain near Srīnagar, the capital of Kashmīr, 381.
Taklīf, doctrine of, 317.
Takwīn, doctrine of, 317.
Ṭālib Içfahānī, Mullā,—author of an account of Little Tibet, 388.
Talmūdim, the, 287 *n* 2.
Talmūdīm Babl. Synh., 222 *n* 1.
Talwandī, town of,—on the river Biyāh, 159, 161 *n* 1.
Talwārah,—a place in the mountains of Kushmāl, on the banks of the river Biyāh, 38.
Tamāmu', signification of the word, 21 and *n* 2.
Tamghā, or inland tolls, abolished, 284.
Tamkīn, surname of Mīrzā Abu l-Qāsim, an officer of Akbar's army, 190 and *n* 1.
Tāndah,—the capital of Bengāl under the Kararānīs, situate opposite to Gaur, 186, 187, 194, 195, 200, 220, 232, 235, 290, 332.
Tankahs,—or
Tankas,—a monetary denomination. 29 *n* 1 37, 49 and *n* 2
Tapti, the,—the river of Sūrat, in Gujrāt, 147 *n* 6.
Taqī of Shustar, Mulla,—a follower of Akbar's new religion, 418.
Tardī Bēg Khan, Commandant of Dihlī, and one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, the father of Akbar, 5, 6 and *n* 2, 7 and *n* 5, 38.
Tārīkh-i-Alfī, the,—or History of a thousand years, an historical work written by command of Akbar, 25 *n* 2, 46 *n* 1, 310 and *n* 3, 406.
Tārīkh-i-Ilāhī, the,—or Divine era, the era instituted by Akbar, 316.
Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī, the,—of Mīrzā Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad 102 and *n* 5, 247 *n* 1, 305, 374. Called generally the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī (*q.v.*).
Tarjumānu-l-asrār, the,—a term applied to Ḥāfiz, the celebrated Persian poet, 423.
Tarkhān Dīwānah,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar's reign, 169, 170, 291, 320.
Tarkībband, signification of the term, 381 and *n* 3.
Tārmāh Bēg,—one of the leaders of Akbar's army, 292.
Tarsān Muḥammad Khān,—one of the magnates of Akbar's reign, 31. Same as the next two (*q.v.*).
Tarson Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 241 *n* 2. Same as the above and the next (*q.v.*).
Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān,—governor of Patan, 218, 282, 290, 295, 297, 298. See also the above two.
Tātār Khān, Governor of Dihlī under Akbar, 95, 144.
Tātār language,—the Chaghatāī branch of, 48 *n* 4.
Tātarcheh, name of Tatār Khan, Governor of Dilhī, or of his son Dost Muhammad, 144
Tat'ha, town of, 327, 328. See also the next and under Thathah.
Tattah, town of, 138, 314, 352, 370. See also the above and under Thathah.
Tattu Masnadi 'Ālī, one of the Amīrs of the Panjāb, 165. Probably a misprint for Fattū Masnadi 'Alī, which see.
Tauḥīd-i-Ilāhī, Divine Monotheism,—name of the new religious system of Akbar, 335.
Taurat, a Hebrew word, used to designate the Code of Chingīz Khān, the Mo'ghul emperor, 46 *n* 3.
Taurāt, the,—name by which the Pentateuch is designated in the Qur'ān, 46 *n* 3.
Tawāghī, signification of the word, 74 *n* 5.
Ṭawāf, one of the ceremonies of the *Ḥajj*, or Pilgrimage, the encompassing of the *Ka'bah*, 40 *n* 2.
Ṭawāīsī, Qāzī, one of the camp-Qāzīs of Akbar, 104.
Ṭayib Khān, son of Muḥammad Ṭāhir Khān, *Mīr farāghat*, the Commandant of Dihlī,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar's army, 188.
Tazkiratu-l-auliyā, the,—a biography of Muhammadan saints, 270.
T'hānēsar,—or
Thānessar, [Sanskrit *Sthaneçwara*], a town about 100 miles from Dihlī, where there is a temple of Mahādeo, 94 and *n* 4, 223, 322, 330, 358.
Thathah, town of, 399, 406. See also under Tat'ha and Tattah.
Thibet, country of, 335. See also under Tibet.
Thirlwall's Hist., 178 *n* 2.
Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Dilhi*, 402 *n* 8.
Ṭīb, Mulla, 274, 289. Same as Mullā Ṭaib of Kīt'hal, the *Dīwān* of the province of Bihār and Ḥājīpūr, which also see.
Tibet, country of, 129, 276, 388. See also under Thibet.
Tīmūr, the Mughul conqueror, called by the title of *Çāḥib i-Qirān*, *i.e.*, Lord of conjunction, *viz.*, of Jupiter and Venus, the two beneficent planets, 10 *n* 3, 61 *n* 5, 87 and *n* 1, 254, 276.
Tīmūr Çāḥibqirān, Amīr, 276. See under the preceding name.
Tīmūr Khān Badakhshī,—one of the Amīrs of the imperial army, 249, 252.
Tīr Khān Dīwānah,—one of the attendants of Mīrzā Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain (*q.v.*), 57.
Tirhut, district of, 307.
Tirmizī's *Shamū'il*, a collection of Traditions regarding the figure and looks of the Prophet, 318.
Todah, town of,—the birth-place of the author, 168, 262, 243, 258. See the next.
Todah Bihyūn,—or
Todah Tark 'Alī,—a town about 10 cosses S.W. of Rantambhor, 25 and *n* 4. See the above.
Todar Mal,—the Hindū minister of Akbar, 64, 65. See also under Rājah Todar Mal.
Toghlaq Ābād,—an ancient fortress in the environs of Dihlī, 6.
Tolak. See under Tulak.
Toqān, or Elder brother, 7.
Toqbāī,—name of a Chagtāī tribe, 195 *n* 1.
Translation of 'Alī Hazin, Belfour's, 35 *n* 3. See also under 'Alī Hazin.
Transoxiana, 14 and *n* 2, 45, 185, 190, 278, 365, 366.
Tughān, Mīr,—an *Aḥadī* in the service of Akbar, 367.

Tughlaq-ābād,—in the vicinity of Dihlī, 6.
Tukriya, a nickname given by the common people to Ḥusain Khān, sister's son of Mahdī Qāsim Khān, for having, when governor of Lāhor, ordered the Hindūs to sew on their garments a patch of stuff (*Tukrā*) to distinguish them from Muslims, 227.
Tulabnah, town of, 166 *n* 4. See under Tulambah.
Tulak,—a servant of Bahādur Khān, Muḥammad Sa'īd Shaibānī (*q.v.*), and governor of Dībālpūr, 4.
Tulak Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Mālwah, 341. Probably the same as the next.
Tulak Khān Qūchīn,—one of the old Amīrs of Akbar, 54 and *n* 2, 157, 424. He is called Qūchīn in the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī. See also the next.
Tulak Khān Qūrchī, 3. Same as Tulak Khān Qūchīn (*q.v.*).
Tulambah, town of, 161 and *n* 1, 166 and *n* 4. Sometimes called Tulabnah.
Tumantogh,—or *Tumantoq*, signification of the word, 346, 354.
Tūrān, country of,—the land of the Turks, 298.
Turbat,—name of a tribe in Khurāsān, 64 *n* 5.
Turk Subḥān Qulī,—one of the imperial Amīrs, 158, 169, 232, 249.
Turkey, 149.
Turkistān, 318.
Turkmāns, the, 172, 375.
Turkomāns, the. See the above.
Turks, the, 39, 47 *n* 4, 248.
Ṭūs, town of,—in Persia, 35 *n* 3, 317.
Tusānī, title of Rāī Manohar, son of Rāī Lonkaran, Governor of Sāmbhar, 259.
Ṭuṭī-nāmah, the,—a famous collection of tales, 186.
Tuyūl lands, the,—not hereditary, but conferred for a specified time, 23 *n* 4.
Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī or the Memoirs of Jahāngīr, 390 *n* 2, 391 *n* 4, 398 *n* 3.

U.

Uchh, town of, 418 and *n* 1.
Udaipūr, district and town of,—in Rājpūtānā, 106, 233 *n* 1. See also the next and under Ūdīpūr.
Udaipūr Ḳomalmair, district of, 105. See also the above and under Ūdīpūr.
Udai Singh, Rānā of Chītor. See under Udī Singh and Rāī Udī Singh.
Udaya,—the Hindī form of the name Ūdī, 48 *n* 2.
Ūdī,—name of persons, the Hindī Udaya, 48 *n* 2.
Ūdīpūr or Mēwār, a Rājpūt State, 45 *n* 8, 48, 249, 275 *n* 2. See also under Udaipūr and Udaipūr Komalmair.
Udī Singh, Rāī,—Rānā of Chītor, 26 *n* 2. See also under Rāī Udī Singh.
Ujain. See under Ujjain.
Ujayn See under Ujjain.
Ujjain, district and town of, 43 and *n* 3, 68, 105, 110, 153, 250, 391. See the next.
Ujjayinī, *i.e.*, "victorious," the name of Ujjain in Sanskrit, 43 *n* 3. See the above.
Uljah, signification of the word, 47 *n* 1.
Ulugh Bēg-i-Gurgān, Mīrzā,—a most powerful king of the House of Tīmūr, 276.
Ulugh Khān, the Abyssinian,—one of the Amīrs of Gujrāt, 145, 292.
Ulugh Mīrzā, son of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā,—one of the descendants of the second son of the great Taimūr, 87 *n* 1, 93, 105.
Ulur, Lake,—a lake between two mountains in Kashmīr, called also Zain-lankā, 398 *n* 3.
'Umān, Sea of,—the sea between India and Africa, 421 and *n* 3.
'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā, second son of Tīmūr, 87 *n* 1.
Umm Kulsūm, daughter of 'Alī, son of Abī Ṭālib, 328.
Ummaiya, sons of,—the Damascus dynasty of Caliphs, 248.
Ummīd 'Alī,—one of the servants of Mīrzā Sulaimān of Badakhshān and administrator of the affairs of Mīrzā Muḥammad Hakīm, son of Humāyūn, 62.
Undchah, town of, 391 and *n* 4. Spelt in our maps *Oorcha*.
'Urfī of Shīrāz, Mullā,—a celebrated poet, 387.
Uriah, of Scripture, 349.
Urumiyeh, Lake of,—in Persia, 243 *n* 6.
Uymāqs, the,—a Turkish tribe, 355.
Uzbeks, the, 75, 83, 303, 355, 366, 367, 409, 416.

V.

Vādī, from the Sanskrit *Vādya*,—meaning of the word, 315 *n* 1.
Vakīl or Prime-minister, office of,—the first of the four officers of the empire, 29, 34, 70 *n* 4.
Vazīr, office of,—the second of the four officers of the empire, 70 *n* 4. See also the next two words.
Vazīr-i-kul, 290 *n* 2.
Vazīr-i-Mutlaq,—one of the High officers of the empire, 290 *n* 2 Same as the *Dīwān-i-kul*, or Head of the twelve *Dīwāns* of the empire.
Vazīr Khān, brother of Āçaf Khān, Khwājah 'Abdu-l-Majīd of Harāt, 78, 86, 94 and *n* 2. See also under Wazīr Khān.
Vazīr Khān, title of Ismā'īl Qulī Khān, son of Walī Bēg Zu-l-Qadr, (*q. v.*), of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 297, 298.
Vazīr Khān Jamīl Bēg,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 290.
Vazīr Khān, title of Malik Sānī Kābulī, *vazīr* of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, son of Humāyūn, ruler of Kābul, 300.
Vedas, the, 215 *n* 1.
Venus,—one of the *Sa'dain* or two beneficent planets, the other being Jupiter, 87 *n* 1.
Vibhīshaṇa, brother of Rāvan, the ruler of Lankā,—joins Rāmā against his brother, 347 *n* 3.
Vikramā-dītya,—Sanskrit form of the name Bikramājīt, (*q.v.*), 184 *n* 2.
Vīra-vara, or best warrior, 164 *n* 6. See under Bīrbar Rājah.
Vrihaspatī Māna,—the common luni solar year of the Hindūs, 367 *n* 3.
Vüllers' *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, 196 *n* 4, 311 *n* 4, 398 *n* 5, 405 *n* 3, 423.

W.

Waḥdat 'Alī, brother of Jallālah the Roshanāī, (*q.v.*), 401.

Wais Mīrzā, son of Mīrzā Bāiqrā, son of Mīrzā Manṣūr,—a descendant of the second son of the great Taimūr, 87 *n* 1.

Wajīhu-d-dīn, Shaikh,—a learned and profound sage, 385.

Wajīhu-l-mulk,—one of the Amīrs of Gujrāt, 145.

Wajrāīl, district of,—in the Sawālik Mountains, 129.

Walī Bēg Atkah, 35. See under Shāh Walī Bēg Atkah.

Walī Bēg the Turkomān —one of the officers of Bairām Khān, the Khān Khānān, 4. See the next.

Walī Bēg Zu-l-Qadr,—one of the partisans of Bairām Khān, the Khān Khānān, 33, 35, 38. See the above.

Walī Na'mat Bēgum,—or Walī Ni'mat Bēgum, wife of Mīrzā Sulaimān, ruler of Badakhshān, 61 and *n* 6, 89, 90, 217, 425.

Wāsi', *or wide*, 60 *n* 1. See under 'Abdu-l-Wāsi'.

Wazīr Khān, brother of Āṣaf Khān, Khwājah 'Abdu-l-Majīd of Harāt, —one of the great Amīrs of Akbar, 86, 89 and *n* 2, 169, 170, 171, 173, 296. See also under Vazīr Khān and the next.

Wazīr Khān, Governor of Gujrāt, 256. Same as the above.

Wazīrpūr, Mandalgarh, town of, 105, Called simply Mandalgarh or Māndal Garh, which also see.

William, the Conqueror,—his falling down on landing in England, 40 *n* 1.

Wilson and Mill, History of British India, 240 *n* 3.

Wilson's Glossary of Indian Terms, 371 *n* 2.

Y.

Yādgār Kal, nephew of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Razwī, governor of Kashmīr, —makes himself Sulṭān of Kashmīr for a short while, 394, 395, 396.

Yaḥā [Yaḥyā], Khwājah, son of the celebrated saint the Khwājah Aḥrār, 57.

Yaḥyāpūr,—a place in the environs of Jounpūr where the waters of the Ganges and the Gowadī meet, 179.

Yak, [Bos Grunniens], the Khiṭā-ī bull, 377.

Yakaspah,—one of the divisions of the Aḥadī troopers, 194 and *n* 2.

Yaklāna, used incorrectly for the district of Baglāna, 151 *n* 1.

Ya'qūb Çirfī or Çarfī of Kashmīr, Shaikh,—a great writer and authority on religious matters, 127, 139, 266, 407, 417. Çarfī is his *takhalluç* or poetical name.

Ya'qūb of Kashmīr, Mīr,—Wakīl of Ḥusain Khān, governor of Kashmīr, 128.

Ya'qūb, Qāzī,—an inhabitant of Dihlī and son-in-law of Qāzī Faẓīlat Shershāhī,—for ten years Qāzī of the realm and then district Qāzī of Gaur, 104, 212, 213, 285.

Ya'qūb, son of Yūsuf Khān Kashmīrī, Governor of Kashmīr before its conquest by Akbar, 365, 380.

Yār,—title of Yār Muḥammad, son of Çādiq Khān 391.

Yār Muḥammad, alteration of such names in the reign of Akbar, 324.

Yār Muḥammad, son of Çādiq Khān, —one of the attendants of Prince Sulṭān Murād, the second son of Akbar, 391.

Yā Sīn,—title of the 36th chapter of the Qur'ān, considered and often used as a name of Muḥammad, 35 and *n* 4.

Yathrab [Yathrib],—old name of Madīnatu-n-Nabī, *i.e.*, Medina, in Ḥijāz, 324. [267.

Yazd, town of,—in Persia, 214, 230,

Yazīdī,—nickname of Mullā Muḥammad of Yazd, (*q.v.*), 214.

Yemen, country of [Arabia felix], 32 *n* 1.

Yule, Colonel,—his edition of Marco Polo, 405 *n* 2.

Yūsuf, the Patriarch, 132.

Yūsuf Khān, Kashmīrī, Governor of Kashmīr before its conquest by Akbar, 363, 364, 365.

Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī, Mīrzā, 96 and *n* 1. See under the next.

Yūsuf Khān Mīrzā, son of Mīr Aḥmad-i-Razawī,—one of the great Amīrs of Akbar and Governor of Kashmīr after its conquest from Yūsuf Khān Kashmīrī, 96 and *n* 1, 165, 178, 185, 376, 380, 394, 395, 396, 398. His name has also appeared as Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī and Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Razawī.

Yūsuf Khān Razawī of Mashhad, Mīrzā, 376, 394. See under the above name.

Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān, son of Shamsu-d-dīn Atkah Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Akbar, 34, 77.

Yūsuf Zāī,—chief of the Yūsufzāī Afghāns, 376.

Yūsufzāī Afghāns, the,—the Afghāns of Sawad and Bijor, 383. See also the next.

Yūsufzāīs, the,—an Afghān tribe, 369. See also the above.

Z.

Zafr Khān, Commandant of Patnah and Bihār, 235. Probably we should read Muzaffar Khān, *cf.* p. 244 l. 19 and note 3.

Zain Khān Kokah,—one of the great Amīrs and generals of Akbar, sometime governor of Kābul, 345, 360, 361, 362, 363, 366, 368, 370, 393, 401, 402.

Zain-lankā,—a lake between two mountains in Kashmīr, 398 and *n* 3. The lake is also called *Ulur*.

Zainu-d-dīn Kambū, brother of Shahbāz Khān Shahru-llāh Kambū, of Lāhor,—one of the officers of the army, 291, 339, 340.

Zainu-l-'Ābidīn, son of al-Ḥusain, son of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalib,—the fourth of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ahs, 36 *n* 2

Zainu l-'Ābidīn, Sulṭān,—king of Kashmīr, 393, 415, 416.

Zakariyā of Ajodhan, Shaikh,—one of the principal 'Ulamā of his age, 265.

Zakariyā, Shaikh,—a hermit Dervīsh. 162.

Zāl, father of Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Irān, 79 *n* 3.

Zamānah Qulī,—one of the servants of Mīrzā Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain (*q.v.*), 58.

Zamīn-bos, or kissing the ground,—name of the *sijdah* or prostration paid to Akbar as the head of religion, 266.
Zamīndārs, the, 47, 51.
Zamīndāwar, or Zamīn Dāwar, country of, 402, 416.
Zanāniyah, fortress of, 104.
Zaqqūm, az,—a tree growing in the midst of Hell, the *euphorbia* of the ancients, 147 *n* 2.
Zardusht,—founder of the Zorḍastrian religion, 268.
Zēbā Gul, Beautiful rose, 358 *n* 1.
Zia-al Barnī,—more properly Ziyā' or Zizāu-d-dīn Baranī, author of the Tārikh-i-Firūz-Shāhī, 42 *n* 6.
Zikr-i-arrah, signification of the term, 423
Zīn Khān Kokah. See under Zain Khān Kokah.
Zīnu-l-'Ābidīn, Sulṭān. See under Zainu-l-'Ābidīn, Sultān of Kashmīr.
Ziyāu-d-dīn, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous, 123.
Ziyāu-l-Baranī,—author of the Tārikh i-Firūz-Shāhī, 42 *n* 6.
Ziyā-ullāh, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghous,—one of the principal 'Ulamā of the reign of Akbar, 204.
Zohrah, [az-Zuharah, the planet Venus], 17.
Zoroastrians, the, 316.